HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

SUSHIL KUMAR DE

M.A. (Calcutta), D.LIT. (London)

Formerly Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dacca and in the Postgraduate Research Department, Calcutta Sanskrit College ; Professor Emeritus, Jadavpur University, Calcutta ; and Honorary Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society

IN TWO VOLUMES

Second Revised Edition



Firma K. L MUKHOPADHYAY

CALCUTTA

1960

Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Publishers
6/1A, Bancharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta-12

Price, Rs. 30·00 35/-

Printed by J. C. Sarkhel at the Calcutta Oriental Press
Private Ltd. 9, Panchanan Ghosh Lane, Calcutta 9

To

The Memory of

My Father

PREFACE

The first edition of this work was published in two separate volumes in 1923, 1925. Almost simultaneously in 1923 appeared the second edition of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* by Mahāmahopādyāya Dr P. V. Kane, to which was prefixed an introduction of 177 pages dealing with the history of Alaṃkāra literature, subsequently elaborated in the third edition (1951) into 423 pages. Referring to these facts Dr Kane writes: "Both of us were thus practically pioneers in this field. Our books led many scholars to study the numerous works on Alaṃkāra, to point out defects and mistakes, to produce papers dealing with several aspects of the Alaṅkāraśāstra and to publish several important texts." This will make clear the necessity of revising the present work, which was written and published independently, but which, not yet superseded, had been out of print for more than thirty years.

The scope of the present work was sufficiently explained in the preface to the first edition. An attempt has been made to approach the subject from the historical point of view, instead of presenting a bare account of the works and authors or a mere epitome of the different topics of Alaṃkāra. Presuming a general knowledge and taking the representative writers (and, as far as necessary, the neglected commentators and so-called minor writers), the development of Sanskrit Poetics has been traced through its fairly long and varied course of history, which covers an extensive literature of more than a thousand years. The first volume of the work, therefore, deals with the preliminary but important question of a working Chronology and original Sources, on the basis of which the second volume proceeds to set forth the history through divergent Systems and Theories. It will be seen that, barring some

rearrangement and division into chapters, the general form of the first edition has not been changed ; but for convenience the two volumes are now published in one, divided into parts.

In investigating the growth of Sanskrit Poetics it was, of course, not possible to ignore its content ; but it has been thought more useful to lay stress on the essentials of doctrines and omit minor details, the object of this work being more historical than expository. It was not possible, for instance, to give a detailed technical analysis of individual rhetorical "figures", with which the Alaṃkāra-śāstra is traditionally and popularly associated ; but the general doctrine of poetic figures has been dealt with, in so far as they are not mere tickets of nomenclature but positive agents in the production of artistic beauty. The study of analytical Rhetoric, apart from its value as a formal discipline, may be regarded as pedantic and futile ; but Sanskrit Alaṃkāra-śātra, in spite of its name, possesses a speculative interest by involving, besides mere Rhetoric, a great deal of what is known to-day as Criticism or Aesthetic. It was almost impossible for the Ālaṃkārikas, concerned that they were with form and technique, not to be interested in the general phenomenon of literature or theorise on general principles.

For a similar reason of historical and general treatment greater emphasis has been laid on the earlier writers who cover the creative periods of the discipline ; of later writers who show in the main an excessive dependence on their predecessors, only typical names have been selected with a due regard to their historical as well as intrinsic importance. The author has confined himself to Sanskrit Poetics, and has not taken into account the numerous vernacular works on the subject, as well as the allied but distinct theme of Dramaturgy ; for they deserve more room for a detailed and separate treatment. The Bibliographies and references are perhaps not exhaustive ; but they are

meant to supply such notable information as might lead to a further study.

A word of explanation may be deemed necessary for the use of the term Poetics to designate a half-theoretical and half-practical discipline which goes by the name of Alaṃkāra-śāstra. Its scope has been sufficiently explained by H. Jacobi, who seems to have been the first to make this term current, in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 393, fn 1. It may be pointed out that the commonly used term Rhetoric is inadequate in explaining the standpoint of a study which includes a great deal more than a mere normative treatment of rhetorical categories ; while the expression Aesthetic in this connexion is misleading, inasmuch as the theoretical scope of Alaṃkāra literature is not co-extensive with what is understood by that term in modern philosophical studies. Comparative estimates, therefore, with reference to Western Aesthetic or European Critical literature have been generally avoided ; for that would not only exceed the limited scope of the present work but might lead to sweeping or misleading generalisations. Those who are interested will find a short critical outline of Sanskrit Poetics in the light of modern Aesthetic in two essays by the present writer published in the *Dacca University Studies*, vol. i (1936), pp. 1-46, and in the *New Indian Antiquary* ix, nos. 1-3 (reprinted in the author's *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 1-53).

It is needless to say that, as the references will indicate, a careful use has been made of the accumulated but scattered labours of previous workers, but it has been supplemented by the author's own studies. Useless discussion or controversy, however, has been avoided as much as possible, the author confining himself to stating his own view and leaving it to speak for itself. He is fully conscious that no one can claim he has said the last word on the subject.

In the preface to the first edition the author recorded

with sincere thanks the manifold help and encouragement he received in writing this work. But it is sad to recollect in this connexion the departed *kalyāṇa-mitras*, H. Jacobi, L. D. Barnett and F. W. Thomas. He has only to add that in the present edition he has profited by the suggestions of Professor Dr V. Raghavan who took the trouble, in the midst of his manifold preoccupation, of sending useful bibliographical notes on some works and authors.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

CONTENTS

VOLUME II

VOLUME I

CHRONOLOGY AND SOURCES

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

(1)

There is an interesting passage in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in which Rājaśekhara, while giving us a somewhat fanciful account of the divine origin of Poetics, mentions at the same time the names of the supposed original exponents of the discipline. It is said that the Spirit of Poetry (*kāvya-puruṣa*), born of the Goddess of Learning (*sarasvatī*), was set by the Self-existent Being to promulgate the study of Poetics in the three worlds ; and he related it in eighteen *adhikaraṇas* to his seventeen will-born pupils These divine sages, in their turn, are said to have composed separate treatises on the portions respectively learnt by them. Thus Sahasrākṣa wrote on *kavi-rahasya*, Uktigarbha on *auktika*, Suvarṇanābha on *rīti*, Pracetāyana on *anuprāsa*, Citrāṅgada on *yamaka* and *citra*, Śeṣa on *śabda-śleṣa*, Pulastya on *vāstava*, Aupakāyana on *upamā*, Pārāśara on *atiśaya*, Utathya on *artha-śleṣa*, Kubera on *ubhayālaṃkāra*, Kāmadeva on *vainodika*, Bharata on *rūpaka*, Nandikeśvara on *rasa*, Dhiṣaṇa on *doṣa*, Upamanyu on *guṇa* and Kucamāra on *aupaniṣadika*. This tendency on the part of a Sanskrit author towards glorifying his science and thereby investing it with an ancient unalterable authority is not unusual, and such legendary accounts are often fabricated where the actual origin is forgotten ; but it is curious that we do not meet with them elsewhere in Alaṃkāra literature, although they find expression in Bharata and in Vātsyāyana with regard to the origin of the allied disciplines of Dramaturgy and Erotics respectively. The historical value of this passage of Rājaśekhara may, indeed, be well doubted ; but it is possible that this unique account, apart from its obviously mythical garb, embodies a current tradition, implying the actual existence, at some remote and forgotten period, of

early expounders of poetic theory, some of whose names are still familiar, but most of whose works have apparently perished. Thus, Suvarṇanābha and Kucamāra (or Kucumāra) are also cited with reverence by the author of the *Kāma-sūtra* (i. 1. 13, 17), both of them as authorities on Erotics, but the latter especially as well-versed in the particular subject of *aupaniṣadika*, which is thus included in Erotics as well as in Poetics.[1] The present-day text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which goes by the name of Bharata, deals in an encyclopaedic manner with various topics, but Bharata is well known, as described by Rājaśekhara, as an authority on *rūpaka*. No work of Nandikeśvara on *rasa* has yet been discovered ; but his name is associated with a number of works, mostly late compilations, on erotics, music, histrionic art, grammar and Tantra.[2]

This traditional account may lead one to make the tempting suggestion of a very early systematic investigation of rhetorical issues but for the serious difficulty that there is hardly any material in the ancient literature itself to enable us to trace the origin of Poetics to a very remote antiquity. The Alaṃkāra-śāstra is never mentioned among the orthodox disciplines which constitute the so-called Vedāṅgas, nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* or the earlier *Upaniṣads* in which we may find a real basis for a system of Poetics. The word *upamā*, for instance, is found as early as the *Ṛg-veda* (v. 34. 9 ; i. 31, 15), and Sāyana explains it in the sense of *upamāna* (as in Pāṇini ii. 3. 72) or *dṛṣṭānta* ; but there is nothing unusual in this use of the general idea of similitude, which need not be interpreted as having a particular speculative significance. It is conceded, on the authority of Yāska and Pāṇini, that the conception of *upamā* or similitude considerably affected the Vedic language as well as its accent ; but beyond this grammatical or philo-

1 Cf. *JDL* iv p. 95.

2 For Nandikeśvara see below under ch. ii.

logical interest, there is no indication of a dogma, much less of a theory, of Poetics in Vedic times. Nor should undue emphasis be laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature ; for between this unconscious employment of figures of speech and the concious formulation of a definite system, there must necessarily be a long step.[1]

(2)

The first evidence of a definite, if somewhat crude, activity in this direction is traceable in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta* From the investigation of the peculiarities of the general form of language, which began early, attention was apparently directed to the analysis of the poetic forms of speech; but the question was still regarded entirely from the linguistic point of view. The term *alaṃkāra* in the technical sense does not occur in the *Nirukta*, but Yāska uses the word *alaṃkariṣṇu* in the general sense of 'one in the habit of adorning', which Pāṇini explains in iii. 2. 136 and which is apparently the meaning of the word occurring in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 8. 4. 7; iii. 5. 1. 36), and in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (viii. 8. 5). But in the *Nighaṇṭu* iii. 13, a list is given of particles of comparison relating to the Vedic *upamā*, comprising twelve varieties, which are illustrated in the *Nirukta* i. 4, iii. 13-18 and ix. 6. Six of these varieties, viz., those indicated by the particles *iva*, *yathā*, *na*, *cit*, *nu* and *ā*, are discussed in connexion with Yāska's treatment of *upamārthe nipātas* or particles indicative of comparison (i. 4), and partly included in what he designates as *karmopamā* in iii. 15. Then Yāska mentions *bhūtopamā*, in which the *upamita* becomes the *upamāna* in character, and *rūpopamā*, where the *upamita* resembles the *upamāna* in point of form. The fourth variety occurs where the

1 P. V. Kane (*HSP*, 3rd Ed. Bombay 1951, pp. 315-19 ; also *IA* xli, 1912, p. 120f) argues at some length that the Ṛgvedic poets have had some ideas about a theory of Poetics, as well as of Drama and dramatic representation. Also B. N. Bhattacharya in *JDL* ix, 1923, p. 100f.

particle *yathā* is used. Then comes *siddhopamā,* in which the standard of comparison is well established and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act, and is characterised by the suffix *vat.* The last variety is *luptopamā* or suppressed simile, also called *arthopamā* (equivalent to the *rūpaka* of later theorists), which is illustrated in iii. 18 (also ix. 6), where the example is given of the popular application of the terms *siṃha* and *vyāghra* in a laudatory and *śvan* and *kāka* in a derogatory sense. The term *upamāna* itself is used by Yāska, but only to denote these particles of comparison (vii. 31). The significance of comparison in general is also referred to in i. 19, ii. 6, iii. 5, iv. 11, v. 22 and vii. 13. Incidentally Yāska quotes (iii. 13) the grammarian Gārgya's definition of *upamā,*[1] which is important from our point of view. As explained by Durgācārya, it lays down that *upamā* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned, through similarity, with an object having similar attributes.[2] It also states as a general rule that the standard of comparison should be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison ; but the reverse case is also admitted and illustrated (iii. 14-15) by two examples from the *Ṛg-veda* (x. 40. 2 ; x. 4. 6). The definition, too wide as it is, recalls Mammaṭa's similar dictum, and undoubtedly establishes a very early, but more or less definite, conception of the poetic *upamā.*

By the time of Pāṇini this conception of *upamā* seems to have been tacitly recognised and we find him using in this connexion the technical terms *upamāna,*[3] *upamita*[4] and

1 *athāta upamā yad atat tat-sadṛśam iti gārgyaḥ, tad āsāṃ karma jyāyasā vā guṇena prakhyātatamena vā kanīyaṃsaṃ vāprakhyātaṃ vopamimīte'thāpi kanīyasā jyāyāṃsam.*

2 *evam atat tat-svarūpeṇa guṇena guṇa-sāmānyād upamīyate ity evaṃ gārgyācāryo manyate.*

3 ii. 1. 55 ; iii. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45 ; v. 4. 97, 137 ; vi. 1. 204, 2. 2, 72, 80, 127, 145, 169.

4 ii. 1. 56.

sāmānya[1] as well as general expressions like *upamā*[2] (used in the sense of the rhetorician's *upamāna*), *aupamya*,[3] *upamārthe*[4] and *sādṛśya*.[5] It is noteworthy that in nearly fifty *sūtras* distributed all over his work, Pāṇini incidentally discusses, from the grammarian's point of view, the influence of the conception of comparison on the language in the varied dominion of affixes, including case and feminine suffixes, *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *samāsānta* terminations,[6] in the making of compounds[7] and in accent.[8] The same influence is also traceable in the idea of *atideśa*, a term which is not used by Pāṇini himself but which is made clear by his commentators, and which may be translated as 'extended application by analogy or similarity'. Kātyāyana, in several *vārttikas*,[9] follows Pāṇini in noting the same influence of the idea of similitude, while Śāntanava in his *Phiṭsūtra* discusses it in connexion with accentuation.[10] In the *Mahābhāṣya* on ii. 1. 55, Patañjali has defined and illustrated Pāṇini's use of the term *upamāna*. A *māna* or measure, he says, is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown ; *upamāna* is approximate to the *māna* and determines the thing not absolutely (but approximately), *e.g.* when we say 'a *gavaya* is like a cow'.[11] Strictly speaking, a writer on Poetics will not accept the example adduced by Patañjali as an instance of

1 ii. 1. 55, 56 ; viii. 1. 74.

2 ii. 3. 72.

3 i. 4. 79 ; iv. 1. 69 ; vi. 2. 113.

4 viii. 2. 101.

5 ii. 1. 6-7; vi. 2. 11.

6 i. 4. 79 ; ii. 3. 72 ; iii. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45 ; iv. 1. 69, 4. 9 ; v. 1. 115-16, 2. 39, 3. 96, 106, 4. 97, 137.

7 ii. 1. 7, 31, 55-6 ; vi. 2. 11.

8 v. 1. 18 ; vi. 1. 204, 2. 2, 11, 72, 80, 113, 127, 145, 169 etc.

9 on i. 3. 21 ; ii. 1. 55, 2. 24, 4. 71 ; iii. 1. 10 etc.

10 e.g. ii. 16, iv. 18.

11 *Mānaṃ hi nāmānirjñāta-jñānārtham upādīyate'nirjñātam arthaṃ jñāsyāmīti, tat-samīpe yan nātyantāya mimīte tad upamānam, gaur iva gavaya iti*, ed. Kielhorn i, p. 397.

poetic *upamā*,[1] inasmuch as the characteristic charmingness essential in a poetic figure is wanting in such a plain expression; but this grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparison is an early and near approach to the technical conception of Poetics.[2]

(3)

A special interest attaches to these rules of Pāṇini and the dicta of early grammarians, inasmuch as they form the basis of what may be termed the grammatical sub-division of the figure *upamā* into direct (*śrautī*) and indirect (*ārthī*) simile as well similes based on *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes, recognised as early as Udbhaṭa's time. Thus, the authority for the *śrautī upamā*, in which the notion of comparison is conveyed by particles like *yathā*, *iva*, *vā* or by the suffix *vat*, when *vat* is equivalent to *iva*, is supposed to be based on two rules of Pāṇini (v. 1. 115-16), which lay down that the suffix *vat* is applied to the standard of comparison in the locative or genitive case and takes the place of the case-ending and *iva*, as well as to a noun which should otherwise be in the instrumental case in the sense of *tena tulya* (like that), if the similarity consists in an action and not in quality. Thus, we get the forms *mathurāvat* (=*mathurāyām iva*) *pāṭaliputre prākāraḥ*, *caitravat* (=*caitrasya iva*) *maitrasya gāvaḥ*, as well as *brāhmaṇavad* (=*brāhmaṇena tulyam*) *adhīte*, but not *caitravat kṛśaḥ*. In the same way, we have compounded simile like *kumbhāviva stanau*, according to the *vārttika* (*ivena samāso vibhaktyalopaḥ*) on Pāṇini ii. 4. 71, which is, therefore, taken as an instance of compounded direct simile (*samāsagā śrautī upamā*). Similarly, the ending *kyac*, according to Pāṇini iii. 1. 10, is applied to a noun in the objective case, which is expressive of *upamāna*, in the sense of

1 *go-sadṛśo gavayā iti nopamā*, *Citr. mīm.* p. 6.

2 The conception of *upamā* appears to be fully established in

'behaviour' (*ācāra*), and gives us a simile in phrases like *pauraṃ janaṃ sutīyasi*; while the next rule of Pāṇini lays down that the suffix *kyaṅ* may be applied to a noun in the nominative case in the sense of 'behaving like', and this forms the basis of a simile in such expressions as *tava sadā ramaṇīyate śrīḥ.* It is needless to cite more examples, for this will be sufficient to indicate that some of the speculations on poetic speech can be traced back to the early grammatical analysis of the same ideas, and they point to the fact that even in the age of Pāṇini, some of these conceptions appear to have been well established and to have considerably influenced his enquiry. It should be admitted that these tentative sallies of the grammarians are not definite enough to indicate the existence of a system, but even the limited stock of notions, thus indirectly relating to Poetics, throws an interesting light on the genesis of later speculations on poetic speech.

If any deduction is permissible from the name 'Alaṃkāra' (lit. embellishment)[1] given to the discipline as well as from the contents of the earliest existing works on the subject, it will appear that the science started *a posteriori* out of the very practical object of analysing poetic embellishments of speech with a view to prescribe definite rules of composition; but it cannot be doubted that it received a great impetus from the highly developed enquiry into the forms of language made by the grammarians. From internal evidence as well as from the testimony, which admits of little doubt, of some of the ancient authorities on Poetics, it is clear that the theoretical background of the discipline was, to some extent, founded on the philosophical speculations on linguistics, so that Grammar, one of the oldest and soundest sciences of India, was its god-father and helped it towards ready

1 The theory of V. Raghavan (*JOR* ix, pp. 264-67; and *Some Concepts of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra*, Adyar 1942, pp. 258-67) that the original name was Kriyā-kalpa lacks definite proof (see Kane's criticism in *HSP*, pp. 329-31). The name Sāhitya is of course late (Kane, *op. cit.* p. 328-29).

acceptance. Ānandavardhana speaks of his own system as being based on the authority on the grammarians, to whom he pays an elegant tribute as the first and foremost thinkers (*prathame hi vidvāṃso vaiyākaraṇāḥ, vyākaraṇa-mūlatvāt sarva-vidyānām*, p. 47); while Bhāmaha, one of the earliest known formulators of poetic theory, not only devotes one whole chapter to the question of grammatical correctness—a procedure which is followed by Vāmana—but also proclaims openly in vi. 63 the triumph of the views of Pāṇini. Apart from such details as the linguistic analysis of the idea of comparison referred to above, it can be easily shown that some of the fundamental conceptions of poetic theory, relating to speech in general, are avowedly based on the views of the grammarians to the exclusion of other schools of opinion. Thus, the question regarding the convention (*saṃketa*), whereby the expressed meaning of a word (*abhidhā*) is to be understood, is settled by a reference to the views of the grammarians on this point. The grammarians hold, in opposition to the Naiyāyikas, Saugatas and Mīmāṃsakas, that the import of a word is either *jāti*, *dravya*, *kriyā* or *guṇa*, as expressed by the dictum *catuṣṭayī śabdānāṃ pravṛttiḥ*, cited from the *Mahābhāṣya*[1] by Mukula (p. 4) and Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vy*. p. 2). Indeed, the whole analysis of the two functions of word and its sense, called *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*[2], is borrowed from the grammatico-philosophical ideas already elaborated by the grammarians ; and even the new aesthetic system of Ānandavardhana, in establishing the third function of *vyañjanā* attempts to seek an authority for its theory on the analogy of the quasi-grammatical theory of *sphoṭa*, which is associated with the name of the pre-pāṇinian grammarian Sphoṭāyana, and which we find fully developed in the *Vākyapadīya*.

1 *Mahābhāṣya* ed. Kielhorn, p. 19, l. 20. Cf. also *Kumāra-saṃbhava* ii. 17, where this view is clearly mentioned, although Mallinātha would explain the *catuṣṭayī pravṛtti* with reference to the four *vivartas* of Vāc.

2 Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on viii. 1. 12.

(4)

Some of these ideas, again, are more or less recognised in the different philosophical systems, which concern themselves with *śabda* or speech in general, in connexion with the question of scriptural revelation and interpretation. The theory of *sphoṭa*, which, however, has only a far-fetched relation to Poetics, has also its significance in some systems of philosophy; and the idea of manifestation, implied in the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, which consists not in the expression of something new but in the manifestation of something already existing, is not altogether unfamiliar to Indian speculation. A similar train of thought meets us in the Sāṃkhya idea of causation (i.117-18), in which the effect is not produced but is already comprehended in the cause and therefore can only become manifest. We find another analogy in the general idea of the Vedāntin's *mokṣa* or liberation, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest or realised, by the removal of enveloping obstacles.[1] The theory relating to the other two functions of words (*abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*), which play such an important part in poetic speculation, had already engaged the attention, not only of the philosophical grammarians, but also of the philosophers themselves, especially the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṃsakas. The Naiyāyikas, for instance, hold that by denotation (*abhidhā*) of a word, we understand not only the individual (*vyakti*) but also the genus (*jāti*) and the quality (*guṇa*) [2] ; while the Mīmāṃsakas maintain that it signifies primarily *jāti*, and the *vyakti* is understood by implication (*ākṣepa*) through its inseparable con-

1 It is noteworthy that the *Vedānta-sūtra* makes a direct use of the term *rūpaka* in the technical sense (i. 4. 1), upon which Appayya Dīkṣita remarks : *Bhagavatā bādarāyaṇena 'nānumānikam apy ekeṣām iti cen na, śarīra-rūpaka-vinyasta-gṛhīter darśayati ca' iti śārīraka-sūtre rūpakaṃ aṅgīkṛtam* (*Citr. mīm.* p. 54, ed. Kāvyamālā 1907). Cf. also *Vedānta-sūtra* iii. 2. 18.

2 *Nyāya-sūtra* ii. 2. 68.

nexion with *jāti*.[1] The *Nyāya-sūtra*, again, gives an exhaustive list of the relations through which a word may be used in a secondary sense, the idea of secondary sense, variously called *gauṇa*, *bhākta*, *lākṣaṇika* or *aupacārika artha*, having been tacitly admitted in almost all the systems.[2] Indeed, the theories of Poetics on these points are considerably mixed up with the doctrines of the Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā schools ; and even Bhāmaha's early work on Poetics devotes a considerable space to the discussion of the logic of poetry and the expressive functions of words.

We shall note in its proper place the influence of the Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and Vedānta doctrines on the poetic theory of Rasa ; but it may be pointed out here that the conception of *upamā* (here termed *upamāna*), by which is implied the general idea of analogy or comparison, plays an important part in the different philosophical systems in the discussion of the nature and criterion of knowledge. The *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, for instance, treats of three *pramāṇas* (v. 10, 14), viz., perception, (*dṛṣṭa* or *pratyakṣa*), inference (*liṅga* or *anumāna*) and analogy (*upamā* or *upamāna*). Kanāda and Kapila, no doubt, reject analogy as an independent and authoritative evidence, but the Naiyāyikas admit it, the purpose served by it being, in their opinion, the perception of a likeness in an object not perceived before. Vātsyāyana, commenting on i. 1. 3, defines it in terms almost similar to those used in the already quoted passage from the *Mahābhāṣya*[3] as *sāmīpya-mānam upamānam*. According to the Naiyāyikas, therefore, the object attained by analogy or *upamāna* consists in the recognition of the connexion between the appellation and the thing designated by it, and thus it forms the very foundation of expression. The idea of

1 *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* i. 3. 33ff.

2 *Vedānta-sūtra* ii. 3. 16, iii. 1. 7 ; *Nyāya-sūtra* ii. 2. 64, also i. 2. 11, 14, 15 ; *Sāṃkhya-sūtra* v. 67 etc.

3 P. 5, fn 11 above.

atideśa-vākya reappears as the means of analogical cognition, *i.e.*, as a helper of the actual perception of similarity between the well-known and the novel object at the first sight of the latter. The co-operation of the *upamāna* is also maintained to be essential in syllogistic reasoning, where it appears in the form of the syllogistic factor, called *upanaya* (i. 1. 32) or statement of the minor premise. A relic of this idea of *upamāna* survives in Poetics in the treatment of Bhoja (*Sk* iii.50), who distinguishes the figure *upamā* from the figure *upamāna*, although this view finds no supporter except Appayya Dīkṣita, who adopts *upamāna* as a separate poetic figure.[1] It is needless to dilate more on this point ; but the idea of *upamāna*, together with that of *atideśa*, is similarly dealt with by the Mīmāṃsakas. They, however, consider that the *upamāna* refers to an object, already familiar to us, as being similar to another object which is seen for the first time ; or in the words of Upavarṣa quoted by Śabarasvāmin, the *upamāna* or analogy, being similarity, produces an idea respecting an object that is not present, just as the sight of a *gavaya* revives the memory of a cow.[2]

(5)

Although these speculations have an indirect bearing on Poetics and might have suggested and helped to develop some of its fundamental theories, they cannot be taken as a definite basis of any deductions as to the antiquity of the discipline itself. It is striking indeed that we have no direct or indirect reference to Poetics as a Śāstra in early texts, although at the end of the 9th century Rājaśekhara speaks of a tradition which makes it the seventh *aṅga*. Poetics is omitted in the

1 *Kuvalay*. ed. N. S. P. 1913 p. 174. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa takes it as included in the figure *upamā* itself, and Vāmana appears to deal with one of its varieties (viz. *ananubhūta-viṣaya*) as an instance of what he calls *tattvākhyānopamā* or descriptive simile (iv. 2. 7).

2 *upamānam api sādṛśyam a-sannikṛṣṭe'rthe buddhim utpādayati, yathā gavaya-darśanaṃ go-smaraṇam*, on i. 1. 15.

enumeration of the different branches of study in the well-known passage in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1. 2. 4, ed. Böhtlingk). Āpastamba (ii. 4, 11), speaks of the usual six *aṅgas*, but Yājñavalkya (i. 3) enumerates in all fourteen Śāstras, to which the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* adds four more. But in them Poetics is not mentioned at all. In a similar list in the *Lalita-vistara*[1], there is a reference to *kāvya-karaṇa-grantha* and *nāṭya*, which may be taken to imply Poetics and Dramaturgy respectively ; but the designation 'Alaṃkāra' is not met with until we come to *Śukra-nīti* which includes it, in company with Artha-Śāstra, Kāma-śāstra and Śilpa-śāstra, among thirty-two different Śāstras. It has been pointed out by Rhys Davids[2] that in the old Pāli texts, *Aṅguttara* (i. 72, iii. 107) and *Saṃyukta* (i. 38, ii, 267), there are references to a similar study. These passages are interesting historically as being opposed to the science, but they do not expressly or by implication mention it as Alaṃkāra-śāstra.[3]

It seems likely, therefore, that Poetics as a technical discipline must have been of comparatively late origin, and probably began to develop in the first few centuries of the Christian era.[4] With the flourishing of Sanskrit learning and literature in the 4th and 5th centuries under the Gupta emperors, its development probably proceeded apace.

1 Ed. Lefmann i, p. 156.

2 In a letter to the present writer dated 24. 2. 1921. Cf. Wijesekera in *IHQ*, xvii, pp. 196f.

3 In Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* there is a chapter devoted to the procedure of writing *śāsanas*, where mention is made of *artha-krama, paripūrṇatā, mādhurya, audārya,* and *spaṣṭatva* as excellences which should be attained. These may correspond to the Guṇas defined in earlier Alaṃkāra-works, but perhaps they represent the common-sense view of the matter.

4 Patañjali refers to a large number of poetical works (ed. Kielhorn i, 283, 340, 426, 444; ii 34, 102, 119, 167, 313, 315; iii 143, 338 etc.), which fact apparently indicates a considerable poetical activity in his age, preluding a systematic investigation of poetic principles ; but there is no reference to Alaṃkāra literature in his time.

Bühler's epigraphical researches[1] have confirmed the indication, first given by Lassen, regarding the development of Sanskrit *kāvya*-style in this period, and it may be taken as the prelude to a rhetorical activity which bore rich fruit in the 8th and 9th centuries in systematic investigations of poetic principles. His examination of the early inscriptions not only proves the existence of a body of highly elaborate prose and metrical writings in the *kāvya*-style during the first five centuries A.D., but it also establishes the presumption that most of these *praśasti*-writers were "acquainted with the rules of Indian poetics".[2] Bühler attempts to show that the manner in which these writers conform to the rules of Alaṃkāra, crystallised in the oldest available manuals like those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, would go to indicate "the existence of an Alaṃkāra-śāstra or some theory of poetic art".[3]

From this period of the time, we get more or less definite indications of the existence of doctrines of Poetics in the Kāvya-literature itself. In the two earlier Epics, no doubt, some of the more general terms of Alaṃkāra (like *upamā*, *kāvya*, *nāṭaka*, *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) are used, but no chronological conclusion is safe from the admittedly composite character of the present-day texts. But in the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa, as Cowell notes, we have the use of common

1 *Die Indischen Inschriften*, trans. *IA* xiii, 1913, pp. 29f.

2 *Ibid*, p. 146.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 243. This conclusion is, to some extent, supported by a passage in the Girnar inscription itself (2nd century A. D.), which contains a reference to "prose and verse embellished (with poetic figures) and rendered attractive by poetic conventions and expressions which are clear, light, pleasing, varied and charming" (*sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayodārālaṃkṛta-gadya-padya*), *EI* viii, p. 44. The Sphuṭa, Madhura, Kānta and Citra qualities may correspond to Prasāda, Mādhurya, Kānti and other excellences discussed, e.g. by Daṇḍin. The inscription itself is written in prose having long compounds, and contains alliteration, repetition of sounds and other tricks in the approved style.

poetic figures like *upamā*, *utprekṣā* and *rūpaka*, as well as of elaborate ones like *yathā-saṃkhya* and *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* in an ingenious way, which presumably betrays an acquaintance with the teachings of Poetics.[1] The very first verse uses the word *upamā* in a somewhat technical sense, and we have also in iii. 51 the use of the term *rasāntara* to indicate a counter-emotion which cancels an already prevailing one. Aśvaghoṣa uses the terms *hāva* and *bhāva* (iv. 12) in the sense they have in dramaturgic Rasa-systems. Cowell, therefore, is justified in remarking that a peculiar interest attaches to such poems "from their importance in establishing Prof. Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric—*kāvya* and *alaṃkāra* —in the early centuries of our era." This remark applies with greater force to the works of Kālidāsa, which appear with all the polish and perfection imparted to them by a trained and careful artist. To the later theorists they supply an inexhaustible store-house of quotations for the illustration of different poetic figures, expressions and principles. This conscious employment of varied and elaborate poetic figures and general observance of poetic rules in these early Kāvya-poets are not without their significance, and we may reasonably presume from them a general diffusion of the knowledge of Poetics in this age.

The same tendency towards artificial or factitious composition is shown also in the prose romances of Subandhu and Bāṇa, Subandhu prides himself on his skill in the use of *śleṣa* in every letter of his composition,[2] and his *Vāsavadattā* justifies this boast as a *tour de force* of extraordinary verbal jugglery. In the work itself Subandhu speaks of

1 E. H. Johnston in his revised ed. of the work (Punjab Univ. Publication, Calcutta 1936) appears to agree with this view (Pt. ii, Introd. p. lxxxix f).

2 *pratyakṣara-śleṣamaya-prapañca-vinyāsa-vaidagdhya-nidhiṃ prabandham / sarasvatī-datta-vara-prasādaś cakre subandhuḥ sujanaika-bandhuḥ*, ed. Srirangam, 1906, p. 357-8.

poetic compositions adorned with poetic figures like *śleṣa*, divided into *ucchvāsas*,[1] and displaying skill in the employment of *vaktra* metre. He specifies also two important poetic figures, viz., *utprekṣā* and *ākṣepa*.[2] Equally definite is Bāṇa's references to rhetoric in his mention, in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*, of the poetic figures *upamā*, *jāti* (=*svabhāvokti*), *dīpaka* and *śleṣa* as well as of poetic *rasa* and *śayyā*. Bāṇa also refers to verbal puzzles, such as *akṣara-cyuta*, *bindumatī*, *gūḍha-caturthapāda* and *prahelikā*,[3] and he seems to be aware of the Ālaṃkārika distinction between *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*.[4] In *Harṣa-carita* iii, para 5, Bāṇa refers to *Bharata-mārga-bhajana-gītam*, and in ii. 4 speaks of actors acting in the Ārabhaṭi Vṛtti (discussed by Bharata xx. 54 f),

(6)

From all these indications the inference is not improbable that with the growth of a body of highly finished prose and poetical literature, the science of Poetics or at least the

1 Cf. Bhāmaha i. 25-26; Daṇḍin i. 26-27.

2 *satkavi-kāvya-racanām ivālaṃkāra-prasādhitām*, p. 303; *dīrghocchvāsa-racanākulaṃ su-śleṣa-vaktra-ghaṭanā-paṭu sat-kāvya-viracanam iva*, pp. 238-39; *utprekṣākṣepau kāvyālaṃkāreṣu* p. 146. The reading of the first of these passages in the Calcutta edition is *bauddhasaṃgatim ivālaṃkāra-bhūṣitām*, and the commentary of Śivarāma (18th century) explains it as *alaṃkāro nāma dharmakīrti-kṛto grantha-viśeṣaḥ*. No work of Dharmakīrti's called *Bauddhasaṃgatyalaṃkāra* has yet been found. Undue reliance need not be placed on an unauthenticated statement of a very late commentator; and Lévi is probably correct in denying that Subandhu makes any allusion to Dharmakīrti's literary activity (*Bulletin de l' École d'Extrême Orient* 1903, p. 18).

3 ed. Peterson, p. 7. Subandhu (p. 146) refers to Śṛṅkhalā-bandha.

4 *Ibid*, p. 7 and *Harṣa-c.* p. 7. —On the meaning of the word Alaṃkāra see J. Gonda in *Volume of Eastern and Ind. Studies* presented to F. W. Thomas (Bombay 1939) pp. 97-114; but this has hardly any direct connexion with the meaning it bears in Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature. A similar attempt is made by A. B. Keith in *Commemorative Essays* presented to K. B. Pathak (Poona BORS, 1934), pp. 311-14.

investigation of rhetorical rules made considerable progress by the end of the sixth century A. D. The earliest known writers on Poetics, who lived somewhat later, themselves refer to still earlier authorities. Thus, Bhāmaha speaks of Medhāvin and others, whom he cites and whose work he avowedly utilises. Similarly Daṇḍin refers to earlier writings, and one of his commentators mentions in this connexion two theorists before Daṇḍin, viz. Kāśyapa and Vararuci, who are otherwise unknown to us as writers on Alaṃkāra. Apart from this fact of their own citation of earlier views, it cannot also be maintained with any cogency that the relatively developed style and treatment of even these early writers on Poetics could have been evolved by themselves in the absence of earlier tentative works, the existence of which may be presumed, for instance, by the employment by these writers, of certain technical words and formulas (e.g. *vakrokti*, *rīti*, *guṇa* etc) without a previous explanation.

As a cognate branch of study, however, which probably supplied Poetics with a model and the poetic theory with the important content of Rasa, Dramaturgy (Nāṭya-śāstra) appears to have established itself a little earlier. Compartively early texts, both brahmanical and buddhistic, speak of some kind of dramatic representation; and we have a very early reference in Pāṇini to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin as authors of *naṭa-sūtras* (iv. 3. 110-11).[1] The early existence of treatises on the dramatic art is also evidenced by the fact that all the early authors on Poetics, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, omit a discussion of this subject and refer their readers for information to such specialised works. The older specimens of these are perhaps lost ; but Bharata's *Nāṭya-śastra*, which is cited as the oldest known and most authoritative, cannot possibly be put, even in its present version, at a date lower

1 It is interesting to note that both Amara and Śāśvata in their lexicons do not explain the technical terms of Alaṃkāra, although they have distinct references to dramaturgic technicalities and to Rasa.

than the 6th century A. D. Bharata himself, however, devotes a whole chapter to the treatment of poetical *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* as decorative devices of dramatic speech. It seems, therefore, that the study of Alaṃkāra was older than Bharata ; and the tradition of opinion, followed by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, may have been post-Bharata in date, but was probably pre-Bharata in substance. Indeed, the different schools of opinion, represented by the *alaṃkāra- rīti-* and *dhvani*-theories, probably flourished some centuries before their views became crytallised in the present works of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra respectively, none of whom, as we shall see, can be taken as the absolute founder of the system he represents. This process of crystallisation must have covered a tentative stage whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra in the making. We cannot, therefore, start with the works of these writers as the absolute beginnings of the science, although with them we enter upon the historic and most creative stage of its existence. Taking this fact into consideration, we may presume without dogmatising that the Alaṃkāra-śāstra started as a separate technical discipline from about the commencement of the Christian era and probably flourished in a relatively developed form in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. The course of this development is unfortunately hidden from us, until it emerges in a more or less self-conscious form in some chapters of Bharata and in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Bhāmaha.

CHAPTER II

BHARATA

(1)

Although Indian tradition glorifies Bharata, the reputed author of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, with the title of *muni* and places him in a mythic age, the widest possible divergence of opinion exists among scholars as to his actual date ; and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[1] That he is the oldest writer on dramaturgy, music and kindred subjects, whose work has survived, is generally admitted ; but at the same time the question arises as to how far the extant version of his work represents his original text. Abhinavagupta in the second introductory verse of his commentary on Bharata informs us that Bharata's text, as known to him, consisted of thirty-six chapters (*ṣaṭtriṃśakaṃ bharata-sūtram idam*) ; and he is aware of two recensions (*dvividhaḥ pāṭho dṛśyate* on ch. xv) of some chapters. A comparison of the different printed editions mentioned in our Bibliography below, as well as available MSS, would go to show that they do not agree about the number and sequence of chapters, nor about the number of verses in each chapter. The text is, thus, very uncertain and unsatisfactory,[2]

1 Regnaud in *Annales du Mus. Guimet* ii p. 66, also introd. to Grosset's ed. ; Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, pp. 763f; P. R. Bhandarkar in *IA* xli, pp. 157f ; H. P. Sastri in *JASB*, v. p. 352f, and *Cat. Sansk. MSS ASB*, vi 1931, p. clxxviii ; S. Lévi in *IA* xxxiii, p. 63 ; Sten Konow in *Ind. Drama* p. 2 ; P. V. Kane in *IA*, xlvi (1917), pp. 171 83, and *HSP* pp. 39f ; Manomohan Ghosh in *JDL* xxv, 1934, pp. 59.

2 For instance, Deccan College MS no. 68 (or 69) of 1873-74 contains 38 chapters.—For some of these discrepancies see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 10-14. It should be noted that neither the printed text nor any MS contains the full text of Abhinava's commentary. Abhinavagupta in many places refers to the views of others with *kecit* or *anye*, and discusses various readings (pp. 50, 93, 96, 226, 241, 269, 340 etc).

It is clear from these indications that it had been subjected to considerable rehandlings in later times before it assumed its present shape, and this fact has an important bearing on the date of the supposed author.

There are several passages in the present-day text which probably throw some light on this process of gradual interpolation and recasting. The curious colophon at the end in the Kāvyamālā edition, which appears to have puzzled its editor, designates the latter portion of the work as *Nandi-bharata*.[1] Rice mentions[2] a work called *Nandi-bharata* on music ; while a chapter, apparently from a work on dramatic gesture, is referred to as *nandibharatokta saṃkara-hastādhyāya* in a manuscript of a treatise on music and Abhinaya, noticed in *Madras Catalogue* xii, no. 13009. These works, probably late compilations, are named after Nandi or Nandikeśvara, whom tradition acknowledges as an ancient authority on music, erotics and histrionic art. A Nandin is quoted by Vātsyāyana (i.1. 8). Aufrecht is inclined to identify him with Nandikeśvara cited as a writer on Erotics in the *Pañca-sāyaka* i. 13 and *Rati-rahasya* i. 5.[3] Nānyadeva mentions him as Nandin. Again, a work on histrionic art, attributed to Nandikeśvara, is known as *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* [4] ; as this work refers to Bharata and his views several times (e.g. st. 12, 128, 149, 159, 162) it must be a later compilation. Rājaśekhara, as we have seen above, mentions Nandikeśvara as a writer on Rasa. But Nandikeśvara is better known as an authority on music and is cited as one of his sources by Śārṅgadeva (13th century) in his *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (i. 1. 17) and by his commentator Kallinātha (p.47). Besides the references given

1 *samāptaś cāyaṃ [granthaḥ] nandibharata-saṃgīta-pustakam.*

2 *Mysore and Coorg Catalogue*, p. 292.

3 *Pañca-sāyaka*, ed. Sadananda Sastri Ghiladia, Lahore, 1921; *Rati-rahasya*, ed. *ibid* Lahore, no date. See Schmidt, *Ind. Erotik*, 1911, pp. 46, 59.

4 Ed. Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1934 (about 330 verses) ; trs. A. Coomaraswamy and G. K. Duggirala, Cambridge Mass. 1917.

above, works on music attributed to Nandikeśvara are: *Nandikeśvara-mate Tālādhyāya* (Weber 1729), and *Bharatārṇava*[1] supposed to be a condensed version of Nandikeśvara's work by Sumati, dealing with dramatic gestures and Tāla. A *Nāṭyārṇava* of Nandikeśvara is cited in Allarāja's *Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā.* Abhinavagupta (comm. on Bharata, ed. GOS, ch.xxix) says that he had not himself seen (*sākṣān na dṛṣṭam*) Nandikeśvara's work, but relying on Kīrtidhara (*yat tu kīrti-dhareṇa darśitam......tat-pratyayāt*) he would briefly refer to Nandikeśvara-mata. But he knows (p. 171) a work called Nandi-mata from which he quotes a verse on the Aṅgahāra called *recita* or *recaka* Elewhere he tells us that by Nandi-mata is understood the views of Taṇḍu ; for the names, Nandi and Taṇḍu are, in his opinion, identical. The designation, therefore, of the latter part of Bharata's text, a part of which deals, among other things, with music probably implies that it was compiled or recast at some later period in accordance with the views of Nandikeśvara.

Similarly, we hear of a work called *Mataṅga-bharata*[2] (of uncertain date) by Lakṣmaṇa Bhāskara, which apparently sets forth the views of Mataṅga. This is another old authority cited by Abhinavagupta (as Mataṅga-muni) who quotes (ch. xxx) two of his Anuṣṭubh verses ; by Śarṅgadeva and his conementator (on i. 3. 24-25 ; i. 4. 9 ; i. 8. 19 etc.); by Siṅgabhūpāla (i. 51) ; and by Aruṇācalanātha on *Raghu* (p. 100) with *tathā ca mātaṅge.* A work called *Bṛhad-deśī* ascribed to Mataṅga has been published[3].

1 In *Catalogue* of *MSS, BORI*, xii, pp. 460-63 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 13006-08.

2 The term *bharata* appears in course of time to mean the dramatic or histrionic art generally, as it also came to mean the actor.— Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* expressly refers to Ādi-bharata by whom he might have meant our author, in contradistinction to these later Bharatas. On this question see S. K. De, The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata in *Our Heritage* i, pp. 193-207 (reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 156-76).

3 In Trivandrum Skt. Ser. 1928.

The last chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, to which the colophon mentioned above is appended, contains a prediction that the rest of the topic will be treated in detail by Kohala[1] (who apparently belonged to the same school),[2] plainly shewing that the rewriting of the portion in question was done some time after Kohala, as well as Nandikeśvara, had spoken on the subject. Nandikeśvara's date is unknown ; but Kohala, side by side with Bharata, is recognised as an ancient authority as early as the end of the 8th century A.D. in Dāmodara-gupta's *Kuṭṭanī-mata* (*śl.* 81). It is interesting to note in this connexion that Abhinavagupta, commenting on Bharata vi. 10, says that although Nāṭya is usually said to consist of five *aṅgas*, the enumeration of eleven *aṅgas* in the text is in accordance with the view of Kohala and others,[3] to whose opinions the commentator makes many other incidental references mostly on the topics of Nāṭya and Geya.[4] Kohala is cited also by Maṇikya-candra (p. 65) on Mammaṭa, by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 15), by Śāradātanaya who frequently quotes his views (pp. 204, 210, 236, 245, 251), by the authors of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* pp. 25, 38, 132), while Śiṅgabhūpāla (i. 51) acknowledges him as an authority on drama and allied arts. Hemacandra, with reference to the classification of the drama, says (p. 329 ; also p. 325): *prapañcas tu bharata-kohalādi-śāstrebhyo'-vagantavyaḥ.* Kohala is credited by most writers on Dramaturgy with the introduction of Uparūpaka. Mallinātha on *Kumāra* vii. 91 quotes Kohala on the subject of Tāla. A work on music called *Tāla-lakṣaṇa*, probably a late compila-

1 *Śeṣaṃ prastāra-tantreṇa kohalaḥ kathayiṣyati*, xxxvii. 18.

2 See xxxvii. 24.

3 *Abhinaya-trayaṃ gītātodye ceti pañcāṅgaṃ nāṭyam........ anena tu ślokena kohalādi matenaikādaśāṅgatvam ucyate* (on vi. 10).

4 For references see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, p. 24, 54-55. See also his Fragments of Kohala in *Proc. A-I.O.C.* (Patna), 1930, pp. 577-80.—Abhinavagupta, however, holds that the entire text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* as known to him was composed by Bharata himself.

tion, is attributed to him,[1] and a *Kohalīya Abhinaya-śāstra,*[2] purporting to embody his views, is also known. A work, called *Kohala-rahasya*[3] in at least thirteen chapters, dealing with musical modes, is ascribed to the sage Kohala (described as son of Bharata) who reveals the subject on being requested by Mataṅga. The description that he was son of Bharata is perhaps due to the indication[4] in *Nāṭya-śāstra* i. 26 (ed. Chowkhamba 1929, ed. GOS, Baroda 1956; but not included in the NSP ed. 1894) that Kohala, along with Śāṇḍilya, Dhūrtila and others, are spoken of as sons of Bharata. Since Abhinavagupta says (*Abh. bh.* p. 25) that Kohala describes the verse *jitam uḍupatinā* from *Ratnāvalī* (i. 5) as an example of Nāndī in accordance with the rules of Bharata, P. V. Kane is of opinion that Kohala was later than *Ratnāvalī*, *i.e.* than 650 A.D. But this conclusion cannot be very well reconciled with the fact that Bharata and Kohala are already recognised as *ancient* authorities in the 8th century A.D. From Abhinavagupta's references and citations Kohala's lost work appears to have been mostly in verse.

A work on music, entitled *Dattila-kohalīya*, is mentioned by Burnell (p. 606), apparently a compendium of the opinions of Kohala and Dattila. The latter, whose name occurs variously as Dantila and Dhūrtila, is mentioned by Dāmodaragupta (*śl.* 123) and is cited as an old authority by Abhinavagupta (as Dattilācārya, chiefly on music) who quotes (on Bharata xxviii, also p. 205) a verse of his in Anuṣṭubh; by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 16) and his commentator Kallinātha (p. 49);

1 *IOC* 3025, 3089; *Madras Cat.* with a Telugu comm. 12992.

2 *Madras Cat.* 12989, with a Telugu comm.

3 *Madras Trm.* I, C, 787 (the 13th chapter only).

4 The editions (GOS) of M. R. Kavi, and Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. include this verse (i. 26), but they note that it does not occur in the MSS consulted. It is, however, commented upon by Abhinavagupta (p. 18)—Kohala's views are referred to by him p. 25, 103, 173, 182, 266 etc.

by Siṅgabhūpāla (i. 51), as well as in various works on music. A work called *Dattila* on music is also published.[1]

In the same way Śāṇḍilya is mentioned as Nāṭya-śāstra-kāra by Śingabhūpāla (i. 51). Kāśyapa or Kaśyapa as a *muni* who preceded Bharata and his opinion on Rāgas are cited by Abhinavagupta (on xxix, p. 394), as well as by Nānyadeva[2]. Śātakarṇi is cited as a writer on dramaturgy by Sāgaranandin (on Sūtradhāra, l. 1101). Viśākhila is also cited as an authority on Kalā-śāstra by Vāmana (i. 3. 7), by Abhinavagupta (on xxviii, xxix. 31-33) and by Nānyadeva as an authority on music. Parāśara or Pārāśara, mentioned by Rājaśekhara, is also cited as a Bharata-putra in *Nāṭya-śāstra* (i. 32) ; his views on Nāndī and Toṭaka are quoted by Sāgara-nandin (ll. 1091, 2770 3202-3). Similarly, another Bharata-putra is Nakhakuṭṭa, who is also cited by Sāgaranandin (ll. 2668, 2994). Even the mythical Nārada is regarded as pro-pounder of Gāndarva-veda ; and the *Bhāva-prakāśana* says that Nārada taught Bharata the subject of evolution of Rasa, having learnt it from Brahmā himself.

From these indications it is likely that between Bharata's original text and its existing version, there came "Kohala and others" whose views found their way into the compendium, which goes by the name of Bharata and which indiscriminat-ing posterity took as genuine and unquestionable. The text-problem of the *Nāṭya-śāstra,* therefore, cannot be solved until the works of Kohala and other early writers, some of which appear to have been available to Abhinavagupta, are recovered.

The process of incorporation must have occurred very early and was apparently complete by the end of the 8th century, when the work assumed more or less its present shape. Udbhaṭa, about this time, actually appropriated

1 In Trivandrum Skt. Series, 1930.

2 On Kāśyapa see below under Daṇḍin. Abhinavagupta's reference to Kāśyapācārya at p. 239 shows that his work was, at least partly, in verse.

(iv. 4) the first-half of the verse vi. 15 of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and makes only enough verbal change in its second half to admit Śānta as the ninth Rasa in the category of eight recognised by Bharata.[1] Abhinavagupta, who commented on the existing text at the end of the 10th century, himself mentions several other previous commentators, of whom Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka in all probability belonged to the 8th and 9th centuries. These indications will make it clear at any rate that the text existed in its present form in the 8th century A.D., if not earlier.

(2)

We have, on the other hand, the tradition as well as the statement of Bhavabhūti, who refers to the mythical Bharata as the *tauryatrika-sūtra-kāra*[2], that Bharata's work existed originally in the *sūtra*-form ; and this is also made likely by Pāṇini's early reference to such *naṭa-sūtras* in his own time. Reminiscences of the *sūtra*-style may indeed be presumed in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* vi and vii, which deal with *rasa* and *bhāva* ;

1 It should be noted that Abhinavagupta immediately after the passage cited (see p. 21, fn 3 above) goes on to say: *anena tu ślokena kohalādi-matenaikādaśāṅgatvaṃ ucyate, na tu bharate, tatsaṃgṛhītasyāpi punar atroddeśāt, nirdeśe caitat krama-vyatyāsanād ity udbhaṭaḥ neti bhaṭṭa lollaṭaḥ ......vayaṃ tvatra tattvam agre vitaniṣyāma ity āstāṃ tāvat* (on Bh. vi. 10). This difference of opinion between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa on a question of textual interpretation supports the conclusion that Udbhaṭa was probably familiar with the text of Bharata as Abhinava knew it and as it has come down to us. The tradition is recorded by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 19) that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata. Abhinava himself refers to Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as principal commentators whose views on Rasa he thought worth refuting in detail. Śārṅgadeva omits from his list Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka but adds Udbhaṭa. as well as Kīrtidhara who is earlier than Abhinava having been cited by him (see above p. 20). For other reputed commentators on Bharata see below.

2 *Uttara-carita, ad* iv. 22 (ed N. S. P. 1906., p. 120). Abhinavagupta in his commentary refers to Bharata's work as a Sūtra-work.

for in ch. vi we find a dictum[1] on the genesis of Rasa, put in concise form of a *sūtra*, to the elucidation of which, after the manner of a *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti*, the rest of the chapter (written in prose with verse-quotations) is apparently devoted. It should also be noticed that a preliminary explanation is added at commencement of the chapter to reconcile this curious portion of the text with the rest of the work. Bharata, we are told, being requested by the sages, explains the characteristics of a *saṃgraha*, *kārikā*. and *nirukta*, and incidentally gives an illustration of a *sūtra-grantha* by putting a part of the text in that form. This discussion of the nature of a *saṃgraha*, *kārikā*, *nirukta* and *sūtra* would not have been relevant to the subject in hand but for this somewhat flimsy explanation, which, however, affords a device, far-fetched as it is, to introduce into the *kārikā*-text some vestiges of the older *sūtra*-form. It is not maintained that a *sūtra*-text is necessarily older than a text in the *kārikā*-form ; for in our *sūtra*-text itself there are quotations in the *vṛtti* of *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya ślokas*[2], betokening the existence of earlier teachings on the subject, and disproving at the same time the orthodox belief that Bharata was the earliest teacher of the Nāṭya-veda. But if the tradition that Bharata's original work was composed in the *sūtra*-form be accepted, then this portion of the existing version may be presumed to have been a survival of the original form. Similar fragments of the *sūtra-bhāṣya* style

1 *tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*, ed. Grosset p. 87, l. 8 ; ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62, l. 6. This dictum is cited as a *Sūtra* by all later writers, including Abhinavagupta and presumably his predecessors Lollaṭa and others. For other instances of the Sūtra-bhāṣya style in the work see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 15-16.—The references to the text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* here are generally to the Kāvyamālā ed.

2 The *anubaddha* verses, apparently of earlier writers, are those related to the subject in hand. By *anuvaṃśya* verses (verses of this kind occur also in the *Mahābhārata*) are meant, according to Abhinavagupta, those handed down traditionally from teacher to pupil (*anuvaṃśa-bhavaṃ śiṣyācārya-paramparāsu vartamānam*) vi, p. 25-26.

are seen in ch. xxviii-xxxi in such passages as beginning with *ātodya-vidhim idānīṃ vakṣyāmaḥ* (xxviii. 1); also in xxxiii. 212 *vādya-vidhānaṃ vakṣyāmi*; in xxiv. 93 *atra sūtra-dhāra-guṇān vakṣyāmaḥ* etc.

If we get the lower limit to the date of Bharata's work at 8th century A.D., the other limit is very difficult to settle, when we consider that there were apparently two versions, either independent or one based on the other. But it is not clear what weight should be placed on the testimony of Bhavabhūti; for if in the first quarter of the 8th century Bharata was known to him as a *sūtra-kāra*, it is not intelligible how at the end of the same century Udbhaṭa makes use of Bharata's *kārika*, and Lollaṭa and others, immediately following, apparently comment on the same text. The short space of less than half a century is not enough to obliterate all signs of the older version and replace it entirely with a new *kārikā*-text which, to all intents and purposes, is taken as the only authoritative version in later times, and in which, strangely enough, we find still lingering traces of the earlier *sūtra*-text. The only possible explanation of Bhavabhūti's reference is that the historical Bharata, who was the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts of dancing, singing and instrumental music, had already in Bhavabhūti's time become identified with the mythical Bharata; for the passage in the *Uttara-carita* gives an obviously mythical account, through the mouth of Lava, that *bhagavān* Vālmīki, having composed his story of Rāma, gave it to *bhagavān* Bharata (the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts and apparently the *nāṭyācārya* of the gods) who revised it and got it acted through celestial nymphs.

But this does not exhaust all our textual difficulties. Independent prose-passages also survive, in the midst of *kārikās*, in chs. xvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi and xxxiv which, forming an integral part of the text, cannot be taken as mere *vṛtti*, but which resemble, in some respects, the prose Smṛti-fragments or more closely, the prose-fragments in the apocryphal *Bhela-saṃhitā*. Again, the *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya*

ślokas, referred to above, correspond to the *parikara-* or *saṃgraha-ślokas* in later writings, and certainly indicate the probability of earlier speculations on the subject. These verses are generally taken from two distinct sources ; for some of them are in *āryā*, while others are in *anuṣṭubh* metre. On the Āryā-verses Abhinava remarks (on vi. 85, p. 328) ; *tā etā hy āryā eka-praghaṭṭakatayā pūrvācāryar lakṣaṇatvena paṭhitāḥ, muninā tu sukha-saṃgrahāya yathā-sthānaṃ viniveśitāḥ*. In his opinion former teachers composed these Āryās and Bharata inserted them in proper places.

From the facts adduced above, we are confronted with the problem of the inter-relation of these apparent survivals in our text, which contains vestiges of (1) independent prose-fragments (2) *anuvaṃśya ślokas* in *āryā* and *anuṣṭubh* metres and (3) passages in *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, as well as (4) the present systematic *kārikās*. Space is too limited to dilate upon the question here, but an examination of these passages will reveal that these different styles do not possibly belong to the same period, but they probably indicate several stages in the growth of particular *forms* of composition of dramaturgic works in general, each stage betraying its own partiality towards a particular form. Taking the present *kārikā*-text as the starting point, we find in it traces of earlier passages in *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, of which it is presumably a recast. In the *sūtra-bhāṣya*, again, there are fragments of metrical passages which indicate, in their turn, another and still earlier *kārikā*-stage ; while the independent prose-fragments perhaps represent the earliest form taken by such technical treatises. We can, therefore, distinguish in their order of development (1) a stage of prose-treatises (2) a tentative period of *kārikā*-writing (3) the *sūtra-bhāṣya* stage and (4) the final period of compilation of compendiums, which reverts again to the *kārikā*-form.[1] This

1 This conclusion does not apply to the more or less imitative periods after the 10th century in which we find the *kārikā-* and the *sūtra*-style, existing almost side by side.

conclusion perhaps finds some support in the repetition, more or less, of a similar phenomenon in the sphere of the Dharma-śāstra, Artha-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra and probably Kāma-śāstra. The loss of earlier treatises makes it difficult to dogmatise ; but if this conclusion is correct generally, then our text may be supposed to contain remnants of all these styles and forms. It is not argued here that Bharata's work itself passed through all these stages or forms, from a rudimentary prose-version into a systematic metrical manual[1] ; but our text contains enough to betray the existence of previous speculations in prose and in verse, as well as indicate the fact that it might have itself been once written in the *sūtra-bhāṣya* form, which was recast, with considerable additions from other sources, into a convenient metrical compendium.

(3)

Taking the substance of the work, apart from the vexing question of different versions, the portion of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which deals principally with music, has been conjectured[2] on internal evidence to have been compiled about the 4th century A.D. ; and it appears likely that the other portions were also put into their present shape about the same time. Pischel's argument, however, on the date of the work, derived from the reference to Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlikas (e.g. xxxii. 103, Ch. ed.) in a text of such composite character is of doubtful value in determining the question finally ; but

1 Kane believes it possible (*HSP*, p. 16) that the original nucleus of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* was in mixed prose and verse. He is also of opinion that the first five chapters were comparatively late additions. Abhinavagupta knows Bharata's text as consisting of 36 chapters, although he comments on the 37th ch. of what M. R. Kavi speaks of as the Northern recension (according to Kavi the Southern is the earlier text and consists of 36 chapters).

2 *IA* xii p. 158 f.

it perhaps makes it probable that the upper limit of its date cannot be put too early.

We are in a position, however, to infer that the substance of Bharata's work is probably much older than that of Bhāmaha,[1] who may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhāmaha, in his treatment of poetic figures (*kāvyālaṃkāras*), groups them in a curious but suggestive way, which probably indicates the different periods in the growth and multiplication of such figures.[2] At the outset, he names and defines only five poetic figures (ii. 4) recognised, as he says, by other writers, viz., *anuprāsa, yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upamā*, This represents the first stage; but in course of time, six other figures appear to have been added, and Bhāmaha mentions and deals with them next in ii. 66. Then he goes on to enumerate, two (or three, including *svabhāvokti*) more figures admitted by writers like Medhāvin (ii. 88), who also appears to have dealt with *upamā* etc. (ii. 40). Finally, Bhāmaha defines and illustrates a further long list of twenty-three more figures in a separate chapter (iii. 1-4). The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the progress of speculation is a familiar fact in Alaṃkāra literature; and the way in which Bhāmaha successively enumerates and groups these figures probably shows that to the original five mentioned by him at the outset, others were added in course of time as the study itself advanced. Now Bharata, in his treatment of Alaṃkāras names (xvi. 41) only four such figures known to him, viz., *yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upamā*, These four in reality correspond to the five mentioned by Bhāmaha; for *anuprāsa* may be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka*, the one being *varṇābhyāsa* and the other *padābhyāsa*. At the same time

1 Besides showing himself conversant with some theory of Rasa (ii. 281, 283 f), Daṇḍin mentions the dramaturgic technical terms *saṃdhi, aṅga, vṛtti* and *lakṣaṇa* and refers to *āgamāntara* for their discussion (ii. 366).

2 Cf Jacobi in *Sb. der Preuss, Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 220 f.

the very fact that *anuprāsa* is thus differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in these poetic figures. It is clear, therefore, that Bharata's work belonged to a period when the number of figures had not yet multiplied ; and one, if not more, stages must have intervened between it and Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* in which the number had already swelled into nearly forty in all.[1] To this intermediate stage belonged Medhāvin and others, whom Bhāmaha cites, and the loss of whose work makes it difficult for us to trace the development thus indicated by Bhāmaha.

There are also indications that Bharata's teachings are probably older than Kālidāsa, who generally adheres to Bharata's dramaturgic prescriptions.[2] Kālidāsa refers, in *Vikramorvaśīya* ii. 18, to Bharata as the mythical *nāṭyācārya*. In *Raghu* xix. 36, again, Kālidāsa speaks of *aṅga-sattva-vacanāśraya nṛtya* which, as Mallinātha rightly points out, agrees with Bharata's dictum[3] : *sāmānyābhinayo nāma jñeyo*

1 By the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, Bhaṭṭi illustrates as many as 38 different species of poetic figures, indicating that the process of refinement had proceeded very far indeed even in his time.

2 The discovery of the drāmas, ascribed to Bhāsa, does not invalidate this argument, for it is possible that they follow a tradition or a system of opinion of which all traces are now lost ; and the date of Bhāsa itself is uncertain.

3 The *Amara-kośa* only mentions *āṅgika* and *sāttvika abhinaya*. This lexicon, which is said to have been translated into Chinese about 561-66 A. D. (see Nandargikar's introd. to *Meghadūta*, 1894, p. 73), admits after Bharata the eight Rasas, and explains some of the dramaturgic technicalities, giving three synonyms of the actor (*śāilālin, kṛśāvin and bharata*) from the names of the three well-known teachers of dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers to the formation of the first two terms, but not that of the third ; but this silence of the grammarian does not prove anything. The Jaina *Aṇuogadāra-sutta* (ed. N. S. P. 1915, fol. 134-145, also quoted in Weber ii 2, pp. 701-02) which, Winternitz thinks, was probably put together by the middle of the 5th century, mentions nine Rasas ; and the enu-

vāg-aṅga-sattvajaḥ ; while in *Kumāra* vii. 91 mention is made of *saṃdhis*, as well as of *lalitāṅgahāra* mentioned in *Nāṭya-śāstra* xx. 17 (ed. Chowkhamba xxii. 17).

The lower limit of the date of Bharata's work, therefore, can be provisionally shifted back to the fourth or fifth century A.D., while it is almost certain that it existed in its present shape in the 8th century A.D.[1] The upper limit cannot be put too early, because of the mention of Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and other tribes, and probably does not go beyond the commencement of the Christian era ; but we have already pointed out (p. 28 above) that their mention in a composite text is hardly of a conclusive value. It is difficult to settle the relative age of the *sūtra*- and the *kārikā*-texts ; but if the tendency towards *sūtra-bhāṣya* style may be presumed to have been generally prevalent in the last few centuries B.C., then the presumed *sūtra*-text of Bharata belongs apparently to this period[2]. It was certainly much earlier than the present *kārikā*-text, in which Bharata is already a mythical sage as an expounder of the *nāṭya-veda*.

COMMENTATORS ON BHARATA

No commentatary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śastra* exists today except that of Abhinavagupta. But the names of some reputed

meration is interesting from the inclusion of *praśānta* (not mentioned by Bharata), apparently from religious motives.

1 With this view Kane (*HSP*, p. 19, 22) generally agrees.

2 It will be shewn later that the tradition that Bharata was the author of a *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*, which forms in substance of the *kārikā*-verses of Mammaṭa's *Kav. prak.*, is entirely erroneous, as is also the statement made use of by Lévi that these *kārikās* are abridged from the *Agni-purāṇa*. Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* (959-60 A. D.) refers, indeed, to a *bharata-praṇīta kāvyādhyāya* (Peterson ii. p. 45) which, considering Somadeva's date, could not have alluded to this tradition of Bharata's authorship of Mammaṭa's *kārikās*, but possibly, from the term of reference, to ch. xvi of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which deals with *kāvya-lakṣaṇas*, *kāvyālaṃkāras* *kāvya-guṇas* and *kāvya-doṣas* as embellishments of dramatic speech.

as well as actual commentators on Bharata are known from Abhinavagupta,[1] Śārṅgadeva[2] and other writers. They are:

1. Mātṛguptācārya
2. Udbhaṭa
3. Lollaṭa
4. Śaṅkuka
5. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka
6. Harṣa
7. Kīrtidhara
8. Abhinavagupta
9. Nānyadeva.

We have also the views of several other writers cited by Abhinavagupta.[3] They are: Bhaṭṭa Yantra (on Nāṭya and Nṛtta p. 208), Priyātithi (on Lāsyāṅga), Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Sumanas (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Śaṃkara (Vṛtta-prakaraṇa) and Ghaṇṭaka (on Nāṭikā-bheda). Rāhula or Rāhala (pp. 115, 172, 197 etc), also mentioned by Śārṅgadeva (i.1.17), is quoted several times. As in one of his verses Bharata is named (*bharatenoditam*, Abh.bh. i, p. 72) he must have been, as most of the writers mentioned above, later than Bharata. From his name, as well as from Hemacandra (p. 316), who mentions him as Śākyācārya, he appears to have been a Buddhist teacher, whose view Hemacandra pointedly ignores. It cannot be determined if all these writers composed commentaries on the whole or a part of Bharata's work: but from the references it seems

1 See P. V. Kane, Gleanings from Abhinava-bhāratī in *K. B. Pathak Comm. Vol.* Poona 1934, pp. 385-400; V. Raghavan, Writers quoted in Abhinava-bhāratī in *JOR*, vi, 1932, pp. 149 f, 199 f.

2 Śārṅgadeva mentions: *vyākhyātāro bhāratīye lollaṭodbhaṭa-śaṅkukāḥ / bhaṭṭābhinavaguptaś ca śrīmat-kīrtidharo'paraḥ.* He mentions Rāhula and Mātṛgupta elsewhere as two of his authorities, apparently on music.

3 The references to *Abhinava-bhāratī* by vols. and pages are to M. Ramkrishna Kavi's ed., Baroda 1926. Where the vol. is not indicated by a number but only by page, vol. i is meant.

that most of them wrote generally on music, and some specially on topics of dramaturgy as well.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Abhinava's Guru, and Utpaladeva, his Parama-guru, are frequently quoted in his commentary. Tauta is known as having written a work called *Kāvya-kautuka*, which is now lost ; on this work Abhinava appears to have written a Vivaraṇa (*Locana* p. 178). At the beginning of his commentary Abhinavagupta pays an elegant tribute to Tauta as having expounded to him the *Nāṭya-śastra*, and references[1] to Tauta's view on various topics confirm this. But it need not mean that Tauta actually composed a commentary on Bharata. Utpaladeva, author of *Īśvara-pratya-bhijñā* and other works, is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivaism. He is quoted chiefly in the chapters on music. It is not clear if he wrote a commentary on these chapters or an independent work on music. Similar remarks apply to Śakalīgarbha who is cited once along with Udbhaṭa (see below). Mention is also made of Taṇḍu[2] in *Nāṭya-śāstra* (iv. 17-18) as one who instructed Bharata in the representation of Aṅgahāras together with various *karaṇas* (postures) and *recakas* (gestures). An unknown Ṭīkākāra or Ṭīkākṛt is frequently cited by Abhinava throughout the text.

Mātṛguptācārya

Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā*[3] and Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī*[4] quote Mātṛguptācārya as a writer on Dramaturgy;

1 See Kane in the work cited p. 388; also in his *HSP*, pp. 209-12; V. Raghavan as cited above pp. 153-62. Three metrical lines from Tauta are cited by Abhinava p. 291-92.

2 With regard to Taṇḍu cited on p. 90 (vol. i) we are told that Nandi is another name for Taṇḍu, as the word Muni designates Bharata (*taṇḍu-muni-śabdau nandi-bharatayor apara-nāmanī*). Hence Nandi-mata (cited on p. 171). in Abhinava's opinion, stands for the views of Taṇḍu. See above p. 20.

3 Ed. NSP, 1922, pp. 5, 6, 7 (on Rasa), 8 (definition of Nāṭaka), 13 (Vithyaṅga), 15 (languages to be employed by various characters), 20 (Bhūṣaṇa), 57 (Sañcārikā), 62 (Senāpati), 74 (Hasita), 110 (Pātakā-sthānaka), 123 (same), 126 (Sanskrit employed by Nīca Pātra), 154 (Kañcukin), 156 (Pratīharī). 199 (Paricārikā), p. 230 (Phala-yoga), etc.

4 Ed. NSP, 1900, p. 5 (Sūtradhāra) ; cf Aufrecht i, 448a.

and Sundaramiśra in his *Nāṭya-pradīpa* (dated 1613 A.D.), commenting on Bharata's remarks on Nāndī says : *asya vyākhyāne matṛguptācāryaiḥ...iyam udāhṛtā.*[1] This has been taken by S. Lévi to imply that Mātṛgupta wrote a *vyākhyāna* or commentary on Bharata, and that assuming him to be the poet who lived under Harṣa-Vikramāditya (*Rājataraṅg.* iii. 125, 252) we get in him a very early commentator (7th century) on Bharata. But the available evidence does ont appear to be conclusive. Our Mātṛgupta, as the profuse metrical quotations on dramaturgic topics by Rāghavabhaṭṭa and others show, probably wrote an independent metrical work on Dramaturgy, in which he might have in the usual course commented on Bharata's precepts ; and the word *vyākhyāna* need not be construed to mean a commentary. Mātṛgupta of Kahlaṇa was a king and poet ; how is it that he is cited in these works with the designation of Ācārya which signifies a teacher? Mātṛguptācārya is known to Abhinavagupta who quotes him on music (ch. xxix). Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāva-prakāśana* quotes his view on Naṭaka-vastu ; Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa* quotes several verses of his (pp. 5, 14, 20, 21, 23, 50) ; and Śārṅgadeva mentions him as an authority on music.[2]

Udbhaṭa

As already noted above (p. 32, fn 2), Śārṅgdeva in his *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (i. 1. 19) informs us that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata's text. This is very likely, although Udbhaṭa's commentary has not yet been recovered.

1 Quoted in *IOC* iii, p. 347. Mātṛgupta is also cited by Raṅga-nātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* (dated 1659 A. D.). ed. NSP, 1914, p. 5 (on Nāndī) ; by Sarvānanda on Amara, p. 145 (Adbhuta Rasa), 147 (Bībhatsa Rasa), 150 (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas), 161 (Anubhāva in Śṛṅ-gāra), 16 (on Tāla).

2 The citations from Mātṛgupta are collected together by T. R. Chintamani in his Fragments of Mātṛgupta in *JOR ii*, 1928, pp. 118-28.

Śārṅgadeva's statement appears to be confirmed by several citations of Udbhaṭa's views by Abhinavagupta. One of these references, already quoted above (p. 24, fn. 1) occurs in Abhinava's commentary on vi. 10 (p. 266-67) in which it is stated that certain views of Udbhaṭa on textual interpretation were not accepted by Lollaṭa, another commentator on Bharata. On ix. 182 (vol. ii, p. 70) and xviii. 76 (vol. ii, p. 441), again, Abhinava quotes certain readings of the text made out differently by Udbhaṭa. In two other passages (on xxi. 17 and xxi. 42 on Saṃdhis) Abhinava takes exception to the interpretation of Udbhaṭa as *lakṣya-* or *agama-viruddha.* In still another passage on the Vṛttis (on xviii. 110 vol. ii, pp, 451-52) Abhinava informs us that Udbhaṭa accepted only three Vṛttis (and not the usual four of Bharata), namely, Nyāya-ceṣṭā, Anyāya-ceṣṭā and Phala-saṃvitti. In this connexion Abhinava further refers to a certain writer, called Śakalīgarbha, who would admit five Vṛttis (namely, the four of Bharata and another called Ātma-saṃvitti in place of Udbhaṭa's Phala-saṃvitti) ; but these views have been refuted by Lollaṭa and others. Again, Kuntaka (pp. 113-15) disagrees with Udbhaṭa's view of the Śva-śabda-vācyatā of Rasa as being opposed to Bharata's opinion. These detailed references to Udbhaṭa's views or comments on topics dealt with in such far apart chapters as vi, ix, xviii and xxi, make it probable that Udbhaṭa commented on the whole of the *Nāṭya-śāstra.*

But this presumption is not applicable to the case of Śakalīgarbha who appears to have flourished between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa. He might have been a writer on certain topics of Dramaturgy ; but whether he composed a commentary on Bharata is not clear.

Lollaṭa

Lollaṭa is extensively cited by Abhinavagupta not only in ch. vi (on Rasa-sūtra), but also in ch. xii, xiii, xviii and xxi. Lollaṭa is mentioned as rejecting Udbhaṭa's views on the Vṛttis

(see above) and on the eleven topics of Nāṭya (on vi. 10).[1] Several other characteristic views of Lollaṭa are also mentioned; for instance, his view that Rasas are numerous (on vi. 45),[2] although eight or nine are traditionally accepted for the stage; that Nāṭikā is Ṣaṭpadā (on xviii. 60)[3] against Śaṅkuka's opinion that it is Aṣṭapadā. References are also made to Lollaṭa's views on Dhruvā Tāla (on xii. 14)[4]; on Kakṣyā (xiii. 1)[5]; on what he calls (on xxi. 29) Anusaṃdhi (dealing with the acts of a Patākā-hero); on his omission of xviii. 32 from the text[6]. These references to different parts of the text would go to confirm the tradition that Lollaṭa was also a regular commentator on Bharata's text.

We have no definite material to determine the date of Lollaṭa; but all later citations agree in supporting the tradition that he was earlier than the commentator Śaṅkuka whose theory of Rasa is said to have been directly levelled against that of Lollaṭa. Judging from his name, Lollaṭa was probably a Kashmirian; and if any chronological inference can be drawn from the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta's reference (mentioned above) to an opinion of Udbhaṭa being controverted by Lollaṭa, he was later than or contemporaneous with Udbhaṭa, also a Kashmirian, whose latest date is 813 A.D.

The theory of Rasa advocated by Lollaṭa probably obtained traditionally before he definitely formulated it and became its first noted advocate; for Abhinava in his commentary (on ch. vi) tells us that Daṇḍin in his idea of Rasa follows the same view. Unless we presume Lollaṭa's priority to Daṇḍin, we should take this to indicate that some theory or dogma similar to it was already known to Daṇḍin, even before Lollaṭa brought it into prominence.

Lollaṭa is also taken to be what is technically described as Dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādin with reference to the controversy about the function of Abhidhā; for he is said to have maintained that the primary function of Denotation of a word is

1 Vol. i, p. 266. 2 Vol. i, p. 299. 3 Vol. ii, p. 436.
4 Vol. ii, p. 134. 5 Vol. ii, p. 196. 6 Vol. ii, p. 423.

so far-reaching that it is competent in itself to express all other implied or suggested sense. But it is doubtful if this view is directly ascribed to Lollaṭa by any standard Sanskrit theorist of importance, although it is criticised without the name of the promulgator by Mammaṭa (p. 225), Mahimabhaṭṭa (p. 27), Hemacandra (p. 215), Vidyānātha (p. 43) and others. Govinda in his *Kāvya-pradīpa* (p. 149) thinks that adherents of this view are followers of Bhaṭṭa-mata. Abhinava attributes a similar view (*Locana* p. 188) to the Bhaṭṭa or Prābhākara school ; this might have been the source of Govinda's statement. The Mīmāṃsakas and grammarians had already discussed the question of Abhidhā ; and it must not be forgotten that several attempts to explain the fact of Dhvani (suggested sense), including Rasa-dhvani, obtained before the Dhvanikāra himself. It is probable that Lollaṭa was one of those who offered one of the several solutions to the question alluded to in the first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka*. We shall see that Lollaṭa was probably a Mīmāṃsaka in his view of Rasa, even if he was not a Dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādin.

The only direct quotation from Lollaṭa (and not mere consideration of his views) consists of two verses given by Hemacandra (p. 215). If he was a prose commentator, how do these metrical quotations fit in?[1]

Śaṅkuka

Abhinavagupta very frequently refers to Śaṅkuka's views on different dramaturgic topics ; e.g. on Raṅga-pīṭha (on iii. 21-22)[2]; on Rasa-sūtra (on ch. vi)[3]; on Nāṭaka (on xviii.10)[4]; on the king as a character (on xviii. 12)[5]; on Nāṭikā-bheda (on xviii. 60)[6]; on Pratimukha and Vimarśa

1 V. Raghavan believes (*Some Concepts* pp. 207-8 : *JOR* vi. p. 169) that Lollaṭa's other name was Āparājiti, son of Aparājita, because a quotation from Āparājiti by Rājaśekhara (p. 45) is given by Hemachandra (p. 215) with the name of Lollaṭa.

2 Vol. i, p. 75. 3 Vol. i, pp. 239, 298, 318.

4 Vol. ii, p. 411. 5 V. ii, p. 414. 6 Vol. ii, p. 436.

Saṃdhis (on xxi.40,42) etc.[1] As the citations relate to matters covered by ch. iii to xxix, it is probable that Śaṅkuka composed a commentary on the entire text of Bharata. Abhinavagupta informs us (p. 275) that his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tauta disapproved of Śaṅkuka's views on Rasa.

To Śaṅkuka are also ascribed several verses in the authologies of Śārṅgadhara, Jahlaṇa and Vallabhadeva,[2]—which indicates that there was also a poet of the same name. Kahlaṇa mentions (iv. 703-5) a poet Śaṅkuka and his poem *Bhuvanābhyudaya*. The reference is to the time of Ajitāpīḍa, whose date is given as 813 A.D. by Cunningham and 816 A.D. by S. P. Pandit. If our Śaṅkuka is identical with this poet, then he may be assigned to the first quarter of the 9th century.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

Basides referring to his view on the Rasa-sūtra of Bharata (ch. vi)[3] Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 27: also *Abh. bh.* xvi. 4)[4] quotes under the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka a verse *śabdaprādhānyam āśritya*[5], which Hemacandra (p. 3-4) gives as a quotation from a work, named *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*[6], and which is also cited without the name of the author by Mahimabhaṭṭa and his commentator. Jayaratha also speaks (p. 12) of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as Hṛdayadarpaṇa-kāra. It is probable, therefore, that some lost work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's bore this title; and the references also indicate the probable source

1 See P. V. Kane, HSP, pp. 50-51. for six other instances from ch. xxiv to xxix where Śaṅkuka has been cited by Abhinavagupta.

2 In the first two anthologies Śaṅkuka is called son of Mayūra, who is identified by some with the author of *Sūrya-śataka*, a contemporary of Bāṇa.

3 Vol. i, p. 278. 4 Vol. ii, p. 298.

5 This verse is also quoted by Jayaratha p. 9. Māṇikyacandra (p. 4) also ascribes the verse to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, whom he refers on p. 8 as the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa-kāra*.

6 P. V. Kane (*HSP* p. 187) suggests that the proper name of work was *Sahṛdaya-darpaṇa*, but evidence is meagre to support this suggestion.

of the quotation which occurs immediately before the verse in question in Abhinavagupta. It is, however, not clear whether this *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* is his alleged lost commentary on Bharata. Mahimabhaṭṭa's anonymous commentator tells us that this *Hṛdaya darpaṇa*, like the *Vyakti-viveka*, was composed with the special object of demolishing the Dhvani-theory[1] formulated by Ānandavardhana ; and this statement may explain why Abhinavagupta, as an adherent of the theory, takes so much pains to controvert Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views in his *Locana*[2], as well as in his *Abhinava-bhāratī*.[3] Mahimabhaṭṭa, who had a similar object of combating the Dhvani-theory, claims entire originality for his own treatment by boasting that he had never looked into the *Darpaṇa* at all.[4] The citations from the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* also indicate that it was probably composed in metrical form, and apparently never took at all the shape of a prose commentary.

A careful examination of the very few passages apparently referring to this work will shew that the topics dealt with in it centre round the question of Dhvani in poetry, in correlation with the theory of Rasa intimately connected therewith. Abhinava, for instance, while discussing (p. 16) the verse *bhama dhammia vīsattho*, which is given by Ānandavardhana as an instance of suggestion with an expressed injunction implying a prohibition, refutes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's opinion as to this negative implication. In another place. Abhinava criticises (p. 21) the significance attached by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

1 *darpaṇo hṛdaya-darpaṇākhyo dhvani-dhvaṃsa-grantho'pi*, explaining the pun on the word *darpaṇa* used by Mahimabhaṭṭa in i. 4.

2 Both Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* are cited by name in *Locana* pp. 27, 28, 63. Other references occur on pp. 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 29, 36, 67, 68—all of which consist mostly of direct criticism in support of Dhvani-theory.

3 For instance, on Bharata p. 1: *bhaṭṭa-nāyakas tu brahmaṇā paramātmanā yad udāhṛtam......iti vyākhyānaṃ hṛdaya-darpaṇe pratyagrahīt.*

4 *adṛṣṭa-darpaṇā mama dhīḥ* i. 4.

to the word *aham* in the verse *attā ettha ṇimajjai*, which is discussed by Ānandavardhana as an example of suggestion of a contrary kind where the expressed prohibition implies an injunction. It is evident from these references that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work, like Mahimabhaṭṭa's, was designed not merely as a refutation of the general theory of Dhvani, but also as a special attack on Ānandavardhana's exposition of the same. To take a minute point, the Dhvanikāra in i. 13 uses the verb *vyaṅktaḥ* in the dual number with a special object in view, as Ānandavardhana's (as well as Abhinava's) explanation rightly indicates. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have attacked this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinavagupta remarks (*Locana*, p. 33): *bhaṭṭa-nāyakena yad dvi-vacanaṃ dūṣitaṃ tad gaja-nimīlikayaiva.*[1]

It appears, therefore, that the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* was not a commentary on Bharata,[2] but a metrical treatise in the *anuṣṭubh* with a running prose commentary, dealing with the question of Dhvani, and incidentally with the question of Rasa-dhvani. No doubt, Abhinava in his own commentary on Bharata, as well numerous other later writers taking their cue from Abhinava, criticises at some length Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of Rasa, along with those of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka and with special reference to Bharata's particular *sūtra* on the subject in ch. vi (also *Locana* pp. 67-68); yet Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nowhere mentioned directly as a commentator on the same text. Very rarely Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's interpretations of particular passages of Bharata are cited by Abhinavagupta, as they are with regard to those of Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka.[3] It is probable that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's peculiar theory

1 Mahimabhaṭṭa also refers (p. 19) to this discussion, quoting these words of Abhinava from the *Locana.*

2 As V. V. Sovani in *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume,* p. 390 (*contra* in *JRAS,* 1909, pp. 450-52) states.

3 T. R. Chintamani collected together 'Fragments of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka' in *JOR* i, 1927, pp. 267-76; also in *Proc. A-I. O. C.,* Allahabad 1929, ii, pp. 155. 193.

of Rasa (which, however, bears a resemblance to Abhinava's own) called for a special refutation in the hands of this champion of the Dhvani-theory, because Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka denied the expressive function of Dhvani and attempted to explain the concept by postulating the function of Bhogīkaraṇa. But there is no definite indication to shew that this theory of Rasa, being a corollary to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's general theory of expression, was not incidental to his main thesis, which was directed towards the demolition of the new idea of Dhvani and establishment of another explanation of that concept. This may be the reason why Śārṅgadeva, in his enumeration of Bharata's commentators before his time, omits the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.[1]

There can hardly be any doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was familiar with the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, including Ānandavardhana's Vṛtti, and should, therefore, be placed in a period later than the date of Ānandavardhana. The conclusion is supported by the statement of Jayaratha (p. 12) that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka lived after the Dhvanikāra by whom Jayaratha, like many other later writers, invariably means Ānandavardhana without distinguishing him from the so-called Dhvanikāra. On the other hand, the oldest writer to mention and cite Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is Abhinavagupta, from whom he does not appear to be chronologically very distant. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, flourished between the last quarter of the 9th and the last quarter of the 10th century; and it will not be wrong if we assign him to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This date makes it likely that he is identical, as Peterson suggested, with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who is mentioned by Kahlaṇa (v. 159) as having flourished in the

1 See p. 32 above, footnote 2. With this view P. V. Kane (*HSP*, p. 214) agrees. Similarly Ruyyaka, while reviewing the different systems which obtained before his time, mentions Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka not as a commentator but as an independent author who advocated a new system in common with other explanations of the Dhvani theory (p. 9, ed. N. S. P.)

reign of Śaṃkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman of Kashmir.

Harsa

Harṣa or Śrī-harṣa is said to have composed a *Vārttika* on the *Nāṭya-śastra*. He is cited by Abhinavagupta sometimes by name (on v.7, 180[1] ; xxix. 101) and sometimes as Vārttika-kṛt or Vārttika-kāra (i. 84 ; ii. 97-98 ; iv. 267-68)[2], while *Vārttika* without the name of the author[3] or *Harṣa-vārttika* (iv, 331)[4] is also cited. On v. 8-15 there is a prose passage from the *Vārttika* quoted[5]. The citations are more profuse from the first six chapters, but there is one reference to ch. xxix. Śāra-dātanaya (p. 238) refers to Harṣa's view that the Toṭaka differs from Nāṭaka in having no Vidūṣaka[6]. As the *Vārttika* is no longer available no definite conclusion is possible. These citations however, make it highly probable that it might not have been a regular commentary (in spite of its name)[7], but dealt, mostly in Āryā metre (with occasional prose), with relevant parts of the *Nāṭya-śastra*.

Kīrtidhara

Śārṅgadeva informs us (see above p. 32, fn 2) that Kīrtidhara was a commentator on Bharata's text. He must have been earlier than Abhinavagupta who tells us (ch.xxix) that not having seen Nandikeśvara's work himself, he is relying on Kīrtidhara's account of it (see above p. 20). There are several references[8] in Abhinava's commentary to Kīrtidhara or

1 Vol. i. p. 211 and p. 251.

2 Vol. i, p. 31 ; i, p. 67 ; i, 172, 174 respectively.

3 Vol. i. p. 174.

4 Vol. i. p. 207

5 Vol. i, p. 212.

6 Śrīharṣa Miśra quoted in Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasa-pradīpa* (a prose passage) may or not be our author.

7 As in the case of Nānyadeva's *Bharata-bhāṣya* or *Bharata-vārttika*.

8 See V. Raghavan in *JOR*, v, 1932, p. 198 ; Kane in *Pathak Comm. Volume*, p. 388.

Kīrtidharācārya on Nāṭya and Nṛtta (ch. iv) [1] and on the Geyādhikāra section. These citations show that Kīrtidhara, like Śārṅgadeva, was interested mostly in music, but they are not sufficient to establish that he wrote a regular commentary on the entire text of Bharata.

Abinavagupta

Although Abhinavagupta contented himself with the writing of commentaries in the field of Sanskrit Poetics, his works have almost the value of independent treatises for their profound erudition and critical acumen. As his reputation in Poetics rests on his exposition of the Dhvani-theory, it would be better to take him up in connexion with the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana.

The entire text of Abhinava's commentary, called *Abhinava-bhāratī*, on Bharata's text which consisted of 36 chapters, is not available, either in the printed edition or in any MS. His comments on ch.vii (except the prose portion and the first few verses), ch. viii and ch. xxxiii-xxxiv are missing, and there are also short gaps (e.g. on the last verses of ch. v), As he refers to his *Locana* in this work, it was composed later.

Nānyadeva

A work called *Bharata-bhāṣya* (also *Bharata-vārttika* in some of its colophons) by Nānyadeva or Nānyapati is available in a unique MS (221 folios) in the BORI collection[2]. The author is called Mithileśvara (king of Mithilā) in one of its verses, while the colophons describe him as Mahāsāmantādhipati. The work is unknown to Abhinavagupta who was earlier in date and who is utilised in it but rarely mentioned by name. Nānyadeva is known as the founder of the Karṇā-

1 Vol. i, p. 208.

2 *BORI Cat, of MSS,* xii, no. 111 of 1869-70, pp. 377-83. The work also goes by the name *Sarasvatī-hṛdayālaṃkāra.* Dr. C. P. Desai of Tarapur, Thana, Bombay, is understood to be editing the work for Khairagarh Music University, M. P.

ṭaka dynasty of Mithilā who ruled from 1097 to 1147 A.D[1]. The author mentions another work of his called *Grantha-mahārṇava.*

Although it is called a Bhāṣya, it is not a direct commentary on Bharata's text. It was ambitiously planned in four Aṃśas, each devoted to one of the four kinds of Abhinaya; but the extant portion, itself extensive, deals only with one kind, namely, Vācika, and relates chiefly to ch. xxviii to xxxiii of the *Nāṭya-śāstra,* which deal with music. The MS, though old, is defective, wanting in ch. v, xvi and xvii (the total number of promised chapters being seventeen). Bharata is profusely quoted, but other old authorities like Nārada, Śātātapa, Dattila, Kāśyapa (also Bṛhat-Kāśyapa and Vṛddha-Kāśyapa), Mataṅga, *Bṛhad-deśī,* Nandi-mata, Yaṣṭika (otherwise unknown), Kīrtidhara, and Viśākhila are frequently cited. Śārṅgadeva appears to be the only author who cites Nānyadeva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Nāṭya-śāstra and *Abhinava-bhāratī*

Editions and Translations. (1) Ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, NSP, Kāvyamāla 42, 1894 (Adhy. 1-37). (2) Traité de Bharata surle Théâtre, Texte Sanskrit, édition critique par Joanny Grosset, t. i. pt. i, Paris 1898 (ch. i-14 only, not completed), in Annales de l'Université de Lyon. In Roman characters. (3) Adhy. 18, 19, 20 and 24, published by F. Hall in his ed. of the Daśa-rūpaka, in Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1865. (4) Le 17me chapitre de Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra, intitulé Vāg-abhinaya, par P. Regnaud, in Annales Musée Guimet I, 1880. In Roman characters. (5) La Métrique de Bharata, Texte Sanscrit de duex chapitres (15-16), suivi d'une interprétation francaise, par P. Regnaud, in Annales du Musée Guimet II, 1881. In Roman characters. (6) Textes

1 *EI,* i, 395 at p. 364; *IHQ,* vii, pp, 679-87.

Sanscrits des 6me et 7me chapitres, in *Rhétorique Sanscrit* par P. Regnaud, Paris 1884. In Roman characters, (7) Adhy. 28 (in Roman characters) in Contribution à l'étude de la musique hindoue by J. Grosset, Paris 1888, in Bibl. de la Faculté de Lettres de Lyon; also B. Breloer, Grundelemente der altindischen Music nach dem Bhāratīya Nāṭya-śāstra, Text. Uebersetzung und Erklaerung (ch. 28). Diss. Bonn, 1922. Both in Roman transliteration. (8) A part of Adhy. 6 (On Rasa-sūtra), ed. S. K. De as an Appendix to his Theory of Rasa in *Āsutosh Mookerjee Comm. Vol.*, Orientalia, pt. iii, 1922, p. 240f, now revised and reprinted in his *Some Problems* of *Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 219-35. (9) Adhy. 6 (Rasādhyāya) with Abhinava's comm., with Eng. trs. of the original text of the chapter, ed. Subodh Chandra Mukerjee, Calcutta 1926 (Thesis, Paris Univ.). (10) ed. Batuknath Sarma and Baladev Upadhyay. Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1929. This ed. gives 36 chapters. (11) With Abhinava-bhāratī, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi. In four volumes. Gaekwad's Orient. Series, Baroda 1926, 1934 etc. (On this ed. see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 14, 16 "fundamentally uncritical"; S. K. De in *IHQ* iii, pp. 859-68). (12) Prakrit verses in Adhy. xxxii, ed. Manomohon Ghosh in *IHQ*, viii, 1932. (13) English translation by Manomohan Ghosh, Bibl, Ind. vol. i (Adhy. i-xxvi), 1959.

CHAPTER III

FROM BHĀMAHA TO ĀNANDAVARDHANA

BHĀMAHA

The earliest citation of Bhāmaha in later Alaṃkāra literature is to be found in two passages in Ānandavardhana's Vṛtti on the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 39, 207); and at p. 236 Ānandavardhana quotes anonymously Bhāmaha iii. 27. The next interesting reference occurs in the commentary of Pratīhārendurāja, who informs us (p. 13) that his author Udbhaṭa composed a work, presumably a commentary on Bhāmaha, which is described as *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*. This statement is confirmed by Abhinavagupta (*Locana* pp. 10, 40, 159, *vivaraṇakṛt*) and Hemachandra (Comm. pp. 17, 110); while Ruyyaka cites the commentary generally as *bhāmahīya udbhaṭa-lakṣaṇa* (p. 183) and Samudrabandha discribes it as *kāvyālaṃkāra-vivṛti* (p. 89). There are also numerous passages in Udbhaṭa's independent work, *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, which unmistakably copy some of the definitions of poetic figures directly from Bhāmaha, and do not hesitate to repeat the very language of the earlier work.[1]

Vāmana, Udbhaṭa's contemporary, also appears to betray an acquaintance with Bhāmaha's text.[2] Bhāmaha, for

1 See, for instance, the definitions of the figures *rasavat, atiśayokti, sasaṃdeha, sahokti, apahnuti, utprekṣā, yathāsaṃkhya, aprastuta-praśaṃsā paryāyokta, ākṣepa, vibhāvanā, virodha* and *bhāvika*.—Bhāmaha is quoted extensively by Abhinavagupta and other later writers.

2 Bhāmaha's work called *Bhāmahālaṃkāra* (but *Kāvyālaṃkāra* is the first verse) consists of six Paricchedas or chapters and about 400 verses. The topics covered are: I. Purposes of Kāvya, its definition and divisions from different points of view; Sargabandha, Kathā and Ākhyāyikā; reference to Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes

instance, defines the figure Upamā (ii. 30) as *viruddhenopamā-nena......upameyasya yat sāmyaṃ guṇa-leśena sopamā*; and Vāmana seems to paraphrase this definition in the concise form of a Sūtra: *upamānenopameyasya guṇa-leśataḥ sāmyam upamā* (iv. 2. 1).[1] Again, speaking of effective implication (*atiśayavān arthaḥ*) to be found in Upamā, Bhāmaha lays down (ii. 50):

> *yasyātiśayavān arthaḥ kathaṃ so'saṃbhavo mataḥ|*
> *iṣṭaṃ cātiśayārthatvam upamotprekṣayor yathā||*

Reading together Vāmana iv. 2. 20 and 21 (*anupapattir asaṃbhavaḥ* and *na viruddho'tiśayaḥ*), we find that Vāmana is apparently repeating the same view; and in his Vṛtti on the first Sūtra, he adds *upamāyām atiśayasyeṣṭatvāt*, making it clear in the next Sūtra that an effective implication (*atiśaya*), which is contradictory, should be avoided. Vāmana also reproduces anonymously a verse of an unknown poet whose name is given by Bhāmaha (ii. 46) with the same verse as Śākhavardhana. Such repetition of views in more or less standardised phraseology in a technical treatise, or the quotation of the same illustrative verse in a similar context need not be taken as conclusive; but Vāmana, in his Vṛtti on v. 2. 38, actually though not accurately, quotes a part of a verse from Bhāmaha ii. 27, and comments on the peculiar usage of the word *bhaṅguram* employed therein.[2]

some Doṣas pertaining generally to the Kāvya. II-III. The three Guṇas (Mādhurya, Prasāda and Ojas); treatment of Alaṃkāras which ends with ch. iii (for a list of the poetic figures see vol. ii. ch. ii(i). IV. Eleven Doṣas, with illustrations. V. Eleven Doṣas again which arise from a faulty Pratijñā, Hetu or Dṛṣṭanta, VI. Sauśabdya or grammatical correctness (elaborated later by Vāmana in fifth Adhikarṇa of his work).

1 Cf Bharata xvi. 41.

2 The verse is quoted with Bhāmaha's name in Jayamaṅgalā on Bhaṭṭi x. 21; ananymously in the *Vakrokti-jīvita* (along with other verses from Bhāmaha) and in *Lacana* p. 40 anonymously.

This will justify us in placing Bhāmaha chronologically before Udbhaṭa and Vāmana who, as we shall see, flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A. D., and will give us one terminus to the date of Bhāmaha.

With regard to the other terminus, controversy has been keen and busy. Pathak finds in the mention of a *nyāsakāra* in Bhāmaha vi. 36 a clear reference to the Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi, author of a commentary (ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1913, 1919-25) on the *Kāśikā*, and comes to the conclusion that "as the *nyāsakāra* (meaning Jinendra) lived about 700 A. D., Bhāmaha must be assigned to the 8th century".[1] Against this K. P. Trivedi has demonstrated[2] that the allusion to the opinion of the *nyāsakāra* cannot be taken as an unmistakable reference to Jinendrabuddhi's views, and that the existence of some other *nyāsakāras* is also made probable by the citations of Mādhava, as well as by a punning passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.[3] Jacobi[4] has joined issue by adding a doubt on the correctness of the date assigned by Pathak to Jinendrabuddhi who, on the authority of Kielhorn, was probably later than Haradatta (d. 878 A. D.).

No fresh light is thrown on the question by the conjecture[5] that Bhāmaha in i. 42 refers to the *Megha-dūta* by his condemnation of the poetical device of employing clouds, among other things, as messengers ; nor by Pathak's other equally fanciful supposition that Māgha ii. 86b refers to Bhāmaha

1 *IA* xli p. 232 ff, at p. 235 ; see also *JBRAS* xxiii pp. 25-26.

2 *IA* xlii pp. 204 f, and at pp. 260-1.

3 *kṛta-guru-padanyāsāḥ* (ed N. S. P. p. 96), explained by Śaṃkara as *kṛto'bhyasto guru-pade durbodha-śabde nyāso vṛttir vivaraṇo yaiḥ*.

4 *Sb. der Preuss. Akad* xxiv (1922), pp. 210-11.

5 Haricand, *L'Art Poétique de l'Inde* p. 77 ; J. Nobel in *ZDMG* lxxiii, p. 192.

i. 16.[1] Nothing, again, is gained by the controversy over the question whether Bhāmaha, the son of Rakrilagomin and worshipper of Sārva, was a Buddhist, as indicated by the opening and closing verses of his work.[2] Jacobi however, has shewn[3] that Bhāmaha has made considerable use of the teachings of Buddhist philosophers in ch. v, and that the upper limit to Bhāmaha's date should be determined with reference to that of Buddhist Dharmakīrti, some of whose philosophical doctrines Bhāmaha has utilised even to the repetition of Darmakīrti's actual phraseology. Dharmakīrti is placed by Jacobi between the sojourn in India of Yuan Chwang and Yi-tsing respectively (630-643 and 673-695 A. D.), as he is not known to the former, while the latter refers to him among those of late years.[4] The upper limit, therefore, of Bhāmaha's date should be fixed at the third quarter of the 7th century A. D. Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattva-saṃgraha* (ed. GOS, 1926, p. 219, verses 912-14), who is said to have flourished about 705-762 A. D., cites three verses of Bhāmaha (vi. 17-19) criticising the Buddhist Apoha-vāda. This would also go to establish that Bhāmaha cannot be placed much later than the seventh century.

We can, therefore, place Bhāmaha approximately in the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of

1 But see Daṇḍin i. 10 ; Vāmana i. 1. 1 (*vṛtti*) ; Rudraṭa ii. 1 and Ānandavardhana p. 5, for the same idea of *śabda* and *artha* as constituents of poetry.

2 On this controversy, see *JRAS* 1905, pp. 535 f ; *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 543f ; Trivedi introd. to *Pratāparudra ;* Haricand *op. cit.* p. 71 ; Pathak in *IA* 1912, p. 235.

3 *op cit* pp. 211-12. G. Tucci (Bhāmaha and Diṅnāga in *IA*, June 1930) is of opinion that Bhāmaha's logical theories allude to Diṅnāga, and not to Dharmakīrti who was posterior to Bhāmaha.

4 See Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 1896, p. 181 ; cf p. lviii. Tāranātha in his *Geschichte* (tr. Schiefner pp. 184-5) makes him a contemporary of the Tibetan king, Strong-bstan-sgam-po, who died about 650 A.D. Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 130.

8th century. As it is probable that he might have been a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti's and also presumably lived some time before his commentator Udbhaṭa, it would not be wrong if we place him towards the end of the 7th and the commencement of the 8th century A. D.

(2)

We have already discussed the relation which Bharata's treatment of Alaṃkāras might have borne to Bhāmaha's much fuller and later disquisition. What we find in Bharata constitutes the earliest speculation on the subject that we possess; but Bhāmaha himself tells us that he had predecessors whose works he apparently utilised. While referring to these predecessors (or contemporaries) generally as *anye*,[1] *apare*[2] or *kecit*,[3] Bhāmaha cites twice by name one Medhāvin in ii. 40, 88. One of these passages is referred to by Nami-sādhu on Rudraṭa xi. 24, where (as well as in two other places on i. 2, ii. 2) the full name is given as Medhāvirudra, which form also occurs in Rājaśekhara (p. 12)[4]. This writer was thus earlier than Bhāmaha but probably later than Bharata.

Bhāmaha's work is divided into six chapters with a total of about 400 verses (mostly in Anuṣṭubh) (see above p. 46,

1 i. 13, 24; ii. 4, 57; iii. 4; iv. 12 etc.

2 i. 14, 31; ii. 6, 8; iii. 4; iv. 6 etc.

3 ii. 2, 37, 93; iii. 54 etc. He also cites one Rāmaśarman in ii. 19, but from ii. 58 this author appears to be a poet; the name of his work is given as *Acyutottara*. The Rājamitra cited in ii. 45 appears from iii. 10 to be a Kāvya. Besides Nyāsa (vi. 36), Pāṇini (vi. 62-63) and Kaṇabhakṣa (v. 17), we have mention of Śākavardhana (ii. 47) and a work called Aśmaka-vaṃśa. These citations are not of much use for chronological purposes.

4 Rājaśekhara couples Medhāvirudra's name with that of Kumāradāsa and adds the information that he was a born-blind poet The name does not constitute the names of two different poets, Medhāvin and Rudra, as some writers suggest, nor need we take it on the late authority of the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* as a name of Kālidāsa.—Hultzsch (ed. *Megha-dūta* p. xi) states that Vallabhadeva in his comm. (xi. 6) cites Medhāvirudra, but this is not found in the printed text.

fn 2) ; it is smaller in extent than Daṇḍin's work (about 660 verses). At one time it was believed[1], on the indication given by the *Jayamaṅgalā* on Bhaṭṭi, that the Alaṃkāra-chapters in that Kāvya[2], especially canto x, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhāmaha in particular ; but the date now assigned to Bhāmaha will readjust his relation to Bhaṭṭi in a new light. Bhaṭṭi tells us in xxii. 35 that he composed his poem in Valabhī ruled over by Śrīdharasena[3]. It appears that no less than four Śrīdharasenas ruled at Valabhī roughly between 500 and 650 A.D., of whom the last flourished, as his latest grant shows, in 651 A.D. Bhaṭṭi, therefore, at the latest, lived in the first half of the 7th century ; and if, as his editor concludes,[4] he may be assigned to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, he was certainly older than Bhāmaha by almost a century, Bhāmaha probably knew his work and therefore remarked, while dismissing verbal juggleries like *prahelikā* (ii. 20):

kāvyāny api yadīmāni vyākhyā-gamyāmi śāstravat /
utsavaḥ sudhiyām eva hanta durmedhaso hatāḥ //

with a pointed reference to Bhaṭṭi's self-boasting in xxii. 34.:

vyākhyā-gamyam idaṃ kāvyam utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam/
hatā durmedhasaś cāsmin vidvat-priyatayā mayā //

The treatment of Alaṃkāras in Bhaṭṭi may, therefore, be

1 Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv, p. 130f.

2 The three cantos of this Kāvya (x-xii) comprising what is called Prasanna-kāṇḍa are supposed to illustrate matters concerning Poetics. Thus, canto x (75 verses) illustrates Alaṃkāras, xi (47 verses) Mādhurya Guṇa and xii (87 verses) the figure Bhāvika which is called a Prabandha-guṇa. The *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* consists of 22 cantos, chiefly illustrating rules of Sanskrit Grammar.

3 *kāvyam idaṃ vihitaṃ mayā valabhyāṃ / śrīdharasena-narendra-pālitāyām*. The *Jayamaṅgalā* reads *śrīdhara-sūnu-narendra* in the second line, but this cannot be supported in view of the fact that we do not hear of any prince of the name Narendra, son of Śrīdhara, in the list of Valabhī princes known to us. Mallinātha and Bharatamallika do not comment on this verse.

4 ed. B.S.S. Introd. p. xxii.

presumed to supply one of the missing links in the history of rhetorical speculations anterior to Bhāmaha. A remarkable coincidence of treatment, which probably started the theory of Bhaṭṭi's appropriation of Bhāmaha's teachings, is at once noticeable not only in the order, number and presumed naming and characterisation of different poetic figures; but a detailed examination will at the same time shew that beneath this general agreement there are enough discrepancies which will indicate that neither of them follows scrupulously the views of the other. The agreement apparently shows that the two authors were not chronologically distant from each other by such a considerable length of time as might betoken a material difference in the number, order or definition of the poetic figures; while the discrepancies may be reasonably explained as indicating that they did not probably draw from the same source.

The special object of the particular canto in Bhaṭṭi being that of illustrating the various forms of poetic figures prevalent in his time, we may presume that it was probably based on a particular treatise on Alaṃkāra to which the poet generally adheres. He is said to have mentioned in all 38 such independent figures, along with 39 subspecies of some individual figures. He does not himself give the names of these figures, but they are indicated by the *Jayamaṅgalā*, as well as in some MSS which apparently preserve the traditional nomenclature[1]. These, with one trifling exception (*udāra=udātta*), correspond to the particular names given to them in Bhāmaha. As to the order or sequence of treatment, a comparative table will show that Bhāmaha gives the first 23 figures (up to *viśeṣokti*) in the same order as in

1 The commentators, however, differ among themselves in the naming of the poetic figures in several stanzas.—The *Jayamaṅgalā* is printed in the NSP ed. of the Kāvya (1887), while the commentary of Mallinātha is given in the BSS ed. (in 2 vols. 1898). The commentary of Bharatamallika along with *Jayamaṅgalā* has been edited in 2 vols, Calcutta 1871-73.

Bhaṭṭi with the exception of the pairs, *rūpaka*, and *dīpaka*, *arthāntara-nyāsa* and *ākṣepa*, which are given in an inverse order. The rest of the figures appear with a slightly different arrangement, because Bhāmaha admits *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and adopts a somewhat different order in mentioning the five figures here treated in common, until we come to *virodha*. From here, again, the order is the same, excepting that Bhāmaha mentions *bhāvika* (which is separately illustrated in another canto by Bhaṭṭi), while Bhaṭṭi admits an unknown figure *nipuṇa*, and adds *hetu* and *vārtā* which are expressly rejected by Bhāmaha. As the exposition of *Jayamaṅglā* shows, Bhaṭṭi generally follows the definitions of Bhāmaha where the figures are common (even in the cases of subspecies of these figures[1]), with only a few exceptions.

These exceptions, though few, are yet significant. They refer in particular to the figures *yamaka* (of which Bhaṭṭi mentions 20, while Bhāmaha only 5 subspecies), *upamā* (where the treatment of subspecies is slightly divergent), *rūpaka* (of which the four subspecies of Bhaṭṭi do not correspond to the two of Bhāmaha), *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and *nipuṇa* omitted by Bhāmaha. At the same time, Bhāmaha mentions but rejects *prahelikā*, *hetu*, *sūkṣma*, *leśa* and *vārtā*, of which Bhaṭṭi admits only *hetu* (probably as an afterthought) and *vārtā*. Bhaṭṭi does not recognise *svabhāvokti*, which is mentioned but apparently disfavoured by

1 e. g. the figure *ākṣepa*, of which the two subdivisions *ukta-viṣaya* and *vakṣyamāṇa-viṣaya* are found in both Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi, they being unaware of the different interpretation of Vāmana and the somewhat fine differentiations of Daṇḍin. The same remark applies to *dīpaka* and its three subspecies, which do not agree with the exposition of Bharata, Daṇḍin or Vāmana. Cf also the three subspecies of *śleṣa* viz. *sahokti-śl°*, *upamā-śl°* and *hetu-śl°*, illustrated by Bhaṭṭi and mentioned by Bhāmaha in iii. 17, although later writers, like Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, speak of *śleṣa* as coming with many other figures. Pratīhārendurāja distinctly alludes (p. 47) to this division admitted by Bhāmaha: *bhāmaho hi "tat sahoktyupamā-*

Bhāmaha. It is possible that Bhaṭṭi's original ended naturally with *āśis*, as Bhāmaha's work itself does; but he tacked on *hetu* and *nipuṇa*[1] as two supplementary figures popular in his time. The *bhāvika*, which both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin call a *prabandha-guṇa*, is said to have been illustrated by Bhaṭṭi in a separate canto (xii), entitled *bhāvikatva-pradarśana*. But by far the greatest divergence is noticeable in the treatment of the subspecies of *yamaka*, *rūpaka* and *upamā*. No two writers are indeed agreed with regard to the treatment and classification of *yamaka*, and Bhaṭṭi on this point is scarcely in agreement with any of the known writers on the subject, such as Bharata, Daṇḍin Rudraṭa, the author of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among earlier authorities. Probably he is drawing upon some old author whose work is not known to us.[2] In the classification of *rūpaka*, which Bhāmaha subdivides into *samasta-vastu-viṣaya* and *ekadeśa-vivarti*, Bhaṭṭi seems to follow a different tradition which mentions four subspecies, respectively

1 This figure is included in *udāra* or *udātta* by *Jayamaṅgalā*, while Bharatamallika and Mallinātha take it as an illustration of *preyas* on the authority of Daṇḍin and Devānātha (the latter probably a commentator on Mammaṭa having the same name).

2 The names of some of these subspecies of *yamaka* are now lost but for the naming of them in Bhaṭṭi, and later authors speak in altogether different terminology. Some of these are apparently preserved in Bharata, who mentions as many as ten subspecies, but in most cases they are differently defined. For instance, the *samudga* of Bhaṭṭi may be the same figure as defined by Bharata, but the *yukpāda* of Bhaṭṭi x. 2 is called *vikrānta* by Bharata and is known as *sandaṣṭa* in Rudraṭṭa. Similarly the *pādānta* illustrated in x. 3 is called *āmreḍita* in Bharata; while *cakravāla* of Bharata is different from the figure so named in Bhaṭṭi and seems to coincide with the *kāñci* of the latter, the *kāñci* of Bharata being an altogether different subspecies. It appears that names like *vṛnta*, *mithuna*, or *vipatha* cannot be traced in any of the existing works, but some of the kinds illustrated by Bhaṭṭi under these strange names may be found under different designations in other writers later than Bhaṭṭi. In naming these in Bhaṭṭi, the *Jayamaṅgalā* is probably

designated *kamalaka* (*viśiṣṭopamā-yukta*), *avataṃsaka* (*śeṣārthānvavasita* or *khaṇḍa-rūpaka*[1]), *ardha-rūpaka* and *lalāmaka* (*anvarthopamā-yukta*). In the subspecies of *upamā*, Bhaṭṭi illustrates *upamā* with *iva* and *yathā* (in common with Bhāmaha); and his *luptopamā* and *taddhitopomā* probably correspond to some extent to *samāsopamā* and *upamā* with *vat* mentioned by Bhāmaha. But Bhaṭṭi does not illustrate *prativastūpamā* of Bhāmaha nor does he refer to *nindo*°, *praśaṃso*°, *ācikhyāso*° and *mālo*°, criticised by Bhāmaha but recognised by Daṇḍin.[2] At the same time, Bhaṭṭi's *saho*° and *samo*° have nothing directly corresponding to them in Bhāmaha.

It will be clear from this brief exposition[3] that, leaving aside the subspecies, there is a general agreement between the treatments of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha with regard to the independent poetic figures. It may be noted that Bhāmaha agrees with Bhaṭṭi in taking *ananvaya*, *sasaṃdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* as self-standing figures, while Daṇḍin includes the first two in the sub-species of *upamā*, and the last two in those of *rūpaka* and *utprekṣā* respectively.[4] Bhāmaha also agrees with Bhaṭṭi in rejecting *prahelikā*, *sūkṣma* and *leśa* ; but *vārtā* and *hetu*, also similarly rejected by Bhāmaha, are admitted by Bhaṭṭi. Daṇḍin expressly recognises all these, excepting *vārtā* in place of which he probably admits the more comprehensive *svabhāvokti*, which

1 mentioned in *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* iv. 66.

2 Bharata (xvi. 49-50) mentions *nindo*° and *praśaṃso*°, while his *kalpito*° probably corresponds to *ācikhyāso*°. The *kalpito*° is admitted by Vāmana (iv. 2. 2) but apparently defined in a different sense.

3 See also H. R. Divekar in *JRAS*, 1929, pp, pp. 825-41 for a comparison and contrast of treatment made respectively by Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi.

Daṇḍin is followed in this view by all later writers, except Vāmana, who still regards these as independent figures. It seems, therefore, that Vāmana vi. 3. 33 is a criticism of Daṇḍin ii. 358, and

is disfavoured by Bhāmaha and not illustrated by Bhaṭṭi. The most material discrepancy with reference to independent figures occurs in the remarkable omission in Bhaṭṭi of *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* (which, like *svabhāvokti*, is a recognised figure in later times) and in the occurrence of *nipuṇa* unknown in later literature. Coming to the subspecies, however, the discrepancies are more striking. Admitting that some of the fine differentiations, as in the case of Daṇḍin's innumerable subvarieties of independent figures, may have been invented by the ingenuity of the theorist himself, this argument does not seem to apply very well to Bhaṭṭi, who was himself no theorist but only professed to illustrate the poetic figures popular in his time and presumably based his treatment on some standard treatise. The conclusion, therefore, is likely that Bhaṭṭi made use of a text unknown to Bhāmaha but not materially differing from Bhāmaha's own sources ; and that the interval between these two authors did not witness much change in the discussion of poetic figures, except what is apparent in the simplification of the treatment of *yamaka* and *rūpaka*, in the dropping of a figure like *nipuṇa* and adding an important figure or an important sub-figure like *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* or *prativastūpamā* respectively. The progress is not so remarkable as that indicated by the enormous stride made in the interval between Bharata, who mentions only four independent figures, and Bhaṭṭi, who mentions thirty-eight.[1]

1 Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit, it attaches itself (besides two verses in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1644-1645 that are also found in our text ii. 92, iii. 21) to a commentator on Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, who is probably a different author. The *Kāmadhenu* comm. on Vāmana also cites several verses from a treatise apparently on the *kalās* by Bhāmaha (p. 29, ed. Benares); but as our Bhāmaha, as well as his *Bhāmahālaṃkāra* (p. 39), is also cited in several places in the same commentary, it is possible that these verses occurred in some lost chapter of his work where he mentioned the names of the *kalās* (*atra kalānāṃ uddeśaḥ kṛto bhā-*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edition. Text (i) by K. P. Trivedi as Appendix viii to his ed. of *Pratāpa-rudra°* in BSS, Bombay 1909. The edition is based on Madras MS no. 12920 (*Cat*. xii, p. 8675). The work is named Bhāmahālaṃkāra. (ii) by P. V. Naganatha Sastry, with Eng. trs. and notes, Tanjore 1927. Also separately text only, Tanjore 1927. (iii) by B. N. Sarma and B. Upadhaya, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares 1928. None of these printed texts can serve as a critical edition. The MS material is meagre and citations from Bhāmaha in later writers have readings which have not been considered. The text at many points is unsatisfactory.

Commentary. The only known comm. is *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* by Udbhaṭa, which is now lost. See above p. 46.

DAṆḌIN

(1)

The date of Daṇḍin. author of the *Kāvyādarśa*, is one of the most difficult problems in the chronology of Alaṃkāra literature. Ānandavardhana does not directly cite him, as he cites Bhāmaha, and the earliest mention of Daṇḍin's name occurs in Pratīhārendurāja (p. 26). Daṇḍin's own work gives us hardly any clue. His references to the *Bṛhatkathā* written in *bhūta-bhāṣā* (i. 38), or to the *Setu-bandha* known to him in *māhārāṣṭrī* Prakrit (i. 34) throw little light on the question; and no definite chronological conclusion is deducible from the verses ii. 278-79, which express, under the form of the figure *preyas*, the supreme gratification of a certain king, Rājavarman (or Rātavarman), on the occasion of his obtaining the much-coveted beatific vision of his adored deity.[1] The solution proposed to the

on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* (pp. 5-6) quotes long passages from Bhāmaha which, if authentic, indicate that Bhāmaha might have written also on Metrics.

prahelikā in iii. 114 (also cf. iii. 112) by Taruṇavācaspati and other commentators that it refers to the Pallava kings of Kāñcī [1] only supports the Tamil tradition that Daṇḍin was probably a South Indian author. The allusion to Daṇḍin i. 1, again, in a verse attributed by Śārṅgadhara (no. 180) to Vijjā or Vijjakā (whose date is unknown but who is tentatively supposed by some to be Vijayā, wife of Caṇdrāditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II, about 659 A.D.),[2] implies merely a pleasant raillery at the expense of Daṇḍin by some later boastful poetess.

The only definite terminus to Daṇḍin's date is obtained from references in South Indian vernacular works on Alaṃkāra, belonging in all probability to the 9th century A.D., which cite him as an established authority. The Sinhalese treatise *Siya-bas-lakara*, which Barnett thinks cannot "in any case be later than the 9th century A.D."[3] cites Daṇḍin in v. 2 as one of its authorities. The Kanarese work *Kavirāja-mārga* (in three chapters), attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga (who flourished in the first half of

8 ; also Agashe's preface to *Daśakumāra* ed. B. S. S. pp. lxii f) to be Rājasiṃhavarman, otherwise known as Narasiṃhavarman II of Kāñcī (end of the 7th century), one of whose *birudas* (viz. *kālakāla* which is also a name of Śiva) Daṇḍin is supposed to have alluded to in iii. 50 ; while iii. 25 is presumed to imply a pun referring to the royal token (*mahāvarāha*) of Cālukya Pulakeśin II. But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince ; and, as Pischel suggested, the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work referring to his story. Cf Jacobi *op. cit.* p. 214.

1 The phrase *aṣṭa-varṇa* occurring in the *prahelikā* is also found, as G. K. Sankara points out, in the Mamandur Inscription of Mahendravarman I. Premachandra on Daṇḍin interprets *puṇḍraka* instead of *pallava* in the verse, which fact indicates that it is capable of a different interpretation.—There are references to Kāverī, Cola and Kaliṅga in iv. 43-44.

2 See Agashe *op. cit.* pp. lix f.

3 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 841. The work has been edited by Hendrick

the 9th century), gives six verses[1] which are exact translations of corresponding verses in Daṇḍin. Pathak, in the introduction to his edition (1898) of this work (p. 19), further adds that in ch. iii most of the verses "are either translations or adaptations from the *Kāvyādarśa*," and that there are also convincing indications of Daṇḍin's "influence on other parts of the work" as well.

This will give us the 9th century as the lower limit to Daṇḍin's work, a conclusion which may also be established by showing that Daṇḍin was probably earlier than Vāmana, who may be assigned to the beginning of the same period. We need not enter into this point in detail here, but there are several unmistakable indications which show that Vāmana's work betrays a further progress in the elaboration of some of the fundamental ideas which are dealt with by Daṇḍin. The stress which Daṇḍin puts on the theory of Rīti (which he calls Mārga) is carried to its furthest extreme by Vāmana, who elevates Rīti to the rank of the very essence of poetry. While Daṇḍin mentions two types of Mārga, Vāmana adds an intermediate third Rīti ; and from Mammaṭa ix. 4 we learn that Vāmana was the first to suggest this threefold division.[2] Again, while Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin apparently engage in a controversy over the classification of Kāvya into Kathā and Ākhyāyikā, Vāmana peremptorily brushes aside all discussion and refers the curious reader to the works of "others."[3] Daṇḍin is also anxious to show, in the course of a long digression, that the word *iva* is indicative of *utprekṣā* (which figure itself is admitted by Bhāmaha ii. 88 only in

1 viz., those defining *asādhāraṇopamā, asaṁbhavopamā, anuśayākṣepa, viśeṣokti, hetu* and *atiśayokti* respectively.

2 It is noteworthy also that Daṇḍin is unaware of the more or less technical term *rīti*, made so familiar by Vāmana, but uses the almost synonymous expression *mārga*, also used by Vāmana in iii. 1. 12.

deference to the views of Medhāvin); but to Vāmana (iv. 3. 9, *vṛtti*) it is already an established fact. Such instances can be easily multiplied, but what is given here will be enough to indicate Daṇḍin's priority to Vāmana,[1] and fix the lower limit of his date at the end of the 8th and the commencement of the 9th century[2].

1 It is supposed by Kielhorn (with whom Peterson in his pref. to *Daśakumāra* agrees) that Daṇḍin ii. 51, in which some of the *upamā-doṣas* are justified, is directed against Vāmana iv. 2. 8f, implying thereby that Daṇḍin is later than Vāmana. But if we take the texts of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana together on this point, we can only make out the following facts. Bhāmaha, in accordance with the opinion of Medhāvin, brings forward (ii. 39-40) seven *upamā-doṣas*, viz., deficiency (*hīnatva*), impossibility (*asaṃbhava*), disparity of gender (*liṅga-bheda*), disparity of number (*vacana-bheda*), contrariety (*viparyaya*), excess (*adhikatva*) and non-similitude (*asādṛśya.*) Daṇḍin, tacitly assuming these, only remarks about two pairs of them (viz. disparity of gender and number, excess and deficiency) that they do not necessarily disturb comparison if they do not wound the cultivated sensibility. In this he is substantially following Bhāmaha, who says generally that the *upameya* cannot in every respect be similar to the *upamāna* (ii. 43), a dictum which is implicitly accepted by most later writers, who define *upamā* as *bhedābheda-pradhāne upamā.* Therefore, deficiency etc. become faults only when they disturb the sense of appreciation of the man of taste. Vāmana, on the other hand, mentions six *upamā-doṣas* instead of seven, including *viparyaya* in *adhikatva* and *hīnatva* (iv. 2. 11 *vṛtti*), with the final pointed remark : *ata evāsmākaṃ mate ṣaḍ doṣāḥ.* It appears, therefore, that Daṇḍin ii. 51f is a link in the chain between Bhāmaha ii. 39f and Vāmana iv. 2. 8f

2 Pischel's argument (pref. to *Śṛṅg. til.*) that Daṇḍin is identical with the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika* on the ground that Daṇḍin ii. 362 (st. *limpatīva,* ed. Bibl. Indica) occurs also in that drama (ed. N.S.P. 1916, i. 34) lands us, apart from other objections, in the absurdity of identifying Daṇḍin with Bhāsa as well, inasmuch as the same verse is also found in the so-called Bhāsa-damas, *Cārudatta* (i. 19) and *Bāla-carita* (i. 15). The attribution, again, of the same verse in Śārṅgadhara 3603 and Vallabhadeva 1890 to Bhartṛmeṇṭha and Vikramāditya further discredits Pischel's theory. The occurrence of the verse in

(2)

The upper limit is not so easy to settle. Peterson, following Maheśacandra Nyāyaratna, points out[1] that Daṇḍin ii. 197 is a reminiscence of a passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* p. 102, l. 16. (ed. BSS), and Jacobi is inclined to accept this view. Bāṇa lived about 606-647 A. D. in the reign of king Harṣa, whose biographer he was. Jacobi also points out a resemblance between Daṇḍin ii. 302 and Māgha ii. 4. Pathak, again, remarks[2] that Daṇḍin's threefold classification of *karman* into *nirvartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya* (ii. 240) is taken from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* iii. 45f. Bhartṛhari, according to Yi-tsing died about 651 A.D., while Māgha probably belonged to the second half to the 7th century[3]. Thus Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari

on this point) only shows that Daṇḍin did not disdain to borrow well-known verses for purposes of illustration and criticism, as he himself admits in a general way in i. 2. It should also be noted that in the Bibl. Indica ed. of the text, the verse is given twice (1) as a half-verse quotation in ii. 226 and (2) in full ii. 362. But this reading, on which apparently Pischel's theory was based, is doubtful, and is contrary to readings in other MSS. In the Tibetan version of the text (*JRAS*, 1903), as well as in the Madras edition, the verse occurs only once as a half-verse quotation in ii. 226, the full verse being omitted in the text and given in the Madras ed. only in the accompanying commentary. Pischel is hardly accurate in stating that Pratītārendu attributes this verse to Daṇḍin; for the commentator, in the course of his discussion on *utprekṣā* simply says (p. 26) that Daṇḍin has already discussed at great length that the verse *limptīva* is an illustration of *utprekṣā* containing *atiśaya*.

1 Pref. to *Daśakumāra*°, new ed. 1919, p. ix. Other such reminiscences are presumed in Daṇḍin i. 45 (= *Śakuntalā* i. 20, ed. M. Williams; Cf. *JRAS*, 1905 p. 841f), ii. 286 (=*Raghu* viii. 57), ii. 129 (=*Śakuntalā* i. 26) etc. Taruṇavācaspati is of opinion (on i. 2) that Daṇḍin consulted the usages of poets like Kālidāsa. See other parallel passages' collected together by Agashe (preface to *Daśakumāra*, pp. liv f).

2 *IA* xli, 1912 p. 237.

3 See Kielhorn in *GN*, 1906, p. 143-46. Cf Māgha ii. 83 where he shows himself fully conversant with Poetics; also ii. 8, 86, 87,

and Māgha probably all belong the same age and flourished in the first half or the middle of the 7th century.

These evidences, although suggestive, do not in their nature appear to be decisive ; and we are ultimately thrown upon the question of Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāmaha, which might support these evidences and with reference to which indeed the chronology of Daṇḍin should be settled. If Bhāmaha's priority to Daṇḍin can be definitely established, then we arrive with this at a more or less satisfactory limit to the date of the latter. The question is, no doubt, beset with many difficulties ; but so far as a comparative study of their respective texts indicates, the presumption is strong in favour of Bhāmaha's priority ; because, while Daṇḍin criticises Bhāmaha's innovations, Bhāmaha apparently never does so in cases of Daṇḍin's innovations which are indeed much more numerous. The materials for such a critical study (apart from a consideration of their general theories) consist of several passage, occurring in their respective texts, which are either (1) identical or very similar in phraseology, or (2) so closely related to each other that the one author appears to be criticising the other. As the question has already engaged a great deal of controversy[1], which has thrashed out almost all the details we will here discuss it very briefly. As instances of the first group of passages, we may cite Bh i. 20ab and D i. 7cd ; Bh. i. 17cd and D i. 29ab (definition of Mahākāvya) ; Bh ii. 66ab and D ii. 4cd (enumertion of certain Alaṃkāras) ;

xiii. 69, xiv. 50, xix. 37, xx. 44 (where he refers to Bharata).—On Māgha's date, see S. K. De, *Hist. Skt. Lit.* Calcutta 1942, pp. 88-89 and references contained therein.

1 M T. Narasimhiengar in *JRAS*. 1905, pp. 53f ; K. B. Pathak in *JBRAS* xxiii, p. 19 ; R. Narasimhachar in *IA* xli, 1912, p. 90 ; p. 232 ; Trivedi, introd. to *Pratāparuara* p. 32 and *IA*, xlii, 1913, p. 258-74 ; H. Jacobi in *ZDMG*, lxiv, p. 134, in *SBAW*, xxiv, 1922 (Bhāmaha und Daṇḍin. ihr Alter etc), p. 210-226. and xxxi, 1928 (Zur Frühgeschichte d ind. Poetik) ; J. Nobel in *ZDMG*, lxxiii, 1919, p. 190f and his *Beitraege zur aelteren Geschichte des Alaṃkāraśāstra*, Berlin 1911, p. 78 ; P. V. Kane in *HSP*. pp. 96-108. etc.

Bh ii. 87ab and D ii. 244ab (illustration of Vārtā) ; Bh iii.1ab and D ii. 5cd (enumeration of certain Alaṃkāras) ; Bh iii. 53 and D iii. 363 (the figure Bhāvika) ; Bh iii. 5 and D ii. 276 (illustration of Preyas) ; Bh iv. 1-2 and D iv. 2-3 (enumeration of Doṣas) ; Bh iv. 8ab and D iv. 5ab (definition of Apārtha). The verbal coincidence in these passages is so striking that there can be no doubt that it should be taken as something more than merely accidental. It does not, however, preclude the possibility of their being taken from a common source, or being standardised definitions or enumerations common enough in such technical treatises.

The second group of passages, also betraying enough verbal similarity, is more interesting and important ; because they certainly express contradictory views of their respective authors, if not actually meant as direct mutual criticism. In two of these passages, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are, each in his turn, rejecting an illustration which is adduced by the other, but both citing the illustration in question in exactly identical phraseology. Thus, Bhāmaha cites and rejects (ii. 87), after the figure *hetu*, the illustration *gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ*, characterising it as bad poetry, to which he says, some writers give the name of *vārtā*. Daṇḍin does not mention *vārtā*, but approvingly cites (ii. 244) the same half-verse under the figure *hetu*, pointedly remarking that the illustration under discussion is good. Similarly, the half-verse *himāpahāmitra-dharair* is given as an instance of the fault *avācaka* by Bhāmaha (i. 41), but Daṇḍin gives the verse in full in a different context (iii. 120) as an example of a variety of *prahelikā* ; Bhāmaha apparently condemning it as faulty, while Daṇḍin taking it as a piece of ingenious construction. Taking the examples in their contexts as quoted from a common source, the passages apparently indicate that Daṇḍin is not in agreement with Bhāmaha (who condemns these) but expressly justifies their propriety.

A closer contact of views and similarity of expression are to be found in those passages in this group, which relate to

(1) the discussion of the comparative merits of the *gauḍīya* and *vaidarbha mārgas* (Bh i. 31-35 and D i. 40 f) (2) the distinction between prose *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* (Bh i. 25f and D i. 23f), and (3) the enumeration of the ten *doṣas* (Bh iv. 1-2 and D iv. 2-4) ; and those who maintain Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha hold that in these cases the latter is undoubtedly criticising the former. In the first of these instances, Bhāmaha's remarks merely show that he is more or less indifferent to the literary value of Mārga or Rīti as modes of composition, and laughs at the distinction which some writers make between *gauḍa* and *vaidarbha* types, himself giving preference, if any, to the former. In his opinion, as he says in the next verse (i. 36), what is important in poetry is not Rīti but Vakrokti. It appears that the view which Bhāmaha is criticising was traditional or referred to as a matter of common controversy, as he himself says in this connexion: *gatānugatika-nyāyān nānākhyeyam amedhasām*. Jacobi points out that the Gauḍa Mārga, long before Daṇḍin, could never establish for itself a good reputation, and Bāṇa had already condemned it as *akṣara-ḍambara* (*Harṣa-carita* i. 7). Daṇḍin, on the other hand, attaches great importance to Rīti in poetry which under the name *mārga*, occupies a considerable part of his treatment ; but he acknowledges, in spite of his own distinguishing of two such extreme types as *gauḍa* and *vaidarbha*, that there are other intermediate modes finely differentiated (i. 40), and that the types admitted by him are not capable of exact definition (i 101f), although he himself prefers the *vaidarbha*. It may also be added that Bhāmaha is unaware of the peculiar analysis of *mārga* given by Daṇḍin with reference to the ten essential *guṇas*, but he mentions casually (and not in connexion with Rīti) only three *guṇas* which may be admitted in all good composition. The respective characterisation, again, of the two Rītis has hardly any point of contact, and Bhāmaha's remarks, if supposed to be levelled against Daṇḍin in particular, are certainly off the mark ; for each of them approaches the

subject from the standpoints of entirely different schools of opinion[1].

Similar remarks apply to the other two cases, in which one hardly finds any direct reference by Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin does not accept as characteristic or essential those marks of distinction between a Kathā and an Ākhyāyikā which Bhāmaha enumerates, and apparently quotes in this connexion the half-verse i. 29ab from Bhāmaha i. 27cd. The distinction, denied by Daṇḍin, is admitted (along with Bhāmaha) by earlier as well as later writers ; for Bāṇa designates his *Harṣa-carita* as an *ākhyāyikā* and his *Kādambarī* as a *kathā*[2], and some such distinction is also implied by the *Amara-kośa*. With regard to the other passages which enumerate the Doṣas, it appears that Bhāmaha, following the traditional recounting of ten orthodox Doṣas (cf Bharata xvi. 84)[3] mentions the same number of Doṣas, but adds that *pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hīnatva* is not desirable in poetry (iv. 2). At the same time, this eleventh defect is interesting to him from the standpoint of logical exposition, and he deals with it in v. 1f,[4] apparently considering that defective logic is also to be looked upon generally as a notable flaw in a composition. Daṇḍin enumerates the same ten Doṣas (iv. 2-3) in exactly similar phraseology, and conservatively maintains the view (iv. 4) that the so-called eleventh fault is difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss[5].

1 This point will be discussed in detail below in vol. ii.

2 See Taruṇavācaspati's remarks on Daṇḍin i. 25.

3 The definitions, however, do not agree. See Jacobi *op. cit*, p. 222f.

4 For Bhāmaha's exposition of logic in relation to other philosophical writers see K. B. Pathak in *ABORI*, xii. pp. 372-87.

5 Emphasis is also put on some verbal resemblance between Bh i. 22 and D i. 21-22. In these passages, however, the standpoints of the two theorists are quite distinct, although they use somewhat similar phrases. Bhāmaha here expresses his disapproval of a disastrous ending, perhaps in conformity with a similar conventional prohibition in the drama. Daṇḍin, on the other hand, takes the ultimate triumph of the hero for granted, and does not trouble him-

From the above discussion, the conclusion is very probable that Daṇḍin was familiar with the text of Bhāmaha whom, as a notable predecessor expressing contrary views, he could hardly ignore. On this point we have the almost unanimous testimony of Daṇḍin's commentators[1], who expressly state that in most of these disputed passages Daṇḍin controverts the earlier opinions of Bhāmaha. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter here into the details of their respective theories, which not only indicate some fundamental and important differences, as one should expect in writers belonging to two different schools of opinion, but also the fact that Daṇḍin, in dealing with most of the topics, has gone into greater details and finer distinctions, apparently betokening that in his age the study was more advanced and fraught with greater complexity than in that of Bhāmaha[2].

self about the admittedly forbidden tragic ending. He appears to express the view that it is artistically more effective if the rival of the hero is set forth at the outset in all his glory and then his downfall is secured through the superior virtue of the hero himself. One does not also find any point in Bhāmaha ii. 37-38, which criticises the classification of the figure *upamā* into many subvarieties (like *nindo°*, *praśaṃso°* and *ācikhyāso°*) but which is taken by some to imply an attack on Daṇḍin's elaborate subdivision of the same figure. The *tri-prakāratvam* cannot possibly refer to Daṇḍin, who mentions not three but thirty-two subvarieties: while *nindo°*, *praśaṃso°* etc. are also mentioned by Bharata.

1 e. g. Taruṇavācaspati on i. 23-24, 29; ii. 235, 237, 358; iv. 4 etc; Harinātha on i. 15 (cited in *ABod* 206b); Vādijaṅghāla on i. 21.

2 See, for instance, their respective views on *rīti*, *guṇa* and *doṣa*, on *alaṃkāra* (which last element Daṇḍin does not distinguish fundamentally from *guṇas*, ii. 3.), on *vakrokti* (Bh ii. 85 and D ii. 362); their respective order of treatment of *alaṃkāras* (which Bhāmaha deals with in successive groups, while Daṇḍin's thirty-five independent poetic figures are given as if they are well recognised); Daṇḍin's minute and fine differentiation of infinite sub-species of individual figures; their respective treatment of *yamaka*, *upamā*, *utprekṣā*, *ananvaya* and *sasaṃdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* (which last four Daṇḍin does not accept as independent figures) etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

If this conclusion of Bhāmaha's probable priority is accepted, then we get his date as the upper limit to that of Daṇḍin, the lower limit being, as already discussed, the same as that of Bhāmaha, namely the date of Udbhaṭa's contemporary, Vāmana. Daṇḍin, therefore, flourished probably in the first half of the 8th century.[1]

(3)

There cannot be any doubt that Daṇḍin, like Bhāmaha, must have been indebted to his predecessors ; and if he does not mention any one of them by name, he gives enough evidence of his having utilised their works, including that of Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin, however, makes a general acknowledgment in i. 2, and refers to the opinions of "others" and of "learned men" (e.g. i. 9, 10 ; ii. 2, 7, 9, 54 ; iii. 106) ; while he makes no secret of his having "observed" and probably borrowed his illustrations from earlier poets, to whom reference[2] is made in i. 30,100 ; ii. 65, 223, 225, 363 ; iv.7, 32, 42, 57. The *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary on i. 2 mentions in particular two authors, named Kāśyapa and Vararuci (vi. 2 ; ii. 7), whose works Daṇḍin is supposed to have utilised. Similarly in Vādijaṅghāla's *Śrutānupālinī* commentary Kāśyapa, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin are spoken of as Daṇḍin's predecessors. These may be mythical or traditional names ; but Kāśyapa is also mentioned by another admirer of Daṇḍin's who composed the Sinhalese rhetorical work already referred to. He is known to Abhinavagupta as a Muni who preceded Bharata, and his opinion on Rāgas is cited in *Abhinavabhāratī*. Kallinātha on *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (ii. 2. 31) quotes

1 The question whether our Daṇḍin is identical with Daṇḍin, author of *Daśakumāra-carita*, does not concern us here ; on this see S. K. De, *History of Sansk. Lit.* Calcutta 1947, pp. 207-9. Of his personal history nothing is known, unless we hold that the two Daṇḍins are identical and are prepared to accept the *Avantisundarī-kathā* (ed. M. R. Kavi, Madras 1924) as a work of Daṇḍin. See S. K. De, *Aspects* of *Skt. Lit.*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 296-308.

2 See this point discussed in Agashe *op. cit.* pp. liii f.

three verses of Kāśyapa . and among old authorities on music he is mentioned by Nānyadeva (11th-12th century) who mentions also Bṛhat-Kāśyapa and Vṛddha-Kāśyapa. The *Pañca-sāyaka*, on the other hand, cites him (iv. 19) as an authority on Erotics, and the *Agni-purāṇa* as an authority on Metrics. One Kāśyapa is cited by Pāṇini in viii. 4. 67, and a grammarian Kāśyapa, as Aufrecht notes, is quoted by Mādhava.

Pischel[1] has already negatived the suggestions of Premachandra Tarkavagish[2], Peterson[3] and Jacobi[4] that Daṇḍin in i. 12 refers by the word *chando-viciti* to a treatise of his own, so named, on the subject of prosody. The word, however as indicated by Daṇḍin himself in the same verse, by his reference to it as *sā vidyā*, does not necessarily mean any particular treatise but the science of prosody in general[5] ; for which, in addition to the references given by Pischel, one need only cite Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* (i. 3.1) and Āpastamba *Dharma-sūtra* ii. 4. 8, where the word *chando-viciti* occurs ; also Rājaśekhara p. 6 and Hemacandra, Comm. p. 5. In iv. 49, again, Daṇḍin refers to a *kalā-pariccheda*, which Peterson takes to be a clear reference to another work of Daṇḍin's ; but the reference is more likely to an additional or supplementary chapter to his *Kāvyādarśa*, as Taruṇavācaspati suggests (p. 282). It is noteworthy that the *Kāmadhenu* commentary on Vāmana similarly quotes from a lost work or chapter of Bhāmaha's on the *kalās*[6].

Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* consists three Paricchedas or chapters (four in M. Rangacharya's ed.) and about 660 verses. The topics comprehended are : I. Definition and division of Kāvya; the two Mārgas (Vaidarbha and Gauḍa) and ten Guṇas

1 Pref. to *Sṛng. til.* p. 14 f.
2 On Daṇḍin i. 12.
3 Introd. to *Daśakumāra* p. ix-x.
4 *Ind. Stud.* xvii p. 447.
5 See P. V. Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 177.
6 See above p. 57 footnote.

pertaining to them ; the essential requirements of a good poet (Pratibhā, Śruta and Abhiyoga). II. Definition of Alaṃkāra, and enumeration and description of 35 Arthālaṃkāras viz. *svabhāvokti, upamā, rūpaka, dīpaka, āvṛtti, ākṣepa, arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, vidhāvanā, samāsokti, atiśayokti, utprekṣā, hetu, sūkṣma, leśa* or *lava, yathāsaṃkhya* or *krama, preyas, rasavat, ūrjasvi, paryāyokta, samāhita, udātta, apahnuti, śleṣa, viśeṣokti, tulyayogitā, virodha, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, vyājokti, nidarśanā, sahokti, parivṛtti, āśīḥ, saṃkīrṇa* and *bhāvika*. III. Elaborate treatment of Śabdālaṃkāras, namely *yamaka, citra-bandha* and 16 varieties of *prahelikā*; ten Doṣas (in ch. iv in Rangacharya's ed,).

(4)

Commentators On Daṇḍin

The commentaries on Daṇḍin, as the following Bibliography will show, are numerous. Most of these are comparatively modern, excepting perhaps that of Taruṇavācaspati as well as the anonymous commentary called *Hṛdayaṅgama*, both printed in the Madras edition. With this exception, they are hardly useful for an historical or critical study of Daṇḍin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. (1) Bibl. Ind. 1863, by Premachandra Tarkavagish with his own commentary, reprinted by Bhavadeva Chattopodyaya, Calcutta 1881. (2) by Jivananda Vidyasagar 1882 etc. (3) edited and translated by O. Böhtlingk, Leipzig 1890. (4) with two comms. (one of Taruṇavācaspati and the other entitled Hṛdayaṅgama) by M. Rangacharya, Madras 1910. (5) by S. K. Belvalkar and Rangacharya B. Raddi with Sansk. comm. and English notes, BSS. Bombay pt. i. (1919). and pt. ii. (1920). (6) Sansk. text and Eng. trs. by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona 1924 (Advance issue, ch. i. and ii in 1920). (7) Sansk and Tibetan text, ed. Anukul Chandra Banerji, Cal. Univ. 1939. (9) ed. with Ratnaśrī

commentary of Ratnaśrījñāna who follows the Tibetan version of the text, by Anantalal Thakur and U. Jha. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga 1957. (8) ed. D. T. Tatācharya with Hṛdayaṅgama, and comms. of Vādijaṅghāla and Taruṇavācaspati, Bombay(?) 1941. (10) ed. V. Krishnamachari, with the commentary of Vādijaṅgāla, Srinivasa Press, Tiruvadi 1936. Our references are to the Madras edition of M. Rangacharya unless otherwise indicated: this edition divides the work into four chapters instead of three.

Commentaries. (1) by Taruṇavācaspati, *Madras Cat.* xii, 12834. Printed as noted above. It appears to be an old comm. But as it cites (on i. 40) Bhoja ii. 28, as well *Daśarūpaka* i. 8 (in comm. on i. 31), it cannot be placed very early. This commentary also refers (on i. 30) to a poet Hastimalla who may be the Jaina Hastimallasena who wrote dramas and poems. Keśava Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Taruṇavācaspati, was Guru of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmanātha (the Hoysala Vīra Rāmanātha) who came to the throne in 1255 A D. See V. Raghavan in *JOR*, xiii. at p. 305. So Taruṇavācaspati's date would be the end of the 12th and first half of the 13th century. In the colophon to some MSS he is called 'Sādhu'.

(2) *Hṛdayaṅgama* by an anonymous author. *Madras Cat.* 12833. Printed as above (ch. i-ii only). The comments on Daṇḍin ii. 284, 286, 288, 289-91 are quoted *verbatim* but anonymously by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (ch. xi).

(3) *Mārjanā* by Harinātha, son of Viśvadhara and younger brother of Keśava. *ABod* 206b ; Peterson vi p. 30 (extract). MS in BORI (*Catalogue* xii, no. 124) copied in Saṃvat 1746=1690 A.D. Hārinātha also wrote a comm. on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-k.*° He must be later than Keśava Miśra whose work on Alaṃkāra he cites.

(4) *Muktāvalī* by Narasiṃha-sūri, son of Gadādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇa-śarman. Mitra 2394 (Aufrecht i. 102b).

(5) *Candrikā* by Triśaraṇataṭabhīma. Mentioned in Hall's *Index*, p. 63.

(6) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Viśvanātha. Oppert 4112 (Aufrecht i. 103a).

(7) *Vivṛti* or *Kāvya-tattva-viveka-kaumudī* by Kṛṣṇa-kiṃkara Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya of Gopālapura in Bengal. *IOC* pt. iii, no. 1128/1497, p. 321.

(8) *Śrutānupālinī* by Vādijaṅghāla (or °ghaṅghala). Printed as noted above. Stein pp. 61, xxviii, extract no. 1179. The *Report of Peripatetic Party of Madras MSS Lib.* 1917-19 mentions an acquisition of this comm. for the Library. MS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 125. The comm. mentions Kāśyapa, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin as predecessors of Daṇḍin.

(9) Comm. by Bhagīratha. Aufrecht i. 102b.

(10) Comm. by Vijayānanda. MS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 123 (incomplete).

(11) *Vaimalya-vidhāyinī* by Mallinātha, son of Jagannātha. Aufrecht ii. 20a. This is perhaps the same Mallinātha as is referred to by Viśveśvara in *Alaṃkaus°*, p. 69 as a commentator on *Kāvyādarśa*; and he should be distinguised from the better known Kolācala Mallinātha.

(12) Comm. (incomplete) by Tribhuvanacandra, otherwise called Vādisiṃha, a Jaina. HPS iii, no. 57.

(13) Comm. by Yāmuna or Yāmuneya. MSS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 126. It is probably a South Indian work which divides the *Kāvyādarśa* into 4 chapters, as in Madras ed. of Rangacharya.

(14) *Ratnaśrī* by Ratnaśrījāna. Ed. as descibed above. The author was a Ceylonese monk who wrote under the patronage of some Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, named Tuṅga, under the overlordsip of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa and Magadha (c. 908 A. D.). Authors quoted, besides Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, are Mātṛceṭa, Āryaśūra, Kohala, Rāma-śarman, Medhāvirudra, Kambala, Harivṛddha, Bhāmaha, Bhar-

tṛmeṇṭha, Guṇādhya, *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa,* Mallanāga, and Dharmakīrti.

(15) Anoymous Comms. in Mitra 297, Oppert 7903; *SCC* vii 21. A comm. by Dharmavācaspati in Oppert 2581 is probably a mistake for Taruṇavācaspati. Regnaud (*Rhêtorique,* p. 367 fn) also mentions a commentary by Vācaspati and refers to Taylor ii 501; which work probably refers also to this commentary.

UDBHAṬA

(1)

Udbhaṭa, who wrote a commentary named *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* or °*vivṛti*[1] on Bhāmaha, as well as utilised the latter's work[2] in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha,* certainly lived before the final exposition of the Dhvani-theory by Ānandavardhana[3] who, in the middle of the 9th century, actually cites Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa twice at pp. 96, 108. Udbhaṭa's name indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. Kahlaṇa (iv. 495) mentions a certain Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa who was a *sabhāpati* of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (about 779-813 A. D.); and Bühler, to whom we owe the discovery of Udbhaṭa's work in Kashmir, identifies him with the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha* (or °*sāra-saṃgraha*). Accepting this identification,

1 The *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* is frequently mentioned and cited by later writers; e.g. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (p. 10, 40, 134, 159), Hemachandra (Comm. p. 17, 110), Māṇikyacandra (*Saṃketa,* ed. Mysore p. 289), Samudrabandha (on *Alam. sarvasva,* p. 89). Pratīhārendurāja (p. 13) etc.

2 Udbhaṭa seems to have taken over almost *verbatim* from Bhāmaha the definitions of *ākṣepa, vibhāvanā, atiśayokti, kathāsaṃkhya, utprekṣā paryāyokta, apahnuti, virodha, aprastuta-praśaṃsā sahokti, sasaṃdeha* and *ananvaya.* The poetic figures are enumerated almost in the same order as that of Bhāmaha. But Udbhaṭa omits a few Alaṃkāras defined by Bhāmaha (e. g. *yamaka, upamā-rūpaka, utprekṣāvayava*) and adds a few not defined by the latter (e. g. *punaruktavad-ābhāsa, kāvyaliṅga, dṛṣṭānta* and *saṃkara*).

3 Cf the opinions of Pratīhārendurāja (p. 79), Ruyyaka and Jayaratha (p. 3) and Jagannātha (pp. 414-5).

4 *Kashmir Rep* p. 65.

we should, however, place the most flourishing period of Udbhaṭa's activity, as Jacobi points out, in the first part of Jayāpīḍa's rather long reign ; because this sovereign in the latter part of his career appears to have alienated the Brahmans by his oppression of the people. Udbhaṭa, therefore, should be assigned to the end of the 8th century, and he may have lived into the beginning of the 9th.

Besides the lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, Pratīhārendurāja tells us (p. 15) that Udbhaṭa wrote a poem, called *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, from which are taken most of the illustrations in the text.

We have already mentioned above that Udbhaṭa probably wrote also a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but it is no longer available. The followers of Udbhaṭa or the Audbhaṭas are mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Bharata.

Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha* consists of six chapters (called Vargas), contains 75 Kārikās in Anuṣṭubh with 95 illustrations, and deals with 41 Alaṃkāras. Some verses are assigned to Udbhaṭa in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* 498, 1463, 3453, of which no. 498 is a well known gnomic stanza found also in such collections as the *Cāṇakya-śataka*. Although closely following Bhāmaha in the treatment of Alaṃkāras, Udbhaṭa has certain views peculiar to himself, which are either absent in Bhāmaha or in which he differs from his predecessor. For instance, Bhāmaha speaks of three kinds of Śleṣa while Udbhaṭa mentions two kinds, and the basis of classification is different ; Udbhaṭa's three Vṛttis, on which the classification of Anuprāsa proceeds, are absent in Bhāmaha [1]

(2)

MUKULA AND PRATĪHĀRENDURĀJA

Pratīhārendurāja, Udbhaṭa's commentator, was, as he himself tells us, a native of Koṅkana and a pupil of Mukula.

1 For more instances see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 127-28.—For a résumé of the topics covered by Udbhaṭa's work see vol. ii. ch. ii(2).

Mukula is known to us as the author of *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā*, a work on the grammatico-rhetorical question of Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇa, consisting of 15 Kārikās with Vṛtti. From the last verse of this work we learn that the author's father was Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived, according to Kahlaṇa v. 66, in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.)[1] and was, therefore, a contemporary of Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana. Accepting Kahlaṇa's statement, Mukula should be placed roughly towards the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. His pupil Pratīhārendurāja, therefore, belongs approximately to the first half of the 10th century.[2] In his commentary on Udbhaṭa, called °*Laghu-vṛtti*, Pratīhārendu quotes from Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, the *Dhvanyāloka* and Rudraṭa, actually naming most of them, and appears to be fairly familiar with the Dhvani-theory, as explained by Ānandavardhana, to which, however, he does not subscribe.

Peterson appears to suggest[3] the identification of Pratīhārendurāja with Bhaṭṭendurāja, whom Abhinavagupta refers to as *asmad-upādhyāya* in his *Locana* (pp. 25, 43, 116, 160, 207, 223) as well as in his commentary on Bharata, where this teacher is quoted sometimes simply as *upādhyāya*. At the commencement and close of his *Locana*,[4] Abhinavagupta indicates his immense indebtedness to this teacher, and in one place (p. 160) we find in his praise the somewhat grandiloquent epithet *vidvat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravartin*; which together with the fact that Abhinava also indicates that he learnt Kāvya from Bhaṭṭendurāja will go to support the conjecture

1 Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 66, 78

2 Cf. Pischel, Pref. to *Śṛṅgtil.* p. 12.

3 Introd. to *Subhāṣ°*, p. 11, but *contra* in Aufrecht i 59a. Banhatti's more recent advocacy of identity is hardly based on substantial and convincing reasons. The only instance where the two Indurājas are confused or identified occurs in Samudrabandha p. 132; but this is no strong evidence.

4 ed. Kāvyamālā p. 1; and ch. iv in *JDL.* 1922, p. 42 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems* p. 245 f).

that this preceptor was apparently well versed in both the theory and practice of poetry. Although chronology does not stand in the way, there are several reasons which might induce one to distinguish the two Indurājas. From Abhinava's commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*[1], we learn that Bhaṭṭendu was son of Śrībhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kātyāyana gotra; but of Pratīhārendu's genealogy or personal history we know nothing, except that he was a Kauṅkaṇa and a pupil of Mukula.[2] Bhaṭṭendu appears chiefly as a poet who wrote, as Abhinava's quotations show, in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and whose verses apparently supplied a ready source of apt poetic illustrations to his pupil's works, probably inspired by himself. If some of his opinions on Rasa and allied topics are quoted by Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata, they bear no kinship to Pratīhārendu's views, as expressed in the latter's commentary on Udbhaṭa. Although the prefixes Bhaṭṭa and Pratīhāra, being mere honorific titles, need not make any serious difference, Abhinava's citation of his teacher always as Bhaṭṭendurāja (and never as Pratīhārendurāja) is somewhat remarkable; and in view of the fact that these two Indurājas were probably contemporaries, might this not indicate that Abhinava meant to imply a difference? The two writers are never confused even in later anthologies, for the poet it always designated Indurāja[3] or Bhaṭṭendurāja. The conjecture, therefore, is not unlikely that Abhinava's teacher may have been the poet Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is quoted under this designation in

1 Bühler, *op. cit.* pp. 80 and cxlxii-viii.

2 It is curious that Abhinava, who takes care to refer to most of his teachers and "teacher of teachers" (*parama-guru*) should have omitted a reference to Mukula, whose work, if he was a *parama-guru*, should have been important to him, inasmuch as it dealt with the quasi-rhetorical question of the functions of word and its sense.

3 Two verses of Indurājā are cited at 287 and 306 (Kavi's ed. of *Nāṭya-śāstra*.)

Kṣemendra's two works[1] as well as in the poetical anthologies[2] of Śārṅgadhara, Vallabhadeva and Jahlaṇa. The commentator Pratīhārendurāja, on the other hand, was never known for his poetical pretensions, and was chiefly a writer on Poetics, who obviously belonged in his views to the older system of Udbhaṭa and did not, as Abhinava did, believe in newly established doctrine of Dhvani, with which, however, he appears to be fully conversant. Referring to this new theory of Ānandavardhana, Pratīhārendu states in one place (p. 79) that what is known as Dhvani and taken to be "the soul" of Poetry by some thinkers is included implicitly by his author Udbhaṭa in the treatment of some of the poetic figures under discussion, and therefore need not be separately considered. Bhaṭṭendurāja, on the other hand, appears to have favoured the new theory of Dhvani ; for Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 2) tells us that this teacher of his explained to him the Maṅgala-śloka of Ānanda's Vṛtti in the light of the Dhvani-theory. The standpoints of Pratīhārendurāja and Abhinava are so divergent that it is difficult to admit any spiritual relationship between the two ; for the former was in no way an adherent of the Dhvani-theory, of which Abhinava was a recognised advocate.

(3)

RĀJĀNAKA TILAKA

Jayaratha, commenting on Ruyyaka's (or Rucaka's) *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, refers in more than one place (ed. NSP 1893, pp. 15, 124, 205) to an *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-*

1 *Aucit, vic.* under *śl.* 25, 31 ; *Suvṛtta-til°* under *śl.* 2, 24, 29, 30.

2 *Subhāṣitāvalī* 918. The verse *parārthe yaḥ pīḍām,* ascribed to Indurāja in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (1052), is quoted anonymously twice by Ānandavardhana (pp. 53, 218), a fact which, however, is not decisive ; because Abhinava's commentary is silent as to the authorship of this verse, which occurs in *Bhallaṭa-śataka* 56 and is ascribed to another poet Yaśas in the *Subhāṣ°* 947. The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* attributes it to Vākpati, while Hemachandra (Comm. p. 257) and Jayaratha (p. 108) cite it anonymously.

vicāra by Rājānaka Tilaka, and states that Ruyyaka generally followed the views propounded by Tilaka. We know that a Rājānaka Tilaka was Ruyyaka's father. An anonymous commentary, entitled *Vivṛti*, has been published in the Gaekwad's Series (see below under Bibliography)[1], along with the text of Udbhaṭa commented upon. It has been claimed by the editor of this publication that the *Vivṛti* is identical with the *Viveka* or *Vicāra* cited by Jayaratha. Attention was drawn to this commentary in a notice of its unique MS, existing in the Madras Govt Oriental MS Library by the present writer[2], as well as by Banhatti about the same time in his edition of Udbhaṭa's work. Banhatti is rather cautious in his discussion of the question of identity, but he appears to be inclined to the view that the *Vivṛti* is "evidently a distinct work from the *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *-vicāra* of Rājānaka Tilaka mentioned by Jayaratha." The editor of the *Vivṛti*, however, makes an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the *Vivṛti* cannot but be taken as the lost *Viveka* or *Vicāra* of Tilaka[3]. The evidence adduced is plausible indeed, but does not appear to be conclusive, and in the absence of more definite data it would be better to leave the question open. That this anonymous commentary is late is evidenced not only by its content but also by its citation of Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*, as well as by its obvious appropriation of Mammaṭa's standard work. Its value as an exegetical work cannot be placed too high.

BIBILOGRAPHY

Udbhaṭa

Editions. (1) Text ed. in Roman characters by G. A. Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 829-53 ; (2) Text with Pratīhārendurāja's comm. by M. R. Telang, Nir. Sag. Press 1905, 1915 (this edition is useful for its comm., but some verses occurring

1 See a review by the present writer in *JRAS*, 1934, pp. 173-74.

2 In *BSOS*, iv, 1926, p. 279.

3 P. V. Kane (*HSP* p. 130) agrees with this view.

in the comm. are given mistakenly as Kārikā-verses); (3) ed. N. D. Banhatti, with the comm. of Pratīhārendūrāja, Bombay Skt. Series, Poona 1925. Our references are to Telang's edition, unless otherwise indicated.

Commentaries. (i) comm. by Pratīhārendurāja (as printed in the above editions), (ii) an anonymous commentary called Vivṛti (ascribed by the editor to Rājānaka Tilaka), ed. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Gaekwad's Orient. Series 1931.

Mukula

Edition. By M. R. Telang, N. S. P., Bombay 1916.

Pratīhārendurāja

Edition. With the text of Udbhaṭa as described above.

Rājānaka Tilaka

See above under Commentaries.

VĀMANA

(1)

The upper limit to Vāmana's date is given by his own quotations (IV. 3. 6 and i. 2. 12) from the *Uttara-rāma-carita* (i.38) and *Mahāvīra-carita* (i.54) of Bhavabhūti, who is known to have flourished under the patronage of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, in the first quarter of the 8th century[1]. The lower

1 *Rāja-taraṅg°* iv. 144; Bhandarkar, pref. to *Mālatī-mādhava* pp. xiiif; *JBRAS* xxiii, p 92f; S. P. Pandit in pref. to *Gauḍavaho* p. lxviif; *WZKM* ii 332f. Reference is made in an argument on an illustrative passage in the Vṛtti on iii. 2. 2 to Subandhu (*v. l.* Vasubandhu) a minister of Candragupta. There has been a good deal of controversy over the identity of the king (*bhūpati*) who is said to have been a patron of Subandhu or Vasubandhu (see *IA* xl, 1911, p. 170f, 312; xli, 1912, p. 1, 15; *IHQ* i, p. 261). V. Raghavan (*IHQ* xix, 1943, pp. 70-72) has shewn that it is unnecessary to suppose that Vāmana refers to Subandhu, the well known author of the prose Kathā *Vāsavadattā*; Vāmana is speaking of a minister named Subandhu of Candragupta Maurya and Bindusāra—whose drama is cited by Abhinavagupta as *Vāsavadattā Nāṭya-dhārā* of Mahākavi

limit is given by Rājaśekhara's quotation (p. 14) from Vāmana i. 2. 1-3, and his reference to the Vāmanīyas, which indicates that by end of the 9th century Vāmana had a respectable number of followers going by his name. We learn also from Abhinavagupta (*Locana*, p. 37)[1] that Vāmana was probably known, in the middle of the 9th century, to Ānandavardhana who, however, never directly cites Vāmana but seems to refer, in a manner not to be mistaken, to the latter's Rīti theory in his Vṛtti on iii. 52. Like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, Vāmana probably lived before the Dhvani-theory, under Ānandavardhana, came into prominence ; and Pratīhārendurāja, who professes a great reverence for Vāmana's views, expressly states (p. 81), while discussing *alaṃkāra-dhvani*, that in such cases Vāmana has employed the term *vakrokti* (iv. 3. 8)[2]. We will not be wrong, therefore, if we fix the lower limit of Vāmana's date at the middle of the 9th century[3].

Subandhu, the term Nāṭya-dhārā signifying that the entire drama was developed by a series of acts within acts.

1 The *Lacana* quotes from Vāmana at pp. 8. 10, 180 ; also *Abhinava-bharatī* vol. i, p. 288 (=Vāmana i. 3. 30-31).—Vāmana quotes (iv. 3. 10 *ubhau yadi vyomni*) from Māgha iii. 8 ; also Vāmana v. 2. 9= Māgha i. 25. The words *yo bhartṛ-piṇḍasya* cited as ungrammatical in v. 2. 28 occurs in *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* iv 3 ; and the verse *śaracchaśāṅka-gaureṇa* cited in iv. 3. 25, occurs in *Svapna-vāsavadatta* iv. 7.

2 Even supposing with Jacobi that Vāmana was contemporaneous with the ananymous Dhvanikāra, he cannot yet be shown to have been influenced in any way by the opinions of that school. The remarks of Ruyyaka (p. 7) and Jayaratha apparently support the trend of Pratīhārendurāja's opinion, and Jayaratha expressly says, with reference to these old writers, that they were unaware of the views of the Dhvanikāra (*dhvanikāra-mataṃ ebhir na dṛṣṭam*, p. 3), the Dhvanikāra being, in Jayaratha's opinion, the same as Ānandavardhana himself.

3 Cappeller's thesis propounded (in *Vāmana's Stilregeln* pp. iii f ; also pref. to his ed. pp. vii f) that Vāmana should be placed later than 1000 A.D. is disproved entirely by the quotations given above. Cf. Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 23 f. The mention of Kavirāja need not, as Pischel shows, of itself place Vāmana as late as 1000 A.D.

These considerations make it probable that Vāmana lived between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 9th century, at about 800 A.D., and justify Bühler's identification, in deference to Kahlaṇa iv. 497 and "the tradition of Kashmirian Pandits", of our Vāmana with the Vāmana who was a minister of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). This conclusion makes Udbhaṭa and Vāmana contemporaries and rivals ; and the way in which Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha refer to the two rival schools of Vāmanīyas and Audbhaṭas lends colour to such a supposition.

The Vṛtti (with illustration) on the Sūtras, called *Kavipriyā*, is composed, as its *maṅgala-śloka* indicates, by Vāmana himself (cf iv. 3. 33). This is confirmed by the fact that later writers ascribe both parts of the work to Vāmana[1]. The illustrations, as he himself informs us, are both *svīya* and *parakīya* (iv. 3. 33). Vāmana's work, after the *sūtra*-style, is divided into five Adhikaraṇas, each of which is divided again into Adhyāyas. The first and fourth Adhikaraṇa have three Adhyāyas, the rest two each, the total number of Adhyāyas being twelve. The subject-matter of the Adhikaraṇas is indicated by their naming: (i) Śārīra (ii) Doṣa-darśana (iii) Guṇa-vivecana (iv) Ālaṃkārika and (v) Prāyogika. The last Adhyāya deals with Śabda-śuddhi or grammatical correctness as an aspect of Prāyogika. The number of Alaṃkāras defined and illustrated is thirty-six.

(2)

It has already been noted that Vāmana, in many respects, attempts to improve upon the system of Daṇḍin. Vāmana does not claim entire originality with regard to the illustrations he cites, and many of them may be traced to well known sources. The Rīti-theory itself, which Vāmana for the first time clearly and systematically enunciates, is probably older that Bhāmaha, who alludes to the classification of the *gauḍī*

1 E g. Pratīhārendurāja (p. 17, 76, 81, 84); *Locana* (p. 37).

and *vaidarbhī*; and Vāmana himself cites from unknown expositors of the past, e.g. in his Vṛtti on I. 2. 11, 12-13; 3. 15. 29, 32; II. 1, 18; 2. 19; III. 1. 2. 9, 25; 2. 15; IV. 1, 7. etc., with *atra lokāḥ* or *tathā cāhuḥ*. While Daṇḍin supplies an important link between these unknown authors and Vāmana, we find the theory in its completely self-conscious form in the latter. But it appears to have languished after Ānanda-vardhana came into the field, in spite of the fact that Vāmana's influence apparently created a school known in later times as the Vāmanīya.

MAṄGALA

To this school probably belonged Maṅgala, who must have been a comparatively early writer, having been cited by Rājaśekhara (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20). Maṅgala, we are told by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 195), agrees with Bharata in his definition of Ojas, and maintains with Vāmana that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising it in the *gauḍī rīti*, inasmuch as it is common to all the Rītis.[1] This is all we hear about this writer, but it would indicate that in his views he leaned towards the system of Vāmana who was probably his predecessor. A poet Maṅgala is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*.

(3)

COMMENTATORS ON VĀMANA

The existing commentaries on Vāmana are mostly late, and are therefore hardly acceptable to a critical and historical student. The *Kāma-dhenu* by the South Indian, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was governor under Devarāya II (1423-46 A. D.) of the Vijayanagara dynasty, is a lucid exposition of the text, and its popularity is indicated by its frequent publication in India.

1 Cf. Māṇikyacandra (*Saṃketa*, Mysore ed. p. 292).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions and Translation. (1) Vāmana's Lehrbuch der Poetik ed, by Carl Cappeller, Jena 1875 ; (2) ed. by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1880, also 1889 ; (3) ed. by A. Borooah, Calcutta 1883 ; (4) ed. Granthapradarśinī, 1895 ; (5-6) ed. with Kāma-dhenu Comm. Ben. S. S. 1908, and Srivani-vilasa Press, Srirangam 1909 ; (7) ed. N. N. Kulkarni with extracts from Kāma-dhenu. Poona 1927 ; (8) Vāmana's Stilregelen, bearbeitet v. C. Cappelier (Trans. of the last chapter), Strassburg 1880.—Eng. Transl. by Ganganatha Jha, Allahabad (no date), published originally in the *Indian Thought*, vol iii-iv 1912; reprinted Orient. Bk. Agency, Poona 1928 (2nd revised ed.). Our references are to the Benares edition of 1908, unless otherwise indicated.

Commentaries. (1) *Kāma-dhenu* by Gopendra (or Govinda) Tippa (or Tirpurahara as he himself renders the name, introd. v. 8) Bhūpāla, about whom see above. He cites, among numerous other authors, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (the commentator on Mammaṭa ?), Ghaṇṭāpatha (apparently of Mallinātha) and Dharmadāsa Sūri's *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* (on ii. 2. 21). He is thus later than the 14th century. He cites a work called *Kavi-gajākuśa*. Ed. with the text in Grantha-pradarśinī 1895 ; in the Benares Sansk. Series and in the Srivani-vilasa Press, etc. Our references are by pages to the Benares Ed. (2) *Sāhitya-sarvasva* by Maheśvara (*IOC* 566 ; *ABod* 207b). See Śrīvatsalāñchana (under Commentators on Mammaṭa below). (3) A Commentary by Sahadeva quoted in the notes to the Gaekwad edition (Baroda) of *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* p. 5.

RUDRAṬA AND RUDRABHAṬṬA

(1)

The lower limit of Rudraṭa's date is furnished by the citation of Rudraṭa by name and reference to his *kāku-vakrokti* figure (ii. 16) by Rājaśekhara (p. 31) at the end of the

9th and beginning of the 10th century. This conclusion is supported by two considerations. Vallabhadeva who, as we shall presently see, flourished in the first half of the 10th century, quotes Rudraṭa by name in his commentary on Māgha (ed. Kashi Sansk. Series 1929, ii. 44) and mentions (on iv. 21) that he himself also composed a commentary on Rudraṭa's treatise on Alaṃkāra, where he had discussed in detail the points in question; while in the same commentary Hultzsch notes numerous references, mostly anonymous, to Rudraṭa[1]. Again, Pratīhārendurāja, about the same time, quotes anonymously (pp 42, 49) Rudraṭa's Kārikā-verses vii. 35 and xii. 4, as well as cites (p. 43) the illustrative stanza in Rudraṭa vii. 36[2]. Abhinavagupta also quotes anonymously (*Locana*, p. 45) a Kārikā-verse of Rudraṭa's (vii. 38). This sets aside altogether the conjectural date, viz. the second half of the 11th century, assigned by Bühler[3], as well as his revised date[4], viz. the middle of the 10th century, which Peterson[5] first put forward.

The upper limit cannot be so definitely settled; but it seems probable that Rudraṭa was younger than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, with regard to whose date his own time is to be settled. We need not go so far as to hold with Jacobi[6] that Rudraṭa derived his idea of *vakrokti* from Ratnākara's well known poem *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā*, and therefore was

1 See Hultzsch's pref. to his edition of *Megha-dūta* with Vallabha's comm., London 1911, p. x-xi. These references are not all found in the printed text. This Vallabhadeva must be distinguished from the compiler of the *Subhāṣ°* who bears the same name.

2 Cf Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p. 764. Other quotations by Pratīhārendurāja are: p. 11=R viii. 40; p. 31=R viii. 89; p. 34=R viii. 95. Also Dhanika on iv. 35=R xii. 4.

3 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

4 *IA* xii. 30.

5 Peterson. i (*Detailed Report* 1883) p. 14; also introd. to *Subhāṣ°* p. 105. Their arguments are based on the date of Nami-sādhu's commentary on Rudraṭa, which is now known to be dated in 1069 A.D. See below on Nami-sādhu.

6 *WZKM* ii. 151 f.

later than Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu, who lived under Bṛhaspati and Avantivarman of Kashmir ; but it is clear that if this new idea of *vakrokti* did not originate with Ratnākara or even with Rudraṭa, it was defined for the first time by the latter and illustrated by the former as a particular poetic figure. This verbal figure is described as resting on *śleṣa* (paronomasia) or *kāku* (intonation) and is based on a deliberate misunderstanding of one's words for the purpose of making a clever retort (Rudraṭa ii. 14-17). Bhāmaha (ii. 85), on the other hand, had taken *vakrokti*, not as a particular poetic figure, but as a certain strikingness of expression which characterises all poetic figures ; while Daṇḍin had limited the range of *vakrokti* and made it a collective name for all poetic figures with the exception of *svabhāvokti* (ii. 362 and comm. thereon). Vāmana was the first to regard *vakrokti* as a special poetic figure (*arthālaṃkāra*), but he too used the expression in a more or less general sense to denote a particular mode of metaphorical expression based on *lakṣaṇā* or transferred sense (iv. 3. 8)[1]. From this it appears that (1) the term *vakrokti* travelled through all these writings from a very broad sense as the distinguishing characteristic of all poetic figures to the precise and narrow signification of a specific verbal poetic figure in Rudraṭa's definition ; a definition which, however, unquestionably established itself in all later writers (except in Kuntaka who developed his idea directly from Bhāmaha); (2) the order of development points apparently to the conclusion that Rudraṭa was probably later than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana ; for in his time the broader and older connotation of *vakrokti* was out of date, and it came to be looked upon as a defined species of *śabdālaṃkāra* ; and (3) its illustration by Ratnākara indicates its existence, independently of Rudraṭa, in the 9th century A. D. These indications make it probable, apart from a detailed examination of Rudraṭa's other theories in relation to those of

1 Cf. Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv, p. 130f.

Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, that the substance of Rudraṭa's teaching was probably later than that of these older writers. If this conclusion is accepted, then Rudraṭa should be placed after Vāmana, who is the latest member of this group ; and this gives us the upper limit to his date.

It seems probable, that Rudraṭa should be placed between the first quarter of the 9th century and its end ; for he appears to be unknown to Ānandavardhana. It will not be wrong if we accept the most plausible date assigned to him by Pischel[1], viz. the middle of the 9th century[2]. The date makes him a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, who never cites or refers to Rudraṭa, as he. does to other well-known predecessors, and by whom this peculiar *ālaṃkārika* connotation of *vakrokti*, if known, was not apparently recognised.

Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* consists of 16 Adhyāyas and 734 Kārikās in Āryā metre (excepting the concluding verses) and comprehends almost all the topics of Poetics. This enumeration excludes 14 Kārikās after xii. 40 (dealing with eight kinds of Nāyikā) which are declared to be interpolated passages.[3]

(2)

What is said here about Rudraṭa does not apply to Rudra or Rudrabhaṭṭa, although Pischel[4], Weber[5], Aufrecht[6] and

1 Pref. to *Śṛng. til.* pp. 12, 26.

2 The suggestion of Jacobi that Rudraṭa, whose name implies that he was a Kashmirian, was a contemporary of Śaṃkaravarman of Kashmir, successor of Avantivarman, does not make any essential difference to our conclusion, although it is not certain that the example of *vakrokti* given by Rudraṭa in ii. 15 was at all prompted by Ratnākara, whose work contains similar railleries between Śiva and Gaurī.

3 For summary of topics in Rudraṭa's work see vol. ii, ch. ii (3) below.

4 Pref. to *Śṛng. til.; ZDMG* xlii, 1888, pp. 296-304, 425.

5 *Ind. Stud.* xvi.

6 *ZDMG* xxvii pp. 80-1, xxxvi p. 376 ; *Cat. Bod.* 209b ; *Cat. Cat.* pp. 528b, 530a.

Bühler[1] take the two authors to be identical. The identity is declared doubtful by Peterson[2] and is not admitted by Durgaprasada[3] and Trivedi[4]. Finally, Jacobi has set at rest this controversy by showing elaborately, from an examination of their respective texts, that these two writers were in all probability different persons[5],

From v. 12-14 of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa, as interpreted by Nami-sādhu, it appears that Rudraṭa, also called Śatānanda, was son of Bhaṭṭa Vāmukha and a follower of the Sāma-veda. Rudrabhaṭṭa's genealogy or personal history is unknown. But much has been made of the apparent similarity of the two names. The last verse[6] of the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, however, expressly gives the name of its author as Rudra, with which description most of the MSS agree[7] ; while both Nami-sādhu and Vallabha call the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* by the name of Rudraṭa. The two authors belong, again, apparently to two different religious persuasions, Rudra being a worshipper of Śiva, and Rudraṭa omitting a reference to this deity and mentioning instead Bhavānī and Murāri (besides the usual Gaṇeśa).

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

2 *Rep.* i, p. 14; pref. to *Subhāṣ°* pp. 104-5; but *contra* in *Report* ii, p. 19 footnote.

3 Footnote to the ed. of *Sṛṅg. til.* p. 1.

4 Notes to his ed. of *Ekāvalī* p. 3.

5 *WZKM* ii, 1888, pp. 151-56; *ZDMG* xlii pp. 425 f.

6 The last verse, however, is not found in some MSS.

7 With the curious exception of a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters (Bühler's *Kashmir Rep.* no. 264) where the name in given as Rudraṭa. This unique testimony raises a legitimate suspicion, but it can be explained as a piece of not unnatural confusion made by a Kashmirian scribe, to whom the more famous name of Rudraṭa must have been more familiar. The same remark applies to the India office MS no. 1131 (*Cat.* vii, p. 321) and the South Indian MS in *Madras Cat.* xxii (1918) no. 12955, in which, however, the last verse gives the name as Rudra. This evidence, however, of colophons of MSS is not decisive; and it is well known that even later anthologies and writers of note make a similar confusion between the two authors.

Taking the works themselves, Rudraṭa's text of sixteen chapters covers a much larger ground than Rudra's much shorter work of three chapters, and presents a distinctly different outlook. Rudraṭa puts a greater emphasis on the *kāvyālaṃkāras* or poetic figures which supply, as Nami-sādhu points out, the name of the work itself, and which absorb its eleven chapters, leaving only five concluding chapters for a brief supplementary treatment of Rasa, the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā* and the general problems of poetry. The keystone of Rudra's system, on the other hand, is the idea of Rasa, having special reference to *śṛṅgāra* (ch. i. and ii) with just a summary description of the other Rasas (ch. iii) ; and the chief value of his smaller text consists in his minute poetical treatment of the theme of *śṛṅgāra-rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*. It will appear, therefore, that while Rudraṭa's scope and method are more ambitiously theoretical and comprehensive, Rudrabhaṭṭa merely singles out a part of the whole subject, and not troubling himself about definitions and rules (which appear almost word for word as they are in Rudraṭa) gives us, in his apt and finely composed illustrative verses, a practical poetical manual on the subject of love and other sentiments. Jacobi, therefore, rightly remarks that "Rudraṭa appears as an original teacher of poetics, while Rudra, at his best an original poet, follows, as an expounder of his *śāstra*, the common herd."

With regard to the common topics, there is however, a general agreement, even to minute details, which has misled some scholars to attribute the two works to the same author. But beneath this general agreement, the two works reveal many points of difference which affect some of the fundamental conceptions of their respective authors. Taking, for instance, their treatment of Rasa, we find that while Rudra (i. 9) follows the general tradition, prevailing from Udbhaṭa's time, of mentioning nine Rasas, Rudraṭa adds one more, viz. *preyas* (xii. 3), treating them in an order somewhat different from that followed by Rudra. Rudra enumerates and dis-

cusses at some length the *bhāvas* (i. 10-19), which are summarily referred to by Rudraṭa in one verse only (xii. 4). A similar difference will be noted in the treatment of Vṛttis, of which Rudra (i. 12) mentions, after Bharata (xx. 24f), the usual four (viz. *kaiśikī, ārabhaṭī, sāttvatī* and *bhāratī*), originally taken as styles of dramatic composition but borrowed here apparently with a similar purpose from dramaturgy to poetry (cf Bharata *loc. cit.* 21). Rudraṭa, on the other hand, speaks (ii. 19f), after Udbhaṭa,[1] of five *vṛttis* (viz. *madhurā, prauḍhā, paruṣā, lalitā* and *bhadrā*), which have nothing to do with the above four, but being comprised under alliteration (*anuprāsa*) refer primarily to suitable sound-adjustment by special arrangement of letters. With regard to the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, similar material discrepancies can be detected. While Rudra describes at some length the eight conventional *avasthās* (conditions or situations) of the *nāyikā* (i. 131-32), Rudraṭa mentions only four (viz., *abhisārikā, khaṇḍitā, svādhīna-patikā* and *proṣita-patikā*, xii. 41f), although to make up for this unwonted divergence there is in some MSS a long passage (between xii. 40 and 41), describing the usual eight conditions but irreconcilable to its context, and rightly stigmatised by Rudraṭa's editor as interpolated. The third class of heroine, again, viz., the courtezan (*veśyā*), appears to be favoured by Rudra (i. 120-30), while Rudraṭa dismisses her in two verses only (xii. 39-40) with an apparent note of condemnation. The tenfold state of a lover, beginning with desire and ending in death, is mentioned in passing by Rudraṭa (xiv. 4-5), but Rudra defines and illustrates each of these states in detail (ii. 6-30). While the trespasses in love, according to Rudra (ii. 53), depend on time (*kāla*), place (*deśa*) and circumstances (*prasaṅga*), Rudraṭa thinks (xiv. 18) that a fourth condition, viz. the person concerned (*pātra*) should be added.

1 Udbhaṭa mentions only three *vṛttis* in connexion with *anuprāsa*, viz. *paruṣā, upanāgarikā* and *grāmyā* (i. 4-7).

All these indications make it highly probable that Rudraṭa and Rudra were two different persons; but if this is so, how are we to explain the fact most of the verses in the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* are, but for their difference in metre (*anuṣṭubh* and *āryā* respectively) identical almost word for word with the corresponding verses in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra*? This point has been emphasised with some plausibility by the advocates of the identity of the two writers. But it should be noticed that this extraordinary verbal coincidence does not extend beyond those verses which give the rules and definitions; for the illustrative stanzas in the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, composed in a variety of metres, and forming a distinctive feature of this more poetical work, do not occur in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* at all. It is not unusual to find similar treatment and terminology in technical treatises, abounding in standardised and conventional rules and definitions; but this is not enough to explain this extraordinary plagiarism tempered, it is true, by the presence of highly poetical and presumably original[1] stanzas composed to illustrate these dry rules and definitions. Nor is this explanation, which is based on the supposed identity of the two writers, at all free from considerable doubt in view of the discrepancies noted above. The real explanation probably lies in the supposition that Rudra, apparently a later writer and chiefly a poet, and never pretending to be an original teacher of Poetics, found in these ready-made rules of Rudraṭa enough poetic possibilities, as well as an opportunity of displaying his own poetic powers, and proceeded forthwith to furnish the missing poetic illustrations.[2] As he did not apparently aspire to write an original

1 Some illustrative stanzas in the *Śṛṅg. til.* are taken from earlier works like the *Amaru-śataka*.

2 These chapters in Rudraṭa are purely expository, and are not fully illustrated as the preceding chapters are. One may be led to suppose that Rudraṭa himself composed the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* to supply this deficiency, but this hypothesis does not sufficiently explain the divergence of views on the points noted above, which apparently indicates that the task of supplementing could not have been under-

thesis on the topics concerned, he did not trouble to alter the wording of the fixed canons and made only enough changes to suit the metre. While Rudraṭa is concerned directly with rules and prescriptions, Rudra is more practical in his object and treatment and intends his treatise on love apparently to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science, furnishing it, as he does, with an elaborate analysis of the various moods and sentiments, which belong to the province of Erotics as well as Poetics[1].

taken by himself but by some other author, who held some views different from his own. It cannot be argued that chapters xii-xvi in question, which contain this deficiency, is a later addition by some other hand, on the ground that the closing verse of ch. xi reads like the end of the work itself; for a similar remark applies to the closing verses of chapters iii, iv and v.

1 The quotations from these two writers in later literature are unfortunately mostly anonymous, and do not materially help us in deciding this question. Among the very few cases where the author's name is cited along with his verses, Mammaṭa, himself a Kashmirian, correctly refers (*ad* ix. 8a) the verse *sphuṭam arthālaṃkāram* to Rudraṭa (iv. 32). Samudrabandha (p. 6) and Hemacandra (p. 286 Comm.) refer rightly to Rudraṭa vii. 38-40 and vii. 27 respectively. Ruyyaka, while discussing Rudraṭa's views does not refer to his treatment of the Rasas at all. On the other hand, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (p. 35) cites *vāmatā durlabhatvam* from *Śṛṅgāra-til.* (ii. 41), and correctly refers to the author as Rudra. Vallabhadeva in his anthology cites a number of verses from the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (421=ii. 17; 730=iii. 57; 1387=vi. 10; 1667=ii. 30; 2047=vii. 71; 2061=vii. 33; 2234=vii. 41; 2409=vii. 32), and with two exceptions, gives the name of the author correctly as Rudraṭa. Similarly, Śārṅgadhara quotes eight verses from the *Śṛṅgāra-til.* (3409=i. 95; 3567=i. 35; 3568=i. 81; 3679=ii. 107; 3578=ii. 12; 3579=ii. 50; 3675=i. 51; 3754=i. 30), and with two exceptions, again, refers them correctly to Rudra. The two exceptions of Śārṅgadhara (viz. 3773 and 3788) are wrongly attributed to Rudra; but Vallabhadeva quotes the very same verses (2234 and 1667), and correcting the mistake refers them rightly to Rudraṭa. Vallabhadeva's two exceptions (2247 and 3122) cannot be found in Rudraṭa to whom they are attributed, nor in Rudra. Jahlaṇa attributes 21 verses to Rudra, of which 5 cannot be traced in his work. Of these, *kiṃ gauri mām* occurs in Rudraṭa ii. 16; *ambā śete'tra* occurs

(3)

Rudrabhaṭṭa's date is uncertain; but as Hemacandra (p. 110) is the oldest writer to quote anonymously and criticise his *maṅgala*-verse (i. 1), we should place him between Rudraṭa and Hemacandra, i.e. later than the 9th century but earlier, probably not much earlier, than the 12th. One verse, however, of Rudra, which cannot be traced in his *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, is quoted by Dhanika (iv. 60, ed. NSP 1917. p. 103); and if this Rudra is the same as our author, he should be placed before the enc of the 10th century.[1]

(4)

COMMENTATORS ON RUDRAṬA

Vallabhadeva

Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Rudraṭālaṃkāra*, referred to by himself in his commentary on Māgha (on iv. 21, vi. 28) is the earliest known commentary on Rudraṭa and is still to be recovered. Vallabhadeva, who bore the surname of Paramāratha-cihna and who describes himself as son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva[2], is a well-known commentator on several standard poetical works, including those of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara. He was apparently a Kashmirian and probably belonged to the first half of the 10th century; for his grandson Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*[3] in

in *Kavi. vacana-samac.*; 505 = *Subhāṣ°* 2247 (attributed to Rudraṭa) = *Sadukti-karṇā°* ii. 73 (attributed to Bhaṭṭa); *ekākinī yad abalā* is attributed wrongly to Rudra (as in the *Paddhati* 3773) but correctly assigned by Vallabhadeva to Rudraṭa. Hemacandra quotes anonymously three verses from Rudra (i. 1=p. 110; i. 44=p. 304; i. 68=p. 305).

1 Dhanika also quotes anonymously from Rudraṭa (xii. 4) in his comm. on iv. 35, ed. N.S.P. Cf. Rudrabhaṭṭa i. 16.

2 From the closing verse of the comm. on *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* Ānandadeva seems to have held some high appointment in Kashmir (colophon in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka i, p. 114: Mitra x, no. 4064).

3 See footnote to the ed. of *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* in Kāvyamālā,

977-78 A. D., during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977-82 A. D.). Vallabha's preceptor was Prakāśavarṣa who, Hultzsch thinks, is perhaps identical with the poet Prakāśavarṣa, who is quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* and *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi (Aufrecht i. 347). Our author must be distinguished from Vallabhadeva, the compiler of the anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī*, who is assigned by Aufrecht to the 16th century[1]. From Hultzsch's list of Vallabha's quotations in his commentary on Māgha it is interesting to note that he cites Medhāvirudra, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Bhaṭṭi and the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* (apparently the Prakrit poem of Ānandavardhana).

Nami-sādhu

After Vallabhadeva, comes Nami (known as Nami-sādhu or Nami-paṇḍita), who is described as a Śveta-bhikṣu, indicating that he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina. He describes himself as "the bee that sucked honey from the lotus-feet of Śrī-śālibhadra Sūri, the ornament of the *gaccha* of the city of Thārāpadra". We know that Jinabhadra Sūri, who was a pupil of Śālibhadra, wrote in Saṃvat 1204=1148 A. D.[2] Śālibhadra is also referred to as Śrī-śāli-sūri in another work of Nami's called *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka-ṭīkā*, of which the date is given in the work itself as Saṃvat 1122=1065 A. D.[3] In one of the concluding verses of his commentary on Rudraṭa, Nami states that his commentary was composed in Saṃvat 1125=1069 A. D.[4] Among writers on Poetics

Gucchaka i, pp. 101-2: and to ed. of the *Devī-śataka* in *ibid*, Gucchaka ix. p. 1. Cf. Hultzsch's pref. to *Megha-dūta* p. ix.

1 Bühler (*Kunst Poesie* p. 71) thinks that anthologist Vallabhadeva flourished between 1400 and 1350 A.D. The date now requires revision, for this anthology is quoted directly (with the names of the work and author) by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in 1160 A.D. in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa*. See on this question S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-91 and *BSOS*, v, pt. i, p. 27f; v, pt. iii, p. 499f.

2 Peterson i p. 68.

3 Peterson iii p. 13.

4 *pañca-viṃśati-saṃyuktair ekādaśa-samāśataiḥ / vikramāt sama-*

cited by Nami on Rudraṭa, we find the names of Bharata (p. 150, 156, 164), Medhāvirudra (pp. 2, 9, 145), Bhāmaha (p. 2, 116), Daṇḍin (pp. 2, 5, 169), Vāmana (pp. 11, 100, 116), Udbhaṭa (pp. 69, 82, 150) and the *Arjuna-carita* by Ānandavardhana. He also cites *Tilaka-mañjarī* (on xvi. 3) apparently of Dhanapāla, and one Jayadeva on prosody (on i. 18, 20).[1] It is interesting to note that Nami quotes a Prakrit verse from one Hari (ii. 10), presumably a writer on Poetics, which mentions eight Vṛttis instead of five of Rudraṭa.

Āśādhara

Peterson (ii, p. 85) brought to our notice another Jaina commentator on Rudraṭa, called Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and Ratni. He was a Jaina teacher who lived till Saṃvat 1296= 1240 A.D. He should be distinguished from Āśādhara, son of Rāmajī Bhaṭṭa, a very late writer who composed a commentary on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*[2]. In the Praśasti at the end of his *Dharmāmṛta*, Āśādhara's personal history is given. He belonged to the Vyāghreravāla family and was son of Sallakṣaṇa (or Lakṣaṇa) and Ratni. He was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country round the Śākaṃbharī (Sambhar) Lake. He had by his wife Sarasvatī a son named Chāhaḍa, who was a favourite of Arjunavarman of

tikrāntaiḥ prāvṛṣīdaṃ samarthitam. The reading *pañca-viṃśati°* in this verse is doubted on the authority of Kielhorn's palm-leaf MS (*Report*, 1880-81, p. 63) which reads instead *ṣaṭ-saptati°*. This new reading will place Nami much later; but it is not supported by other MSS (e.g. Mitra 3102; Stein 61; Peterson i p. 16), as well as by the evidences adduced above from other sources. Kielhorn's reading is obviously incorrect in itself, because it makes the verse deficient in metre.

1 For this author see H. D. Velankar, *Jayadāman*, Bombay 1949. This Jayadeva and his *Chandaḥ-śāstra* are also cited by Abhinavagupta in his comm. on Bharata. For his date (before 950 A.D.) see P. K. Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, pp. 33-38 (reprinted in his *Studies in Indian Lit. Hist.* 1, pp. 138-43).

2 The two are confused by Aufrecht i. 54b and, following him by Harichand Sastri p. 18; but Aufrecht expresses doubt about their identity.

Mālava (first quarter of the 13th century). After the invasion of Sāhibadīna, king of the Turuṣkas (apparently Shāhābu-d-din Ghūr, Sultan of Delhi, who vanquished Pṛthurāja in 1193 A.D.), Āśādhara emigrated to Mālava and lived in Dhārā, where he learned the doctrines of Jaina faith and Jinendra-vyākaraṇa from Paṇḍita Mahāvīra, pupil of Dharasena. Āśādhara was reputed for his learning, being praised by the sage Udayasena, by the poet Vihlaṇa (*sic*) who is *not* the Kashmirian poet Bihlaṇa who lived about 1070-90 A.D., but minister of Vijayavarman king of the Vindhyas, and by the great *yati* Madanakīrti. He wrote more than 15 works, of which he gives a list, referring also to his commentary on Rudraṭa[1]. His *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti-śāstra*, which gives stories of 63 great men mentioned in the Jaina Purāṇas, was composed in 1236 A.D.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rudraṭa

Edition. *Kāvyālaṃkāra* Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay (Kāvyamālā 2) 1886, 1909 with Nami's comm. Our references are to the second edition of 1909.

Nami-sādhu

Edition. Kāvyamālā 2, 1886, 1909, with the text (see above).

Āśādhara

Mss. Aufrecht i 103a, 779a.

No MS of Vallabhadeva's commentary on Rudraṭa is known.

Rudrabhaṭṭa

Editions. *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (1) by Pischel with an introd. Kiel 1886 (2) Kāvyamālā Gucchaka iii 1887, 1899. Our references are to Pischel's edition.

1 Peterson ii p. 85 and fn; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 103-4.

2 Aufrecht i 54b. Winternitz (*Geschichte*, ii, p. 354, fn 5) assigns 1228-1244 A.D. as the date of Āśādhara's literary activity. See also Kielhorn in *EI.* ix. 1908, p. 107f.

Commentary. *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa. See under Commentators on Mammaṭa and Bhānudatta, below. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā ed. of the text (p. 111). He calls his author Rudra. If the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, cited by Kumārasvāmin, be the same person, then he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century. As Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, appears to be a South Indian writer, this conjecture is probable. Oppert's entry of *Vana-taraṅgiṇī* (ii 2711, 1787) on Rudraṭa is apparently a mistake for this work, and the name Rudraṭa is a confusion for Rudra.

THE WRITER ON ALAṂKĀRA IN THE VIṢṆU-DHARMOTTARA AND AGNI-PURĀṆA

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara

The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*[1], counted as an Upapurāṇa, is one of the later Purāṇic works of an encyclopaedic character which, in the course of its rapid treatment of multifarious subjects, devotes a few chapters to the topics of dancing (Nṛtta), singing (Gīta) and music (Ātodya), Poetics (Alaṃkāra), Dramaturgy (Nāṭya) and allied subjects. The work consists of three Kāṇḍas of more than eight hundred chapters, the distribution and number of chapters in each Kāṇḍa being as follows: i—ch. 269; ii—ch. 183; iii—ch. 355. We are concerned here only with a few chapters of Kaṇḍa iii, which begins with what is called Citra-sūtra or the art of painting and proceeds to the allied topics of dancing, singing and music. Ch. 14-15 of this Kāṇḍa is devoted generally to some topics of Poetics. They name and define 17 kinds of poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*), which are: Anuprāsa, Yamaka (two types Saṃdaṣṭa and Samudga distinguished), Rūpaka, Vyatireka, Śleṣa, Utprekṣā, Arthāntara-nyāsa, Upanyāsa (probably a kind of Vyājokti), Vibhāvanā, Atiśayokti, Svabhāvokti (or according to some MSS Vārta), Yathā-saṃkh-

1 For a detailed account of the content of this huge compilation, chapter by chapter, see R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, i, Calcutta 1958, pp. 147-218.

ya, Viśeṣokti, Virodha, Nindā-stuti, Nidarśana and Ananvaya. In this list may be included Upamā which, however, is not explicitly mentioned or defined. In some of these verses reference is made to older authorities (*purātana* or *purāṇa*). Ch. 15 speaks of Kāvya and distinguishes it from Śāstra and Itihāsa. The Mahākāvya is then defined and characterised ; it should contain nine Rasas, namely, Śṛṅgāra, Hāsya, Karuṇa, Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka, Bībhasta, Adbhuta and Śānta; there should be description of towns, countries etc ; it should have a Nāyaka and Pratināyaka, but it should not describe death of the Nāyaka. Ch. 16 names, defines and classifies Prahelikās. Ch. 17-31, based mostly on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, deal generally with dramaturgy. The Rūpakas are classified into 12 varieties, namely, Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa, Prakaraṇī, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, Bhāṇa, Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Vyāyoga, Vīthi, Ḍima and Prahasana. Eight types of Nāyikās are distinguished, namely, Vāsaka-sajjā, Virahotkaṇṭhitā, Svādhīna-bhartṛkā, Kalahāntaritā, Khaṇḍitā, Vipralabdhā, Proṣita-bhartṛkā and Abhisārikā. Ch. 18-19 deal with the different kinds of vocal (Gīta) and instrumental (Ātodya) music, appropriate to the nine Rasas. Ch. 20-29 define Nāṭya, classify Nṛtta, deal generally with the construction of the stage and its attendant religious rites and describe the four modes of Abhinaya, namely, Āṅgika, Sāttvika, Vācika and Āhārya. Ch. 30 deals in 28 verses with the nine Rasas (including Śānta) and their mode of delineation. Ch. 31 describes 49 Bhāvas, including Nirveda.

This brief résumé will give a rough idea of the topics included in the 28 chapters of the Upapurāṇa on Alaṃkāra, Nāṭya and allied subjects. But the section is essentially a rapid compilation and presents no definite system. The date of the Upapurāṇa, however, must be early. It is later certainly than Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* which is used as a source, but it is earlier probably than Bhaṭṭi and the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who enumerate a much larger number of poetic figures. Its internal evidence as a whole indicates that it cannot be

earlier than 400 A. D. and later than 500 A. D. It was composed either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Panjab; but its date is too early for any reference, direct or indirect, to the Kashmirian Dhvani school.[1]

The Agni-purāṇa

The writer on Alaṃkāra in the *Agni-purāṇa* (chs. 336-346) attempts to treat the subject of Poetics in what may be described roughly as an eclectic fashion, but the account is much fuller and more systematic. It appears to follow at the same time a tradition which is distinct from and probably older than that of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana, although the work itself may not have been old. The date of this apocryphal work, which is counted as one of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas is uncertain;[2] but there is enough evidence to show that the Alaṃkāra-section in it is chiefly a compilation by a writer, who was himself no great theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular system, yet gathering its material from all sources. This is apparent not only from its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and probably other old unknown writers.[3] Bharata is cited by name in *Agni* 339. 6, and a large part of its treatment of *nāṭya, nṛtya, abhinaya* and *rasa* follows Bharata's exposition, even to the literal

1 On the question of the date and provenance of the Upapurāṇa see R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.* pp. 205-12.

2 The present *Agni-purāṇa* is said (*IHQ*, xii, pp. 683-89) to be a recast of an earlier and original *Agni-p.* which is the text described by the *Matsya-p.* and *Skanda-p.* and quoted by some Dharma-śāstra writers.

3 Thus, the verse *abhidheyena saṃbandhāt* (*Agni* 344. 11-12). which is also cited anonymously by Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vyāpā°* p. 8) and in the *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana iv. 3. 8, is attributed to one Bhartṛmitra by Mukula (p. 17). The verse is not traceable in Bhartṛhari. Bhartṛmitra is cited also by Someśvara in his comm. on Mammaṭa (p. 16).

borrowing and paraphrase of some of his well known verses. Thus, *Agni* 337. 11-12=Bharata xxii. 28-29 ; *Agni* 338. 12= Bharata vi. 36 ; *Agni* 338. 7-8=Bharata vi. 39 ; *Agni* 342. 15-17=Bharata xvii. 62-65. The definition of poetry (*Agni* 336. 6) and of poetic figure (*Agni* 341. 17) are copied literally from Daṇḍin i. 10 and ii. 1 respectively. Cf also *Agni* 336. 13=Daṇḍin i. 29=Bhāmaha i 27 ; *Agni* 336. 23, 25,26= Daṇḍin i. 12, 15, 17=Bhāmaha i. 20. This will be enough to indicate not only the general nature of the work, but also the probability that these chapters of the Purāṇa were compiled later than Daṇḍin.[1] Two verses again (*apāre kāvya-saṃsāre* and *śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ*) occur in *Agni* 338. 10-11 and in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the 9th century.[2] As the authorship of one of these verses (*śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ*) is ascribed expressly by Abhinavagupta to Ānandavardhana himself (*Abh. Bh.* ed. GOS, i, p. 295) we can assume that the *Agni* borrowed this verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*. We cannot draw any definite inference from the *Agni-purāṇa*'s omissson of a direct reference to Vāmana's teachings, but the definition of the term *vakrokti* bears some resemblance (341. 33) to Rudraṭa's novel characterisation of the same figure (ii. 14-16).[3] On the other hand, this section of the *Agni-purāṇa* (like the Alaṃkāra section of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropria-

1 Some of the definitions of poetic figures given by the *Agni* (E.g. Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, Viśeṣokti, Vibhāvanā, Ākṣepa, Aprastuta-praśaṃsā, Samāsokti and Paryāyokta) occur in almost identical language in Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha.

2 As the tradition of opinion embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* appears to have been followed and further developed by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-k°*, its date is presumably earlier than the 11th century. It is not suggested that Bhoja built up his elaborate system on the confused verses of the *Agni*, but the tradition of opinion is not essentially different. On a post-Bhoja date see *IHQ* x, pp. 767-79.

3 This point need not be emphasised ; for this idea of *vakrokti* was prevalent, as Ratnākara's poem shows, in the 9th century.

tions) until we come to the time of Viśvanātha (14th century) who quotes *Agni* 336. 3-4 (=i. 2) and 337. 7. Whatever may be the date of the *Purāṇa* as a whole, which is a kind of an ambitious cyclopaedia, incorporating sections on various departments of knowledge, we may, from what has been said, be justified in assigning the Alaṃkāra-section to a period later than the middle of the 9th century.[1] The concept of *dhvani* is casually included in the figure *ākṣepa*,[2] after the manner of most old authors, who flourished before that theory came into prominence.[3]

With regard to the content of the Alaṃkāra-section, the arrangement of chapters and topics are as follows. Ch. 336 defines and classifies Kāvya. Ch. 337 deals with the topics of Dramaturgy (12 kinds of Rūpaka and Uparūpaka, 5 Artha-prakṛtis and 5 Saṃdhis). Ch. 338 considers the Rasas (with Sthāyi-bhāva, Vibhāva and Anubhāva), the types of Nāyaka-Nāyikā and their qualities. Ch. 339 speaks of four Rītis (Pāñcālī, Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Laṭī) and four Vṛttis (Bhāratī, Sāttvati, Kaśikī and Ārabhaṭī). Ch. 340 is devoted to dancing. Ch. 341 is concerned with four kinds of Abhinaya (Sāttvika, Vācika, Āṅgika and Āhārya). Ch. 342 defines and classifies Śabdālaṃkāras, including seven varieties of Citra and sixteen kinds of Prahelikā. Ch. 343 deals with Arthālaṃkāras ; Ch. 344 with what are called Śabdārthālaṃkāras (but it

1 P. V. Kane (*Hist. of Dharma-śāstra* i, pp. 170-73) gives *c.* 900 A.D. as the date of the Smṛti-chapters ; to the Alaṃkāra-section he assigns the same date. Also see *IHQ* xii. p. 689-90.

2 The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse of this section (336. 1 ; cf Bhoja i. I) ; but apparently it alludes to the grammatical word, which reveals the *sphoṭa* and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapadīya.* Bhoja, makes the same omission ; but of course he was more fully aware of the views of Ānandavardhana and his followers. The Purāṇa was probably aware of the Dhvani-theory as propounded by Ānandavardhana (one of whose verses is appropriated), but it did not apparently subscribe to it

3 Cf Ruyyaka pp. 3f.

includes Ākṣepa, Samāsokti and Paryāyokta). Ch. 345-46 are devoted to Guṇas and Doṣas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. The Viṣṇu-dharmottara was printed in the Puthi form by Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912.—The Agni-purāṇa has been printed frequently in India, of which the Bibiotheca Indica ed. of Rajendralal Mitra, in 3 vols, 1873, 1876 and 1878, is most useful. Our references are to this edition (ch. 336-346 of this ed.=ch. 337-347 of the Ānandāśrama ed.). Translation into English in two vols. by Manmathanath Datta, Calcutta 1903-4. Other eds. by Ānandāśrama, Poona 1900 and by Venkatesvara Press (in Puthi form), Bombay 1901. The Vahni-purāṇa is a different work.

CHAPTER IV

THE DHVANIKĀRA AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

(1)

Ānandavardhana has been assigned by Bühler and Jacobi to the middle of the ninth century, on the strength of *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v. 34, which makes him one of the ornaments of the court of Avantivarman (855-84 A. D.) We are pretty certain of the time of Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana's commentator ; for, as he himself states, his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* was written in 1015 A. D., while his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 990-991 A.D. and his *Bhairava-stotra* or *Īśvara-stotra* in 992-93. From Abhinavagupta's remarks at the end of his °*Locana* commentary on Uddyotas i and iii of the *Dhvanyāloka*, it appears that the study of this famous work was traditional in his family, and that his own commentary was composed as a rejoinder to another, called the *Candrikā* (p. 60), written by one of his predecessors in the same *gotra*[1]; and four times in his °*Locana* (pp. 123, 174, 185, 215) he discusses or controverts the views of this earlier commentator, who is specifically referred to as the Candrikā-kāra at pp. 178 and 185.[2] This should certainly allow some generations to lie between Ānandavardhana and Abhinava-gupta, and negative completely Pischel's contention that in three passages Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as one of his teachers. These passages occur at pp. 37, 183, and 214 of the printed text, but a perusal of them with re-

1 *candrikā-kārais tu paṭhitam......ity alaṃ pūrva-vaṃśyaiḥ saha vivādena babhunā*, p. 185 ; *ity alaṃ nija-pūrvaja-sagotraiḥ sākaṃ vivā-dena*, p. 123, etc.—The Candrikā-kāra is also cited by Someśvara (p. 55) in his comm. on Mammaṭa.

2 This *Candrikā* is also referred to in a punning verse at the beginning of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka* (i. 5): *dhvani-vartmany ati-gahane skhalitaṃ vāṇyāḥ pade pade sulabham/rabhasena yat pra-vṛttā prakāśakaṃ candrikādy adṛṣṭaiva*, on which the commentator remarks: *candrikā jyotsnā dhvani-vicāraṇa-grantho'pi* (p. 1).

ference to their context will show that the honorific word *guru*, if it at all refers to Ānandavardhana, must refer to him, not literally but figuratively, as *paramparā-guru*, whose work was held in esteem in his family[1] ; or (which is more likely) the reference is to one or other of Abhinavagupta's teachers, such as Bhaṭṭa Tauta or Bhaṭṭendurāja, the former of whom is cited as *asmad-upādhyāyāḥ* or *asmad-guravaḥ* very often in Abhinava's commentary on Bharata. Again, Kayyaṭa states that he wrote his commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka ix) at about 977 A.D., so that by the end of the tenth century Ānandavardhana was well enough established in fame to have two such learned commentators. Finally, Rājaśekhara, who lived about the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, mentions and cites Ānandavardhana by name in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 16), and this should certainly clear up any doubt as to the authenticity of the date assigned by Kahlaṇa and accepted by Bühler and Jacobi.

(2)

The celebrated work on Poetics known as *Dhvanyāloka* (also called *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*),[2] of which or a part of which Ānandavardhana is reputed to be the author, may be distinguished ino two parts, viz. (1) the Kārikā, consisting of verses and treating of *dhvani*, and (2) the Vṛtti, or exposition, generally in prose with illustrative verses, of the Kārikā. Now the question has been raised whether the Kārikā and the Vṛtti are of the same authorship or should be attributed to different authors.

1 Jacobi, *WZKM* iv, pp. 237-38.

2 The work is called *Kāvyāloka* by Abhinava in the concluding verses of Uddyota iii and iv. But in his comm. on Bharata (vii, vol. i, p. 344 ; xvi. 5, vol. ii, pp. 299-300) he refers to his own comm. on the *Dhvanyāloka* as *Sahṛdayāloka-locana*.—For a brief summary of the contents of the work see Kane in *HSP*, pp. 190-91.—On Dhvanyāloka and the text of the Dhvani-kārikās see S. P. Bhatta-

Abhinavagupta. who is followed in this respect by several later writers on Poetics, carefully distinguishes between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, by directly opposing them, and also by using the term *vṛtti-grantha* in contradistinction to the *kārikā*[1]. In three of these passages (pp. 123, 130-1; ch. iv p. 29) Abhinavagupta expressly tries to reconcile the conflicting views expressed by the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra.

Bühler[2] first drew attention to this point; and Jacobi[3], relying on Abhinavagupta's testimony, put forward the suggestion that the Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the Kārikā, was a different and older writer who should be distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the author of the Vṛtti. In support of this, it has been pointed out that one does not find complete agreement of opinion between the two parts of the work, although the one is an exposition of the other. On the other hand, it seems that the system as given in its bare outline by the Kārikākāra in his concise verses has been considerably expanded, revised, and modified by the Vṛttikāra; and many problems not discussed or even hinted at by the former are elaborately treated of by the latter. In one place, for instance (p. 123), Abhinavagupta clearly points out that the classification of *dhvani* according to *vastu, alaṃkāra*, and *rasādi* is not expressly taught in any Kārikā; while in another place in ch. iv, Abhinavagupta states that the question as to the source of the endless variety of *artha* in poetry is mentioned by the Vṛtti-

1 pp. 1, 59-60, 71, 78, 85, 104, 123, 130-1; ch iv pp. 25, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40 in *JDL.*, ix, 1923, Calcutta University. One of these passages from *Locana* on p. 123 would imply that the earlier commentator, the Candrikākara, probably made a similar distinction between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra. For these passages collected together, see S. K. De in the *BSOS* i, pt. 4, p. 3 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 80-90, where the whole question is discussed) and Harichand Sastri *op. cit.* pp. 86-87,

kāra but not touched upon by the Kārikākāra. Indeed, it seems that Ānandavardhana in his classical Vṛtti attempted to build up a more or less complete system of Poetics upon the loosely joined ideas and materials supplied by the brief Kārikās ; and his success was probably so marvellous that in course of time the Kārikākāra receded to the background, completely overshadowed by the more important figure of his formidable expounder ; and people considered as the Dhvanikāra not the author of the few memorial verses but the commentator Ānandavardhana himself, who for the first time fixed the theory in its present form. The term "Dhvanikāra" itself came gradually to be used in the generic sense of "the creator of the Dhvani School", and therefore indiscriminately applied by later writers to Ānandavardhana, who might not have been the founder of the system, but who came to receive that credit for having first victoriously introduced it in the struggle of the schools.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the apocryphal verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jahlaṇa, Ānandavardhana is regarded as the founder of the *dhvani*-theory. Similarly, Samudrabandha (p. 4), passing in review the five schools of Poetics before Ruyyaka, mentions Ānandavardhana as the founder of the fifth or last Dhvani School. This would also explain the two groups of apparently puzzling citations from the *Dhvanyāloka* met with in the works of later writers, in which they either confuse or identify Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikāra. On the one hand, we have several Kārikās cited under the name of Ānandavardhana, while on the other, several passages which occur in the Vṛtti are given under the name of the Dhvanikāra. This confusion was so complete in later writers that even in the latter part of the eleventh century Mahimabhaṭṭa, who professed to demolish the new theory by his fierce onslaught in the *Vyakti-viveka*, quotes from the Kārikā and the Vṛtti indiscriminately under the generic appellation of the Dhvanikāra. In the same way Kṣemendra,

in the first quarter of the twelfth, make Ānandavardhana responsible for Kārikās iii. 24 and i. 4 respectively, while still later writers like Jayaratha, Viśvanātha, Govinda and Kumārasvāmin regard Ānandavardhana himself as the Dhvanikāra, to whom the the Kārikā, as well as the Vṛtti, is indiscriminately attributed[1]. Mammaṭa, generally a careful writer, distinguishes Ānandavardhana from the writer of the Kārikās, whom he styles *dhvanikāra* or *dhvanikṛt* (pp. 213 and 214), but in one place (p. 445) he apparently falls into confusion and ascribes to the Dhvanikāra a verse which undoubtedly belongs to the Vṛtti. The question, however, of the differentiation of the Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra cannot yet be taken as finally settled.

(3)

If the Dhvanikāra, however, is distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the question naturally arises—who was this Dhvanikāra, and what date should be assigned to him? Abhinavagupta does not give us any information on this point. Jacobi, in the learned introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyāloka*, poses the question very ably without, however, furnishing a precise solution. Sovani's hypothesis[2] that the name of the unknown Kārikākāra was Sahṛdaya, is hardly convincing ; for his grounds for this presumption are that (1) one of the alternative names of the work itself is

1 Kṣemendra, *Aucitya-vicāra*, p. 134 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii. 24; Hemacandra, Comm. p. 26 = Vallabhadeva, *Subhāṣ°* 157 = *Dhvanyāloka* i. 4; Govinda Ṭhakkura, p. 16 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 221 ; Viśvanātha, p. 114 = *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 130; Jayaratha, p 119 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 111 ; Kumārasvāmin, p. 64 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii. 3. Rājaśekhara (p. 15) in his only quotation from Ānandavardhana really cites a Parikara-śloka of the Vṛtti at p. 137. Kuntaka, on the other hand, quoting the Prakrit verse *tālā jāaṃti* (*Dhv*. p. 62), which is Ānandavardhana's own (from his lost *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā*), appears to designate Ānandavardhana as the Dhvanikāra (see introd. to *Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd ed. p. xi).

Sahṛdayāloka and that (2) the use of the words *sahṛdaya* and *kavi-sahṛdaya* at the end of chapter iv of the *Dhvanyāloka* and in the beginning of Abhinavagupta's commentary is significantly corroborative. It is well known, however, that the word *sahṛdaya* (lit. a man with a heart) is used in innumerable places in Alaṃkāra literature, as in the verses in question, to designate a man of taste, a judge of literary beauty, a connoisseur of Rasa. Ānandavardhana himself discusses *sahṛdayatva* at some length in his Vṛtti (p. 160), and Abhinavagupta arrives at a concise definition of a *sahṛdaya* thus (p. 11): *yeṣāṃ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsa-vaśad viśadībhūte mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmayī-bhavana-yogyatā, te hṛdaya-saṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ*, a definition which became so much standardized that Hemacandra does not scruple to copy it literally (Comm. p. 3) [1]

In the absence of materials it is very difficult to decide the question finally. Jacobi maintains, on the indication of a passage in Abhinava, that this unknown Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of Manoratha, who is placed by *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (iv. 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his successor Lalitāpīḍa i.e at the third quarter of the eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century (about 780-813 A.D.); but there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way of our arriving at a definite decision on this point. While discussing the various theories which deny the existence of *dhvani*, Ānandavardhana quotes a verse anonymously with the remark: *tathā cānyena kṛta evātra ślokaḥ*, upon which Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks: *tathā cānyena iti. granthakṛt-samāna-kāla-bhāvinā manoratha-nāmnā kavinā.* If we suppose that by *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana, then Manoratha, who is thus made a contemporary of the latter, lives in the middle or second part of the ninth century, i.e. somewhat

1 Mammaṭa begins his work (p. 10) with a reference to *kavi* and *sahṛdaya*, who are etymologically distinguished by Vidyādhara (p. 21); and both Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha declare that the *sahṛdaya*

later than the date assigned to him by Kahlaṇa, presuming of course that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that *granthakṛt* refers, as Jacobi conjectures, to the anonymous Dhvanikāra, we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90, etc.). To remove this difficulty we must suppose either (1) that Kahlaṇa is wrong, as Pischel argues, in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa, (2) that the two Manorathas were not identical persons, or (3) that Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Kārikākāra with the Vṛttikāra in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kahlaṇa cannot be taken to have been definitely proved.[1]

(4)

It seems, on the other hand, that the Kārikās date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the ninth century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kahlaṇa's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta ; for it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana, and therefore quite a different person from the well known Manoratha of Kahlaṇa. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word *granthakṛt* to mean the Kārikākāra in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary ; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kahlaṇa's Manoratha, with whom we have nothing to do. If, on the other hand, we place the

1 T. R. Chintamani in *JOR* ii (1928), pp. 44-47 tries to reconcile the discrepancies.

Dhvanikāra in the time of Kahlaṇa's Manoratha, this would leave only a bare margin of one or two generations between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, which does not seem to be enough to make room for a period of scholastic exposition of the subject. But undoubted traces of such activity are preserved to us in the few memorial verses—*parikara-ślokas* (pp. 34, 130, 137, 147, 163), *saṃgraha-ślokas* (pp. 87, 223), *saṃkṣepa-ślokas* (pp. 44, 74, 243)—incorporated by Ānandavardhana in his Vṛtti which itself, therefore, is not likely to be the first of its kind. These Ślokas are a sort of recapitulation-stanzas which are adduced by the Vṛttikāra from unknown sources, sometimes to explain the meaning of the Kārikās, but more often to amplify and supplement them. But at the same time we need not suppose a very long intervening period between the original dogmatic formulator of a theory and its first thoughtful expounder; for it is not necessary that a system should always require a long stretch of time in forming itself. The phenomenon is not unusual that if a literary or intellectual movement is already afoot and is, at it were, in a effervescent state, a few generations, or at most a century, are enough to bring it to the inevitable culmination, or at least to some preliminary completion. If we suppose that a system of *dhvani* had been in existence at a very early period, we should expect to find, as we do find to a certain extent in the case of the Rasa-theory, its influence working, at least indirectly, on the earlier writers who preceded Ānandavardhana, although this argument in itself does not carry with it a decisive force. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that the Dhvanikāra apparently shows himself conversant with some theories of *rasa*, *rīti* and *alaṃkāra*. But this neither proves nor disproves his own antiquity or that of his system, for there is no evidence to show that he was aware of the particular views of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin or Vāmana who championed these theories; nor are these writers to be taken, like the Dhvanikāra himself, as the absolute founders of the systems they individually

represent. It only goes to establish that the theory, enunciated by the Dhvanikāra, might have existed side by side with these systems, as we find them in the extant works; for it could not have been much later, inasmuch as such a supposition would bring it too near the time of Ānandavardhana himself. If the Dhvanikāra was contemporaneous with Daṇḍin or Vāmana, he may be placed at most a century earlier than his commentator in the first half of the 8th century.

(5)

If Ānandavardhana gave the final authoritative shape to the *dhvani*-theory (only the details of which were worked out by Abhinavagupta and others), the anonymous Dhvanikāra was not its absolute creator. This is made clear by the first Kārikā, which tells us that the theory was already taught by earlier thinkers, and that it existed even at the time of the Dhvanikāra himself in various forms, handed down, as Ānandavardhana explains, in unbroken tradition (*paraṃparayā yaḥ samāmnātaḥ*), although it may not have been explained, as Abhinava adds in his gloss, in particular books (*avicchinnena pravāheṇa tair etad uktam, vināpi viśiṣṭa-pustakeṣu vivecanād ity abhiprāyaḥ*, p. 3). This implies without doubt that the school existed from a very early time, but some unknown writer gathered together, summed up, and fixed the theory in a form which obtained considerable literary esteem for his work and the honoured but somewhat vague appellation of the Dhvanikāra for himself. But his name and fame, in course of time, were eclipsed by those of his great Vṛttikāra who succeeded in establishing the theory for all time and to whom posterity began to ascribe, not altogether undeservedly, all the honours of his predecessor, so that one of the latest writers on Alaṃkāra, Kumārasvāmin (p. 288), glorifies him with the curious but significant epithet—Dhvanyācārya.

(6)

Very little is known of Ānandavardhan's personal history. The colophon at the end of ch. iii of his work in the India

Office MS calls him *noṇopādhyāyātmaja*, while the colophon to ch. iv gives the form *jonopādhyāya*. Of these two forms of the name of his father, the former seems to be correct, for referring to Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*, Hemacandra (Comm. p.225) cities its author as *noṇa-sutaḥ śrīmad-ānanda-vardhana-nāmā*. Kayyaṭa also, commenting on the last punning verse of the same work, refers to the author as the son of Noṇa, and mentions his two works, the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* and *Arjuna-carita*, supposed to have been punningly alluded to in that verse. Both these works are cited in Ānandavardhana's Vṛtti, by Abhinavagupta (pp. 152, 176, 222), by Hemacandra (pp. 15, 213); and the first work appears to be a Prakrit poem. Ānandavardhana himself refers to another work of his own at p. 233, on which Abhinava adds the gloss: *granthāntara iti viniścaya-ṭīkāyāṃ dharmottamāyāṃ yā vivṛtir amunā granthakṛtā kṛtā*. This is apparently a work called *Dharmottamā* a commentary on the (*Pramāṇa-*) *viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. Abhinava in *Locana* iv (p. 31) refers to another work of Ānandavardhana's called *Tattvāloka*, in which the latter is said to have discussed, among other things, the relation between *kāvya-naya* and *śāstra-naya*.

(7)

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Abhinavagupta's fame rests chiefly on his philosophical works on Kashmir Śaivaism, but he appears also to have attained a considerable reputation in the realm of Poetics by his two remarkable commentaries on Bharata and on Ānandavardhana, called respectively *Abhinava-bhāratī* and *Kāvyāloka-locana*. Since the *Locana* is cited several times by name, it seems to have been written before the other commentary. He also cites in his *Locana* (p. 179, also p. 29) another commentary (*vivaraṇa*) of his own, now lost, on the *Kāvya-kautuka* by one of his teachers (*asmad-upādhyāya*) Bhaṭṭa Tauta. Nothing is

known of this Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also called Bhaṭṭa Toṭa); but it appears from its fourth introductory verse that Abhinava's commentary on Bharata was inspired by this teacher, who is cited there very frequently, just as his *Locana* was inspired by his other teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja. The exact scope and extent of Tauta's lost work is not known, but from Abhinavagupta's reference (pp. 187, 275, 310) it appears to have dealt with the theories of poetry in general and Rasa in particular, and explained some relevant passages from the *Nāṭya-śāstra.*[1]

The *Kāvya-kautuka* is also referred to in the anonymous commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* (p. 13); and Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes three verses from Bhaṭṭa Tauta in his text and reproduces (p. 59) in his commentary (appropriating the passage directly from Abinava on Bharata) an opinion of this teacher in connexion with the theory of Rasa. Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl.* 35) attributes to Tauta a fragment of a verse which is given in full but anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 3)[2]. Tauta is quoted also by Māṇikyacandra (at p. 5), by Śrīdhara and by Caṇḍīdāsa in their respective commentaries on Mammaṭa.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, together with Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is extravagantly praised in the *Locana* and whose relation to Abhinava we have already discussed, were probably his preceptors in Kāvya and Alaṃkāra. His references to his instructors in philosophy, like Siddhicela[3], Lakṣmaṇagupta and others, in his philosophical works possess no interest for us; but it may be noted that Abinava, in his *Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī Laghu-vṛtti* refers to Utpala as his *parama-guru*, the teacher

1 See above under commentators on Bharata p. 33, 101. Someśvara (Comm. on Mammaṭa p. 55) appears to have seen the work, as well as Abhinava's comm. on it (*tac ca Bhaṭṭa-Totena Kāvya-kautuke, Abhinavaguptaś ca tad-vṛttau nirṇitam*).

2 This verse is ascribed, perhaps wrongly, to Māmaha (or Bhāmaha?) in *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana, p. 4, ed, Benares.

3 Cited in *Locana*, concluding verses.

of his teacher. This description of Utpala (see above p. 33) is repeated in his *Locana* (p. 30), where Abhinava discusses the term *pratyabhijñā*, used in the text (i. 8), and refers to what is said on this point by Utpala. This Utpala is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivaism as the author of the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* (on whose *Sūtra* and *Vṛtti* Abhinava wrote a *Laghu Vṛtti* and a *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* respectively), and is assigned by Bühler (*op. cit* p. 79) to the first half of the 10th century. From what Abhinava himself says in his numerous works on Kashmir Śaivaism, we may indicate the line of spiritual succession (*guru-paramparā*) thus: Somānanda—Utpala—Lakṣmaṇagupta—Abhinavagupta ; Somānanda being probably a pupil of Vasugupta who is taken as the earliest founder of the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. The *guru-parampara* in his study of the Tantras may be given thus: Sumatinātha—Somadeva—Śambhunātha—Abhinavagupta.

In the concluding portion of his *Parātriṃśikā-vivaraṇa*, Abhinava gives us an interesting personal and genealogical account, in which he tells us that he was son of Kāśmīraka Cukhala[1] and grandson of Varāhagupta, and had a brother named Manorathagupta. Abhinava's date is easily gathered from his relation to Utpala and Ānandavardhana, as well as from his own dating of some of his works. As we have mentioned above, his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 990-91 A. D. and his *Bhairava-* or *Īśvara-stotra* in 992-93 A.D, while his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā* bears the date 1015 A.D. We can therefore, place him with certainty at the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century[2].

1 Bühler's MS has *kāśmīraka viculaka* (*op. cit.* p. clv) as well as °*cukhala* (p. clvii) ; the real name appears to have been Narasiṃha-gupta, while his mother's name was Vimalā

2 For the works of Abhinavagupta see K C. Pandey, *Abhinava-gupta*, ChSS, Benares 1935 pp. 122-24 ; V. Raghavan in *JOR*, xiv pp. 318-20 and *New Cat. Cat.* i, pp. 224-26. On Writers quoted in Abhinavabhāratī see V. Raghavan in *JOR* vi pp. 153-62.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ānandavardhana

Edition and Translation. (i) With the Kārikā and *Locana* ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, in Kāvyamālā 25, Nir. Sag. Press Bombay 1890, 1911. (ii) With Locana of Abhinavagupta and Kaumudī of Udayottuṅga, ed. Kuppuswami Sastri ; 1st Uddyota only, Madras 1944.—Translation into German with an introd. by Hermann Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi-lvii, 1902-03 (reprinted separately, Leipzig 1903). Translated into English, i-ii only, by K. Rama Pisharoti in *Indian Thought* ix-x (1917-18) ; not completed. Our references are to the Kāvyamālā ed. of 1911.

The text has been printed with modern commentaries (none of these utilise any fresh MS, and can be called a critical ed.)—(i) by Madhusudan Misra with his own Avadhāna Com. Calcutta 1939. (ii) by Badarinath Sarma with his own Dīdhiti Com. Haridas Sansk. Series, Benaras 1937, etc.

Abhinavagupta

Editions. (1) In Kāvyamālā 25, 1890, 1911 with the text (first three *uddyotas* only) as above. (2) Fourth *uddyota* without the text by the present writer in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta Univ., vol. ix, 1923 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems* pp. 236-267). The full title is *Kāvyāloka-locana.* (3) First *Uddyota* with the text, ed. Kuppusvami Sastri, as above. (4) with the text, ed. Pattabhirama Sastri, Kashi Sans. Series, Benares 1940.

Commentaries. (1) *Locana-vyākhyā-kaumudī* by Parameśvarācārya. Oppert 2694. (2) °*Añjana*, anonymous in *Madras Cat.* xii, 12895, extract (only on the first Uddyota). The author's name appears to be Dāśarathi (K. Kunjunni Raja, *Contribution of Kerala*, Madras 1958, p. 244). The author erroneously describes Bhaṭṭendurāja as the *paramaguru* of Abhinava. (3) *Locana-kaumudī* (on Uddyota i only)

by Udayottuṅga or Udaya-rāja from Kerala, publ. as above, Madras 1944 by Kappuswami Sastri. The author probably flourished in the second half of the 15th century (K. R. Pisharoti in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha R. Institute*, i, pp. 445 52). He wrote a Dūta-kāvya named *Mayūra-saṃdeśa* (ed. C. Kunhan Raja, Poona Orient. Series 1944) ; on which see K. Kunjunni Raja, *op. cit.* p. 228.

The *Candrikā* comm. on Ānandavardhana, referred to by Abhinava and others, is apparently lost.

On *Abhinava-bhāratī* on Bharata see above under Bharata.

No MS has been discovered of Abhinava's *Kāvya-kautuka-vivaraṇa*, or of the *Kāvya-kautaka* itself.

A list of citations of poetical and Alaṃkāra works by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, is given by Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 290 and 297. Only omit the name of Dhanika given by Jacob as an author quoted by Abhinava.

CHAPTER V

FROM RĀJAŚEKHARA TO MAHIMABHAṬṬA

RĀJAŚEKHARA

(1)

Rājaśekhara, son of *mahāmantrin* Durduka or Duhika and Śīlāvatī[1] and great-grandson of the poet Akālajalada of the Yāyāvara family, is better known as a poet and dramatist than as a writer on Poetics. In his *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i. 12, Rāja śekhara describes himself as the author of six works which must have existed even before this presumably early production of his.[2] It is not known whether his other three well known dramas belong to this period, but it appears that he probably composed more than six works. Hemacandra (Comm. p. 335) cites a work of Rājaśekhara's, entitled *Hara-vilāsa*, as an example of a poem which bears the name of its author (*sva-nāmāṅktā*), and quotes two verses from the same (Comm. pp. 334-335) ; from which Ujjvaladatta also (ii. 28) gives a half-verse. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, again (xvii p. 98), there is a reference to another work of his own, called *Bhuvana-kośa*, for information on general geography.[3] Ujjvaladatta (ii. 76) also quotes a line from Rājaśekhara on the synonyms

1 *Bāla-rāmā°* *ad* i. 7, 13 ; *Bāla-bhā°* *ad* i. 8 ; *Viddha-śāla°* *ad* i. 5. Rājaśekhara calls himself a Kavirāja (*Karpūra-mañj°* i. 9 ; *Viddha-śāla* i. 5), which is, according to *Kāv.mīm.*, the seventh, out of the ten stages, of poetic skill, one degree higher than that of a *mahākavi*.

2 In *Karpūra-mañj°* i. 9 we are told that Rājaśekhara began his career as a *bāla-kavi*, so called apparently from his two works *Bāla-rāmā°* and *Bāla-bhā°* ; while in this Prakrit drama, as well as in *Viddha-śāla°*, he appears to have attained the distinction of a *Kavirāja*.

3 Kane (*HSP*, p. 207-8) believes that the *Bhuvana-kośa* was not a separate work but formed a part of the *Kav. mīm.*

of Śiva, which, if not occurring in the *Hara-vilāsa*, was probably taken from an unknown lexicon by him.

In the two anthologies of Vallabhadeva and Śārṅgadhara, we get a considerable number of verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara. Of these, about 24 have been identified by Sten Konow in Rājaśekhara's four plays,[1] but about 10 have not yet been traced in any of his known works, nor are they to be found in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. These untraced verses, including most of the memorial verses on poets, probably belong to another and younger Rājaśekhara.[2]

There can be hardly any doubt that the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* should be ascribed to the dramatist Rājaśekhara, although it is not mentioned in these enumerations of Rājaśekhara's works.[3] Our author gives his own name at the end of the first chapter of this work as *yāyāvarīya* Rājaśekhara, which agrees with the description given in the dramas and which makes later writers cite our author simply as *yāyāvara*[4]. The opinions of the *yāyāvara* family, to which he belonged and in which

1 ed. *Karpūra-mañj°* pp. 189-91.

2 This other Rājaśekhara may or may not be the Jaina Rājaśekhara, author of the *Prabandha-kośa* (1348 A.D.). Rice 282 mentions a work called *Karpūra-rasa-mañjarī* by Bālakavi, which apparent ly refers to Rājaśekhara and his well known Prakrit drama, and not to any work on Alaṃkāra.

3 Aufrecht notes (*ABod* 135a) that the *Kāv. mīm.* is cited by name by Śaṃkara in his commentary on *Śakuntalā*.

4 *Bāla-bhā°* i. 6. 13; *Viddha-śāla°* i. 5; and Dhanapāla in *Tilaka-mañj°* ed. Kāvyamālā 85, 1903, *śl.* 33, and Māṇikyacandra in *Saṃketa* comm. (ed. Mysore) p. 308. Also Hemacandra (p. 235) and Someśvara (ed. Jodhpur 1959, p. 224, *yāyāvarīya*). Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita on *Viddha-śāla*. i. 5 quotes Devala to show that *yāyāvara* means a kind of a householder (*dvividho gṛhasthaḥ, yāyāvaraḥ śālīnaś ca*; see *Mitākṣarā* on Yājña° i. 128) according to which *yāyāvara* means a particular class of Brahmans who lead a plain life and do not accept gifts etc. Rājaśekhara's wife came from Kṣatriya family, but Anuloma marriage was permitted. See Kane, *Hist* of *Dhamma-śāstra* ii. pp. 641-42.

were born poets and scholars like Surānanda,[1] Akālajalada,[2] Tarala[3] and Kavirāja, are cited frequently by him under the general designation *yāyāvarīya*,[4] as well as under the individual names of these famous members of the family who are enumerated in the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i. 13 and elsewhere. He also quotes with respect the views of his wife Avantisundarī of the Cāhuāna family (pp. 20, 46, 57), for whose pleasure, we know, he wrote his *Karpūra-mañjarī* (i. 11) and who seems to have been an accomplished authoress. The present work does not also omit a display the author's love for Prakrit dialects (pp. 34, 51) as well as his knowledge of geography (ch. xvii), of which he gives ample evidence in Act x of the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. These and other details, on which we need not dwell any further, show that our Rājaśekhara is no other than the well known dramatist.[5]

(2)

The published text of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in eighteen chapters is apparently the first part of a projected extensive volume, of which a general summary or scheme is given in

1 An ornament of the country of the Cedis (*cedi-maṇḍala-naṇdana*, Jalhaṇa's *Sūkti-muktāvali* 88-89, p. 47). His patron Raṇavigraha is supposed by Bhandarkar (*Report*, 1887-91, p. xix) to have been the brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose dates range from 875 to 911 A.D. Quoted also in *Kāv. mīm.* p. 75.

2 Rājaśekhara's great-grandfather. This is not his real name but sobriquet derived from the expression in *Śr. Paddhati* 777 = *Subhāṣ°* 843 (*dākṣiṇātya*). Famous for his poetical jems, some of which were plagiarised by Kādambarīrāma (Jahlaṇa *Sūkti-muktāvali* 83-84 (p. 46). Called *mahārāṣṭra-cūdāmaṇi* in *Bāla-rāmā°* i. 13; also see *Viddha-śāla°* i. 5.

3 Cited by Jahlaṇa. Author of a work, called probably *Suvarṇa-bandha*.

4 pp 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16. 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35, 42, 43, 46, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 78, 90. 91, 94, 99, 100.

5 See S. K. De, *Hist. of Kāvya Lit.* ch. viii for Rājaśekhara and his dramas.—In *Karp. m.* (on i. 6) he describes himself as *sarva-bhāṣā-catura*. As a poet he claims that in his former births he was Valmīki, Meṇṭha and Bhavabhūti!

the first chapter ; this fact is also indicated by occasional remarks (like *rītayas tisras tās tu purastāt* p. 10 and *tam aupaiṣadike vakṣyamaḥ* p. 11) relating to topics to be dealt with in other succeeding parts. If the complete work, as projected, consisted of eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, we have now only one part surviving on the preliminary topic of *kavi-rahasya* alone.[1] Keśava Miśra (pp. 32, 67) quotes three verses from an Alaṃkāra work by Rājaśekhara, which, if they belong to our author, were apparently taken, as their contents indicate, from some lost chapters on *ubhayālaṃkārika* and *vainodika* respectively.

The popularity of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* with later writers is indicated by the extensive use made of it by Kṣemendra, Bhoja, Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhaṭa. Hemacandra, for instance, literally copies long passages from chs. viii, ix, xiii-xviii ; while Vāgbhaṭa borrows the same (as well as other) portions either directly from the same source or indirectly through Hemacandra.[2]

Rājaśekhara himself is indebted to many old writers and cites directly the opinions of Medhāvirudra (p. 12), Udbhaṭa and Audbhaṭas (pp. 22, 44), Vāmana and Vāmanīyas (pp. 14, 20), Rudraṭa (p. 31), Maṅgala (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) and Ānanda (p. 16), besides unnamed authors who are cited under the general designation *ācārya*.[3] We also find the name of Āparājiti. One Aparajita is[4] quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1024, and mentioned as a contemporary poet and author of *Mṛgāṅka-lekhā-kathā* in *Karpūra-mañjarī*, *ad* i. 8. Rājaśekhara also

1 Cf. introd. to *Kāv. mīm.* p. xvii-xviii.

2 A comparative table is given of these wholesale borrowings at the end of the notes in the Gaekwad ed. of the text.

3 pp. 3, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 30, 35, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 78, 94, 99.

4 One Aparājita-rakṣita is quoted in *Kavīndra-vacana* but as his name implies he was probably a Buddhist, and is possibly not identical with Rājaśekhara's contemporary Āparajitī. V. Raghavan (*JOR.* vi. p. 170) thinks that this Āparajiti of Rājaśekhara is none else than Lollaṭa. See above p. 37, for 1.

mentions Surānanda, one of his ancestors, his wife Avantisundarī,[1] Pālyakīrti (p. 46), Śyāmadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17) and Vākpatirāja[2] (p. 62), all of whom, as the citations show, seem to have expressed some opinion on the topics under discussion.

(3)

The date of Rājaśekhara has been settled with some exactitude. We learn from his four extant plays[3] that his ancestors lived in Mahārāṣṭra, and he himself spent much of his life in the midland as a teacher (*upādhyāya*) to a king named Mahendrapāla (otherwise known as Nirbhaya or Nibbhaya); Rājaśekhara was also patronised by his son and successor Mahīpāla.[4] We also understand that one of his plays, the *Bāla-bhārata*, was performed at a place called Mahodaya, for which he shows a partiality also in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 94). Fleet has shown[5] that this Mahīpāla should be identified with the Mahīpāla of Asni inscription, dated 917 A. D., and he agrees with Pischel[6] that Mahodaya is another name for Kānyakubja or Kanauj,[7] with which place this king, as well as Mahendrapāla, is connected in the

1 A Sanskrit verse of Avantisundarī is quoted in *Kav. mīm.* p. 46; but no work of hers has come down to us. Hemacandra in his *Deśī-nāma-mālā* quotes three Prakrit verses of Avantisundarī (i. 81. and i. 157).

2 This Vākpatirāja (Bapai-rāa) is apparently the author of the *Gauḍavaho* (middle of the 8th century; Kahlaṇa iv. 144) and must be distinguished from Muñja-vākpatirāja, the 7th Paramāra king of Mālava, who reigned from 947 to 995 A.D. See below under Dhanañjaya.

3 *Viddha-śāla°* i. 6; *Bāla-rāmā°* i. 5; *Bāla-bhāra°* i. 7, 11; *Karpūra-mañj°* i. 5, 9.

4 *Bāla-bhāra°* i. 9.

5 *IA* xvi. 175-78.

6 *GgA*, 1883, pp. 1217f.

7 Cf. *Bāla-rāmā°* x *ad* 87, 89, 90. Rājaśekhara's partiality for Mahodaya is also apparent in our text at pp. 8, 94.

Siyadoni inscription[1]. It has also been shown by Aufrecht[2] and Pischel[3] that Mahendrapāla, whose dates appear to be 903-07 A. D. from Kielhorn's summing up of the names of the four sovereigns of Kanauj as presented by the Siyadoni inscription, went also by the *biruda* of Nirbhara or Nirbhaya (Nibbhara or Nibbhaya in the Prakrit form), a fact of which Fleet seems to have been unaware.[4] Rājaśekhara appears to have become at some time of his life a protégé of Yuvarāja who has been identified with Yuvarāja I Kayūravarṣa, the Kalacuri ruler of Tripuri (in the kingdom of Cedi), where the poet's relative Surānanda had migrated. From these evidences, it is clear that Rājaśekhara must have flourished in the beginning of the 10th century, and probably also lived towards the end of the 9th. This is also supported by the fact that the latest writers quoted by Rājaśekhara are the Kashmirian Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana, who belong to the middle or second half of the 9th century, while the earliest writer to mention Rājaśekhara appears to be the Jaina Somadeva, whose *Yaśastilaka* is dated 960 A. D.[5] About the same time Abhinavagupta (in his Comm. on Bharata) expressly mentions *Karpūra-mañjarī* as a Saṭṭaka, as well as *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. In the Anthologies Rājaśekhara is extensively quoted from the 12th century onward.[6]

1 *EI* i. 170 f. 2 *ZDMG* xxvii (on Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati).

3 *op. cit.* p. 1221.

4 Fleet further shows (*op. cit.* p. 175f) that this Mahendrapāla must not be taken, as Peterson and Durgaprasada are inclined to take him, to be identical with the feudatory Mahendrapāla, whose inscription from Dighwa-Dubauli, dated 761-62 A.D., he has edited in *IA* xv. 105, and who is distinct from the pupil of Rājaśekhara.

5 For other details about Rājaśekhara see Sten Konow's edition of *Karpūra-mañj°* (Harvard Orient. Series 4, 1901). 175f, which gives a full bibliography.—It is difficult to summarise the diverse and somewhat diffuse contents of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā;* but a general résumé will be found below in vol. ii. ch. ix (3). A good summary will be found also in Kane, *op. cit* pp. 199-201.

6 See F. W. Thomas, introd. to *Kavīndra-vacana*, where most of these citations are collected together.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edition. With introd. and notes by C. D. Dalal in Gaekwad Orient. Series, Baroda 1916. The text has been printed with his own Comm. by Narayan Sastri Khiste in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares 1931 ; again, by Madhusudana Misra with his own Comm. and Hindi trs. in the same series 1931, 1932. Our references are to the Baroda ed.—Translated into French by Nadine Stchoupak and Louis Renou, Paris 1946.

DHANAÑJAYA AND DHANIKA

(1)

The date of Dhanañjaya may be taken as approximately settled at the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The author informs us (iv. 80) that he was son of Viṣṇu and that he flourished in the circle of distinguished literary men surrounding king Muñja, who himself seems to have been a man of taste and learning, as well as a patron of letters. We should not, with Peterson[1], confound this Muñja, better known as Muñja-vākpatirāja, with Vākpatirāja (or Bappai-rāa), the author of *Gauḍavaho*, who lived in the first half of the 8th century under king Yaśovarman of Kanauj and is referred to by Kahlaṇa (iv. 144) and Rājaśekhara. Our Muñja appears to be the seventh ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, who, as his own inscriptions record[2], came to the throne in 974 A.D., succeeding his father Harṣadeva Sīyaka, and reigned till about 995 A.D., when he was defeated, imprisoned and executed, as the Cālukya inscriptions attest[3], by Cālukya

1 introd. to *Subhā*,[4°] p. 115.

2 *Arch. Survey. Western Ind.* iii. 100 = *IA* vi. 48-51 ; *IA* xiv. 159-60. See Bühler, *Das Navasāhasāṅka-carita* (transl. in IA xxxvi, pp. 149-172), 1888, p. 116f.

3 *IA* xii. 270, xvi. 18, 23, xxi. 167-68 ; *EI* ii. 212 f. All the references (regarding Muñja's date) are collected together in Haas's introd. to his ed. of the *Daśa-rūpaka* (*q. v.*).

Tailapa II. Besides being known as Vākpatirāja[1], owing perhaps to the fact that he was himself a poet, he had several other *birudas*, such as Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvī-vallabha, and Śrī-vallabha; and one of his inscriptions calls him Utpalarāja[2]; a fact, overlooked by the editors of the Kāvyamālā Series (Gucchaka i, p. 131), made them confound him with Utpala, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was Abhinavagupta's *parama-guru*. This ruler is mentioned by Śambhu[3], as well as by Padmagupta[4], as 'a friend of poets' (*kavi-bāndhava* or *kavi-mitra*) ; and Bhoja, his nephew and successor, appears to have inherited these traits of his character.

(2)

The *Daśa-rūpaka* of Dhanañjaya, in its treatment of Dramaturgy, is apparently based on the time-honoured authority of Bharata ; but as Bharata's huge compendium, both from the practical as well as theoretical point of view, is discursive and cumbersome with its load of histrionic and other matters, Dhanañjaya attempts to sift the mass of details, and, limiting himself only to Dramaturgy, restates the general principles in the form of a practical, condensed and systematic manual. These features of the new contribution ap-

1 Dhanika quotes (on iv. 54-55) one of Muñja's verses twice, citing him in the first instance as Muñja and in the other case as Vākpatirāja-deva ; while Dhanapāla in his *Tilaka-mañjarī* uses both the names with respect to the same person. One of Muñja's descendants, Arjunavarman, who ruled in the beginning of the 13th century, reproduces one of Muñja's stanzas, with the remark that it was composed by one of his ancestors "Muñja, whose other name was Vākpatirāja" (Comm. on *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1916, p. 23). This verse is attributed to Muñja also by Jahlaṇa p. 199.

2 Kṣemendra quotes verses from Muñja in his three works (*Aucit. vic.* under *śl.* 16 ; *Kavi-kaṇṭhā°* under ii. 1 ; *Suvṛtta-til.* under ii. 6) referring to him as Utpalarāja. See also Śārṅgadhara (126 *vākpatirājasya* ; 1017 *utpalarājasya*), Vallabhadeva (3414 *śrīharṣadevātmaja-vākpatirājasya*), and Jahlaṇa pp. 63 and 199 (*Śrī-muñjasya*).

3 *Rājendra-karṇa-pūra*, *śl* 17, 36.

4 *Navasāhasāṅka°* i. 7, 8 ; ii. 93.

parently obtained for it such reputation and currency that in course of time it seems to have superseded not only all other treatises on the subject but also the basic work of Bharata himself. Viśvanātha, for instance, refers now and then to Bharata and gives one or two (mostly conventional) quotations from *Nāṭya-śāstra* ; but in the main he bases his treatment of dramaturgic topics on Dhanañjaya ; while Vidyānātha admits, in the *nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* of his own work, his indebtedness to the latter, with the remark *eṣā prakriyā daśarūpoktarīty anusāreṇa* (p. 131).

The *Daśa-rupaka*, consisting of four chapters called Prakāśas, deals almost entirely with the topics of dramaturgy, but the fourth and last Prakāśa contains a treatment of the theory of Rasa. The first Prakāśa distinguishes Nṛtya, defines the five Artha-prakṛtis and the Saṃdhis (with their Aṅgas), and concludes with definitions of Viṣkambhaka, Praveśaka and other dramatic devices. The second Prakāśa is devoted to the topic of Nāyaka and Nāyikā, their characteristics, their adjuncts, and considers the four dramatic Vṛttis and their Aṅgas. The third Prakāśa is concerned with the Prologue and other requisites of the ten kinds of Rūpaka. In the fourth Prakāśa we have an exposition of its peculiar theory of Rasa in which, not the relation of Vyaṅgya-vyañjaka but that of Bhāvya-bhāvaka is posited, after Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, between Rasa and Kāvya.

(3)

Dhanika, also described as son of Viṣṇu, and author of the *Avaloka* commentary on Dhanañjaya's work, was probably one of Dhanañjaya's numerous illustrious contemporaries ; for he may be assigned to the same period. Dhanika quotes from Padmagupta (also known as Parimala)[1], who wrote about 995 A.D., as well as from Muñja, and is quoted in his turn by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* in the first half of the

1 on ii. 37b = *Navasāhasāṅka*° vi. 42.

11th century. He is also described in one of the MSS[1] as holding the office of *mahāsādhyapāla* under king Utpalarāja, who is apparently our Muñja-vākpati, the patron of Dhanañjaya. The suggestion that the author and the commentator of *Daśa-rūpaka* are one and the same person, chiefly on the ground of the apparent similarity of names and identity of patronymic, as well as the inadvertant attribution of a verse of Dhanañjaya's to Dhanika in some later works like the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* vi. 64a=*Daśa-rūpaka* iii. 29), need not be seriously considered.[2] Jacobi, however, supports this suggestion[3] by pointing out that there is no separate *maṅgalā-caraṇa* to the commentary. This hypothesis, however, cannot altogether get rid of the fact that Dhanañjaya and Dhanika are indeed distinguished by some later writers. For instance, Vidyānātha, in his numerous references to the *Daśa-rūpaka*, cites the Kārikā-verses and never from the commentary,[4] although his commentator, Kumārasvāmin, falls in one place[5] (p. 29) into the error of attributing one of Dhanañjaya's

1 Wilson, *Select Specimens*, 3rd ed. I, xx, xxi, endorsed by Hall p. 3 notes. It is curious to note that Dhanika (on iv. 23, ed. Parab) quotes *nidrārdha°* which occurs in the *Caura-pañcaśikā* (ed. Solf no. 36) attributed to Bihlaṇa, but this anonymous quotation (which also occurs in Kuntaka) does not of itself place Dhanika later than the middle of the 11th century, the date of Bihlaṇa; for the authencity of the verse is not beyond question, as it is attributed to Kalaśaka in *Subhāṣ°* 1280 and Jahlaṇa p. 152, and Bihlaṇa's authorship is open to question. It is not safe, therefore, to base any chorono-logical conclusion on this quotation. Haas has not noticed the verse at all.

2 Haas (Pref. to ed. *Daśa-rūpaka* xxxiv) is inaccurate in stating that there is in the commentary "a number of indications of a difference of authorship," and in support of this he cites ii. 20b-21a, iii. 32b, iv 43c. Jacobi elaborately shows (*GgA*, 1913, pp. 304f) that Haas has entirely misunderstood these passages.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 303. Also Lévi in *JA*, 1886, p. 221.

4 p. 46. 101, 102, 104, 105, 114, 124, 131, 219, 221, 228.

5 In other passages the citation appears to be correct, pp. 47,

verses (ii. 23b) to Dhanika. It may also be urged that a *maṅgala*-verse to the *Avaloka,* occurring in one of the MSS, is rejected by Hall as spurious, chiefly on the ground that its style is "too pedestrian for so ornate a stylist as Dhanika" (p. 4 note). This 'pedestrian' stanza is apparently the same as that which occurs at the outset of Aufrecht's Bodlein MS, noticed by him in his *Bod. Cat.* 203a. On the other hand, the absence of the *maṅgala*-verse need not in itself be taken as decisive; for while Mammaṭa has no separate *maṅgala*-verse to his Vṛtti, we find them in Vāmana and Ruyyaka. Śārṅgadhara in his anthology attributes to Dhanika several verses (3417 and 3973) which the latter gives as his own in his commentary (on iv. 3a and ii. 10a). If, therefore, we suppose, as it is more likely, that the author and the commentator were not identical, then Dhanika may be taken as a brother of Dhanañjaya (a supposition which explains the apparent similarity of names and identity of patronymic), who collaborated in the production of the work[1] by writing the commentary.

From the *Avaloka* we learn that its author composed poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, and also wrote a treatise, entitled *Kāvya-nirṇaya* (on iv. 35 ; seven verses quoted) which alluded to the *Dhvanyāloka* and apparently dealt with the general topics of Poetics.

For other less known commentaries on *Daśa-rūpaka,* see Bibliography given below.[2]

128, 130, 221, 233, 235, 259. Raṅganātha on *Vikramor°* (about 1656 A.D.; ed. N. S. P. 1914 p. 31) falls into the same mistake. Mallinātha on *Kumāra°* i. 4 and *Śiśu°* vii. 11 quotes *Daśa-rūpaka* correctly (ii. 36b and ii. 24a).

1 This supposition does not militate against the passage (on iv. 33), referred to by Jacobi, in which the commentator intimately identifies himself with the author saying *asmābhiḥ.........niṣidhyate,* meaning that the prohibition is made both by his author and himself.

2 For later dramaturgic works, e.g. Vasantarājīya of Kumāragiri, see under Minor Writers below ch. x.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dhanañjaya

Editions. (1) By Fitz-edward Hall (with Avaloka), Bibl. Indica 1861-65. (2) by Jivānanda (a mere reprint of the above) Calcutta 1897. (3) by K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1897, 1917 (with Avaloka), 4th ed 1928.—Transl. into English, with transliterated text. introd. and notes, by G. C. O. Haas in Columbia Univ. Indo-Iranian Series, New York 1912 (not very reliable, but exhaustive introd. and index). Our references are to Hall's ed. On Haas's ed, see criticisms of Jacobi in *GgA*, 1913, p. 302f, and Barnett in *JRAS*, 1913, p. 190f.

Dhanika

Editions. Printed in Hall's and Parab's editions, with the text. Dhanika's *Kāvya-nirṇaya* is probably lost.

Other Commentaries on Dhanañjaya and Dhanika

(1) Comm. by Nṛsiṃhabhaṭṭa. MS in Govt. Orient. MSS Library, Madras (see *BSOS*, iv, 1926, p. 280). It is really a Laghu-Ṭīkā on Dhanika's Comm. (*Dasarūpasya yā vyākhyā Dhanikena samāhitā tasya Bhaṭṭa-Nṛsiṃhena laghu-ṭīkā vidhīyate*). It is interesting to note from this verse that Dhanika is mentioned as a commentator on *Daśa-rūpaka*, thus recording the tradition that the commentator Dhanika was different from Dhanañjaya, author of the *Daśa-rūpaka*. Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha also commented on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

(2) *Ṭīkā* by Devapāṇi (cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* ed. N. S P. 1904, pp. 6, 31 ; cf *AFl* 444 and *ABod* 135b), No MSS discovered. This is the author who is wrongly called Pāṇi by Wilson (*Select Specimens*) and Aufrecht. Being anterior to Raṅganātha, his date should be earlier than 1656 A.D. Raṅganātha also refers to a *Sāhasāṅkīya-ṭīkā* in the same context (p. 31).

(3) °*Paddhati* by Kuravirāma (MS in Hultzch 554; only three pages) is not a commentary on the *Daśa-rūpaka*, as Hultzsch's entry would imply. It is an independent work on Dramaturgy consisting of 110 verses. See *Madras Trm* II, A, 820 (c), Kuravirāma is a modern but fertile South Indian commentator who lived at the court of Zemindars of Kārvetinagaram in North Arcot District, and wrote comms. also on two well known poems, *Campū-bhārata* of Anantabhaṭṭa and *Viśvaguṇādarśa* of Veṅkaṭa. He mentions in his comm, on the last-named poem a commentary by himself on Appayya's *Kuvalay*°, as well on Dhanañjaya. See Hultzsch i, p. xi.

(4) Comm. by Bahurūpa Miśra, for an account of which see V. Raghavan in *JOR*, Madras, viii, pp. 321-34. As Bahurūpa quotes from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana* he must be later than 1250 A.D.

KUNTAKA

(1)

Kuntaka is better known in Alaṃkāra literature under the descriptive designation of the Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra[1] from the peculiar name of his work *Vakrokti-jīvita*, which itself is so called because of its central theory that *vakrokti* is the 'soul' or essence of poetry. The work had been known only through quotations and references until it was edited from two imperfect MSS by the present writer.

Kuntaka's date[2] is fixed approximately by his quotation from the dramatist Rājaśekhara, on the one hand, and by

1 Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvymālā p. 8. with Jayaratha (also pp. 12, 150 etc,) and Samudrabandha thereon (p. 4); Viśvanātha ed. Durgaprasad p. 14; *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana I. 1. 1, ed. Benares p. 6, etc.

2 This question has been dealt with in detail in the introd. to S. K. De's *editio princeps* of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, and is only briefly referred to here.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's citation of Kuntaka and his work, on the other. Mahimabhaṭṭa flourished, as we shall see, towards the end of the 11th century. We may, therefore, place Kuntaka between the middle of the 10th and the middle of the 11th. As this date falls in with the known dates of Abhinavagupta (whose latest date is 1015 A.D.), we may take Kuntaka as a contemporary of this commentator on Ānandavardhana. Although Abhinava refers to various views about *vakrokti* held before his time, it is remarkable that he never alludes to the Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra who, as his title *rājānaka* indicates, was probably a Kashmirian, and whose work, if written before Abhinava's time, ought not to have been, from its important nature and content, thus entirely ignored by a rival theorist.

(2)

The first two and a part of the third chapter of the work, which have been published, give a general outline of Kuntaka's main theory ; but it is not known how many chapters his original treatise comprised. The fourth chapter in the Madras MS, however, which breaks off without completing the work, may be presumed to have formed its natural conclusion, inasmuch as it deals with the last variety of *vakratā* enumerated by the author. The running prose Vṛtti, accompanying the Kārikā-ślokas, and forming an integral part of the work itself, appears to have been composed by Kuntaka himself ; for not only the commentator expressly identifies himself with the author, but the citations of later writers[1] indicate that the Kārikās should be taken *en bloc* with the Vṛtti. Besides quotations from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Anaṅgaharṣa (author of the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja*), Hāla, Bāṇa, Māgha, Bhāravi, Bhallaṭa, Amaru, Mayūra, Śrīharṣa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara, Kuntaka mentions by name Sarvasena, Mañjīra, Māyurāja, and the *Udātta-rāghava*,

1 Comm. to *Vyakti-viveka* p. 16 ; *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana p. 6, etc.

and quotes from Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa and the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana). The work stands unique for its exposition of the theory of *vakrokti*, which is apparently developed on the lines indicated by Bhāmaha,[1] as well as for its analysis of a poetic figure on its basis, which is implicitly accepted by all writers from Ruyyaka to Jagannātha.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edition. By S. K. De, in the Calcutta Oriental Series, 1st ed. from a single MS 1923 ; 2nd revised and enlarged ed. is based on two MSS (from Madras and Jesalmere respectively), containing Unmeṣas i, ii and a part of Unmeṣa iii, with a résumé of the unedited portion of Unmeṣa iii and iv, and an introduction. Calcutta Orient. Ser, 1928.

KṢEMENDRA

(1)

The industrious Kashmirian polygrapher Kṣemendra, with the surname Vyāsadāsa, is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his two interesting treatises, *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* and *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* He refers to another work of his,[3] devoted to the treatment of poetic figures, entitled *Kavi-karṇikā.*

Kṣemendra himself gives us an indication of his date. The concluding verses of his two works, as well as of his *Suvṛtta-tilaka* (ed. Kāvymālā Gucchaka 2, 1886), state that he wrote in the reign of king Ananta of Kashmir, while the colophon to his *Samaya-mātṛkā* tells us that it was finished

1 For an exposition see S. K. De's Introd. to the 2nd ed. of Kuntaka's work. Generally speaking, Kuntaka's *Vakrokti* signifies a mode of expression, differing from and transcending the ordinary mode of speech, and resulting in a characteristic charmingness (*vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*), and depends on the imaginative activity of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitatva*).

2 See Jacobi, *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren* in *GN* 1908.

3 In *Aucit. vic. śl* 2.

in the reign of the same king in 1050 A. D. His *Daśāvatāra-carita*, on the other hand, is dated by himself in 1066 A. D., in the reign of Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta. Ananta reigned from 1028 to 1063 A. D. crowning his son Kalasa in 1063. Bühler[1] is right, therefore, in fixing the period of Kṣemendra's literary activity in the second and third quarters of the 11th century.[2]

(2)

Peterson proposed[3], against the opinion of Bühler, who appears to have left the question open, the identification of Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was a pupil of Abhinavagupta, and who wrote, among numerous other works, a commentary on the *Śiva-sūtra* and on Abhinavagupta's *Paramārtha-sāra*. Stein supports this identification, but Peterson himself appears to admit later on[4] that his own theory is doubtful. In his *Aucitya-vicāra*, Kṣemendra pays homage to Acyuta or Viṣṇu ; but we know that he was, like his father, a Śaiva in his youth but was converted afterwards into Vaiṣṇavism, as he himself indicates, by Somācārya. This fact, as well as chronology, does not stand in the way of the proposed identification, but there

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 46.

2 Dhanika, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, appears to quote (on i. 61) two verses which occur in some MSS of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* (ii. 216, 217), and this fact apparently militates against this conclusion of Kṣemendra's date ; but we know that the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* was composed about 1037 A.D., and as the four lines in question occur in one of the MSS only, it is generally admitted now, for this and other reasons, that they are later interpolations. Kṣemendra (*Aucit. vic. ad śl.* 11. 16, 20) quotes Parimala (otherwise known as Padmagupta) who was a contemporary of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika.

3 i (*Detailed Report*), 1883, p. 11, 85 and Bühler in *IA* xiii, 1884, p. 29. Bühler really proposed the identification of Kṣemarāja, author of *Sāmba-pañcāśikā*, with Kṣemendra who wrote *Spanda-saṃdoha*, but distinguished both from the poet Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa (see *Kashmir Rep.* p. 81 and fn).

4 iv p. xxiii.

is no direct evidence to support it. Kṣemendra describes himself as son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu[1], and the name of his preceptor is given as Gaṅgaka.[2] He was also father of Somendra, and preceptor of Udayasiṃha and *rājaputra* Lakṣaṇāditya[3]. We know nothing, on the other hand, of Kṣemarāja's genealogy or personal history. But we are told at the end of the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* that Kṣemendra learnt *sāhitya* from Abhinavagupta, while Kṣemarāja at the end of his *Svacchandoddyota*[4] (as well as in the colophon to his *Stava-cintāmaṇi*) is described as *śiṣya* of the same great philosopher. It is worth noting, however, that while Kṣemendra's surname Vyāsadāsa[5] is given in all his works (with the exception of his *Kalā-vilāsa*), it does not occur in any of Kṣemarāja's philosophical treatises. Kṣemendra has taken care to let us know a great deal about himself, but Kṣemarāja always hides his light under a bushel and is apparently free from this trace of natural vanity. The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satisfactorily solved when, as Bühler long ago pointed out[6], the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found.[7]

A list of Kṣemendra's numerous works is given below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*

Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā Gucchaka i, 1886. (2) With comm. Sahṛdayatoṣiṇī of Śvetāraṇya-nārāyaṇa. Madras 1906. Our

1 Concluding verse of the *Daśāvatāra*.

2 *Aucit. vic.* under *śl.* 39. He quotes also Bhaṭṭa Tauta. Among other citations we find Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa, Gauḍa-kumbhakāra and *Kunteśvara-dautya* of Kālidāsa.

3 *Kavi-kaṇṭhā°* under v. i (pp. 138,139). Of his pupil Udayasiṃha Kṣemendra quotes *Lalitābhidhāna-mahākāvya*.

4 Bühler *op. cit.* App. ii p. clxix (extract).

5 Three stanzas are attributed to Vyāsadāsa in *Subhās°* (460, 1658, 3039).

6 *IA* xiii, *loc. cit.*

7 For a brief résumé of Kṣemendra's two works, see below vol. ii, ch. ix (i); on his didactic and satiric works see S. K. De, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 404-10.

references are to the former. Also ed. Chowkhamba Sansk. Series, Benares 1933. For an account of the work, see Peterson in *JBRAS* xvi pp. 167-180, where all the quotations in the work are collected together and discussed.

b, Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa

Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā Gucchaka iv, 1887, 1899 (2) Chowkhamba Sansk. Series, Benares 1933. A monograph on the work with analysis and German translation by J. Schönberg, Wien 1884 (in *Sb. der Wiener Akad.*).

There is no trace of Kṣemendra's *Kavi-karṇikā.*

The Works of Kṣemendra. A list of the works of Kṣemendra, published and unpublished, is given here. Those which are quoted in *Aucitya-vicāra, Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛtta-tilaka* are marked respectively with the signs (A), (K) and (S).

1. Amṛta-taraṅga (or °turaṅga) (K). 2. Aucitya-vicāra. 3. Avasara-sāra (A). 4. Kanaka-jānakī (K). 5. Kalā-vilāsa (ed Kāvyamālā Gucchaka i). 6. Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa. 7. Kavi-karṇikā (A). 8. Kṣemendra-prakāśa (mentioned in *ABod* 38b). 9. Caturvarga-saṃgraha (A, K, and ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 5). 10. Cāru-caryā (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2). 11. Citrabhārata-nāṭaka (A and K). 12. Darpa-dalana (ed. Kāvyamāla Gucchaka 6, 1891). 13. Daśāvatāracarita-kāvya (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, 1891). 14. Deśopadeśa (K ; ed. M. Kaul, Srinagar 1923). 15. Dāna-pārijāta. 16. Narma-mālā (ed. M. Kaul, Srinagar 1923). 17. Nīti-kalpataru (may be the same as Nīti-latā quoted in A). 18. Padya-kādambarī (K). 19. Pavana-pañcāśikā (S). 20. Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī (ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP 1901). 21. Bauddhāvadāna-kālpalatā (A ; with its Tibetan version, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, 2 vols. Bibl. Ind. 1888-1918). 22. Bhārata-mañjarī (ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP 1898). 23. Muktāvali-kāvya (A and K). 24. Munimata-mīmāṃsā (A). 25. Rājāvali (mentioned in Kahlaṇa i. 13). 26. Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī (ed. Bhavadatta and Parab, NSP 1903). 27.

Lalitaratna-mālā. 28. Loka-prakāśa (Text in transliteration, *Ind. Stud.* xviii, 1898, pp. 298-412 ; J. Bloch with trans. notes etc. P. Geuthner, Paris 1914) (A). 29. Lāvaṇyavatī-kāvya (A and K). 30. Vātsyāyana-sūtra-sāra (A and quoted in the *Pañca-sāyaka*). 31. Vinaya-vallī (A). 32. Vetāla-pañca-viṃśati (from the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī, ed. H. Uhle, München 1924). 33. Vyāsāṣṭaka mentioned in Bühler's *Kashmir Report* (1877) no. 154 ; see p. 45-46. 34. Śaśivaṃśa-mahākāvya (K). 35. Samaya-mātṛkā (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, NSP 1888). 36. Suvṛtta-tilaka (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2 ; also ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Series 1933. 37. Sevya-sevakopadeśa (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2). The Hastijanaprakāśa mentioned by Schönberg and Peterson is by Kṣemendra, son of Yadu Śarman (see Kāvyamālā p. 115 fn and Aufrecht i. 765). The Navaucitya-vicāra in Schönberg is probably the same work as *Aucitya-vicāra*. The *Kalā-vilāsa* has been translated into German by R. Schmidt in *WZKM* xxviii, 1914, p. 406-35 ; the *Darpa-dalana* by the same in *ZDMG* lxix, 1915, pp. 1-51 (also ed. and transl. by B. A. Hirszbant, St. Petersberg 1892) ; Samaya-mātṛkā, trs. by J. J. Meyer, Leipzig 1903. Parts of *Bṛhatkatha-mañjarī* has been translated by Sylvain Lêvi (1st Lambhaka with text in Roman) in *JA* vi, 1885, pp. 397-479 ; by Leo v. Mankowski (Pañcatantra, with text in Roman), Leipzig 1892.

BHOJA

(1)

The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja seems to be Hemacandra[1] who flourished, as we shall see, in the first half of the 12th century ; while Vardhamāna, who however did not write till 1140 A.D., mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇa-ratna*, the Vṛtti on which explains this Bhoja as the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The latest writer quoted by Bhoja appears to be Rājaśekhara[2],

1 p. 295 Comm., besides anonymous quotations.

2 From *Karpūra-mañj°*, *Bāla-bhā°*, and *Viddhaśāla°*. See Sten

whose latest date is the beginning of the 10th century, although some verses from the *Caura-pañcāśikā* (no. 12, ed. Bohlen), attributed to Bihlaṇa, occur in the *Sarasvatī-k°* (*ad* i. 152)[1]. Bhoja appears also to refer in one verse (*ad* i. 71, p. 22) to Muñja, apparently Muñja-vākpatirāja of Mālava. Jacob[2] is misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhu (who did not write his commentary on Rudraṭa till 1069 A.D.) in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja ; for the verses in question, though found in Nami, are not Nami's own but really quoted by him from previous authors[3]. Bhoja also quotes about sixteen times several verses occurring in *Daśa-rūpaka* and its commentary[4], which belong to the time of Muñja, i.e. the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, places the author of the *Sarasvatī-k°* in the period between the

Konow's ed. of *Karpūra-mañj°* pp. 198 f., for the quotations ; also Jacob *JRAS*, 1897, p. 304f.

1 We have not based any chronological inference on this, because Bihlaṇa's authorship of the work is not beyond question, and Solf tries to demonstrate the existence of a poet called Cora or Caura, whose date is not known.

2 *op. cit.* p. 304.

3 For instance, the verse *ayaṃ padmāsanāsīna°* (Bhoja *ad* i. 51, p. 15) is found, no doubt, in Nami on xi. 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, from Bhāmaha ii. 55. Similarly the two verses *sa marutā* and *sa pītavāsā*, quoted by Bhāmaha himself (ii. 41, 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmaśarman) occur in Bhoja anonymously (*ad* i. 121 pp. 43, 44), but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Nami's Comm. instead of going directly to Bhāmaha, from whom he quotes several other verses directly (e.g. *ākrośan nāhvayan*, Bhoja *ad* iii. 8, p. 144=Bhāmaha ii. 94 ; Bhāmaha ii. 92=Bhoja *ad* iv. 51, p. 226-7= *Subhāṣ°* 1645 *bhāmahasya*). Similar remarks apply to the other supposed quotations given by Jacob, whose mistake is probably due to the fact that Bhāmaha's text was not available to him.

4 One verse under *Daśa-rūpaka* iv. 66 (*lakṣmī-payodharotsaṅga-*) which Dhanika quotes as his own (*yathā mamaiva*) is quoted by Bhoja as example of Anyokti (*S. K.* iv).

second and the fourth quarters of the 11th century ; and as this date fits in easily with the known date of the ninth Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Dhārā, one of the well-known princes of the 11th century, noted for his patronage of letters, the two may be taken to have been reasonably identified. Our Bhoja is frequently cited in later Alaṃkāra literature as Bhojarāja, and sometimes simply as *rājan*[1] which designation, like that of *muni* applied to Bharata, seems to mark him out *par excellence* in this literature.

(2)

Kahlaṇa states (vii. 259)[2] that king Bhoja of Dhārā was the true friend of poets ; and it is possible that he had himself literary predilections. He was son and successor of Sindhurāja and nephew of Muñja-vākpatirāja who was also, as we have seen, a great patron of letters. The date of Bhoja is well known from his own and other inscriptions[3]. Alberuni[4] mentions him as still reigning in 1030 A.D., while the date Śaka 964= 1042 A.D. is given by the *Rājamṛgāṅka* which is attributed to Bhoja. We know also that he fought with Cālukya Jayasiṃha III between 1011 and 1019 A.D., and with the latter's successor Someśvara (1042-1066 A.D.) who, according to Bihlaṇa, took Dhārā by storm and forced Bhoja to flee. Bihlaṇa himself speaks of Bhoja as of a contemporary 'whom he did not visit though he might have done so'[5]. In

1 e.g. Vidyādhara pp. 98, 150, 192, 287, 304, and Mallinātha pp. 287, 304 etc.

2 *sa ca bhoja-narendraś ca dānotkarṣeṇa viśrutau / sūrī tasmin kṣaṇe tulyaṃ dvāvāstāṃ kavi-bāndhavau.*

3 *IA* vi, p. 53f (Ujjain Plate, 1021-22 A.D.) ; *EI* i, p. 230-33; *EI* ix, p. 182 (Banswara Plate, 1020 A.D); *EI* xviii, p. 320 (Betma Plate, 1020 A.D.) ; the Sarasvati Image Inscription in the Br. Museum (*Rupam*, 1924, p. 18 ; 1033 A.D.) ; Tilakwada Copper plate (*Proc. of the 1st Orient. Conf.* p. 319 ; 1047 A.D.) etc.

4 ed. Sachau i. 191. According to Merutuṅga, Bhoja succeeded Muñja in Saṃvat 1078=1022 A.D. See, however, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-83, pp. 44-45.

5 Bühler's ed. *Vikramāṅka*° p. 23 fn ; also text xviii. 96.

Kahlaṇa's assertion, referred to above, with respect to Bhoja and Kṣitirāja, the phrase *tasmin kṣaṇe* is taken by Bühler to refer to the period when, after the nominal coronation of Kalasa in 1062 A.D., Kṣitirāja became a *saṃnyāsin* and sometimes visited king Ananta in order to console him. If this interpretation is correct, we get a limit to Bhoja's date at 1062 A.D. A copper-plate of his successor Jaysiṃha[1], however, is dated 1055 A.D., and throws doubt on Bühler's conjecture. All this, however, will justify us in fixing Bhoja's date with great probability between 1010 and 1055 A.D.; i.e., roughly covering a part of the first and whole of the second quarter of the 11th century, and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century. The exact dates of his accession and death are unknown ; but it seems that he died after long illness, in the midst of wars with Bhīma, king of Gujarat and with Kalacuri Karṇa, king of Tripurī[2].

(3)

Besides his well-known *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa,* Bhoja appears also to have written a work called *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*[3], a MS of which exists in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras[4]. It is composed in 36 *prakāśas*[5], and is described as the largest known work in Sanskrit Poetics. It deals with both Poetics and Dramaturgy. The first eight

1 *EI* iii, pp. 46-50 (Mandhata Plate).

2 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, Tawney's trs. p. 4.

3 This work is mentioned by Vidyādhara p. 98 ; by Kumārasvāmin p. 114, 221 ; by Rāyamukuṭa and Sarvānanda on Amara ; by Hemādri on *Raghu* etc.

4 Mentioned in the *Rep. of the Working of the Peripatetic Party* of the Library, 1916-19. The work has not yet been published, except three Prakāśas (22-24) by Yadugiri Yatiraj of Melcote (Mysore 1926) and extracts given by V. Raghavan in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (i, pt. 2, pp. 513-42). But V. Raghavan has made a detailed study of the work in the work cited (vol. i, pt 1 and ii, Bomby 1940, pp. 1-542).

5 The whole of ch. xxvi is missing, as also the end of ch. xxv and beginning of ch. xxvii, besides smaller gaps.

chapters are devoted to the quasi-grammatical question relating to word and its sense as the means of expression, and the theory of *vṛtti*. The ninth and the tenth chapters describe the blemishes and excellences of expression (*doṣa* and *guṇa*); while the eleventh and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the Mahākāvya and the drama. The next twenty-four chapters treat exclusively of the Rasas, of which the Śṛṅgāra or love in its various aspects (in relation to the four Puruṣārthas, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) is maintained, in the light of his novel theory of one Rasa of Ahaṃkāra-Abhimāna-Śṛṅgāra, to be the principal and essential; and the work derives its name from Bhoja's theory that Śṛṅgāra is the only one Rasa admissible[1]. As in the *Sarasvatī-k°*, this work, in the manner of a cyclopaedic compilation, gives a large number of quotations to illustrate the rules and principles laid down. Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana*, which deals with the same subject, constitutes really a summary of the important chapters of Bhoja.

(4)

The *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, consisting of five Paricchedas, is not a very original work, but consists chiefly of a patient compilation in an encyclopaedic manner from earlier treatises, especially from Daṇḍin, from whom he takes, according to the calculation of Jacob[2], no less than 164 illustrations. From the index of citations given by Jacob, we find that Vāmana is quoted 22 times, Rudraṭa 19 times, the *Dhvanyāloka* more than 10 times (six of the *kārikās* being reproduced), while it is curious to note that Bhoja makes a good use

1 Cf Vidyādhara *rājā tu śṛṅgāram ekam eva śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam urarīcakāra* p. 98; Kumārasvāmin p. 221 *śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti śṛṅgāra-prakāśa-kāraḥ*. For a brief résumé of the work see below under vol. ii, ch. 6.—Bhoja in four chapters (xviii-xxi) deals with what he calls Dharma-śṛṅgāra, Artha-śṛṅgāra, Kāma-śṛṅgāra and Mokṣa-śṛṅgāra. But he devotes 16 chapters (xxii-xxvi) entirely to what may be called Laukika Śṛṅgāra in its Saṃbhoga and Vipralambha aspects.

2 *loc. cit.*

of Bhaṭṭi's illustrations of the figure *yamaka* and its numerous subspecies. After dealing with general topics of Poetics, the work speaks somewhat symmetrically of 16 Doṣas respectively of Pada, Vākya and Vākyārtha, and 24 Guṇas respectively of Śabda and Vākyārtha. In the second and third chapter 24 Śabdālaṃkāras and Arthālaṃkāras respectively are defined and illustrated. In the fourth chapter 24 Śabdārthālaṃkāras are similarly dealt with. It is noteworthy that the Rītis, mentioned as six in number, are regarded as Śabdārthālaṃkāras. In the fifth chapter we have a treatment of Rasas, Bhāvas, Nāyaka-nāyikā, the five Saṃdhis, and four Vṛttis, etc. While the chief value of Bhoja's work consists in its abundant wealth of illustrations and examples, numbering more than 1500, to every rule and prescription, it is nevertheless interesting as embodying, in the main, a tradition of opinion, which is also represented in the *Agni-purāṇa*, but which in many respects stands apart from the orthodox Kashmirian school.

Bhoja is credited with having composed more than 80 works, most of which are voluminous. His work on Grammar (ed. Madras Univ. 1937 ; also ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series, with Hṛdayahāriṇī Comm. of Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha, 1935-48) is also called *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

(5)

The commentators on Bhoja, as noted below, are numerous, but they are not of much importance. Ratneśvara's commentary has been published several times together with the text, but so far only three chapters of it have been printed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. *Sarasvatī kaṇṭhābharaṇa*

Editions. (1) by A. Borooah, Calcutta 1884. (2) by Viresvara Sastri, Benares 1888 (chs. iv and v). (3) by Jivananda Vidyasagar with Comm. of Ratneśvara (on. chs. i-iii), Calcutta 1894. (4) by Kedarnath Durgaprasad and Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nirnaya Sagar Press, with Comm.

of Ratneśvara (on i-iii) and of Jagaddhara (on iv), Bombay 1925, 1934. Our references are to ed. Boorah 1884.

Commentaries. (1) *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Miśra Ratneśvara. Ed. with the text by Jivananda, Calcutta 1894 ; ed. Benares and ed. NSP, as above. The nominal author Rāmasiṃha-deva, mentioned in the introductory stanza 2, is apparently the author's patron. In the colophon, the author's name is given as Miśra Ratneśvara ; and in Benares ed. of the text, the commentary is said to have been written at the command of Rāmasiṃha-deva (of Tirhut?). In the Catalogues, the work is sometimes inaccurately given as by Rāmasiṃha-deva. The author refers to a comm. on the *Kāv. prak.* by himself. Only the first three chapters of this *Ratna-darpaṇa* have been published in the editions noted ; and both the Madras and Bodleian MSS contain these chapters only. Ratneśvara appears to have flourished in the 14th century A.D. (2) °*Mārjanā* by Harinātha, mentioned by himself in his Comm. on Daṇḍin (*A Bod* 206b). See above p. 70. (3) *Duṣkara-citra-prakāśikā* by Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa. He may be identical with Lakṣmīnātha who, according to Kielhorn *Report* 1880 81 p. 71, wrote his *Piṅgala-pradīpa* in 1601 A.D. Kielhorn's MS of this latter work appears to have been copied in 1660, while Burnell's (*Piṅgalārtha-dīpikā* pp. 53b, 175b) in 1632 A.D. (4) °*Tīkā* by Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara and Damayantī. Extract given in *Ulwar Cat.* 1086 and Stein p. 275. The printed portion of the Comm. in the NSP ed. is on the 4th chapter. This work is probably earlier than the 17th century but later than the 14th (see Bhandarkar. Pref. to *Mālatī-mādhava* pp. xviii-xxi). Jagaddhara's genealogy is given thus: Caṇḍeśvara→Vedeśvara (or Vedadhara)→Rāmadhara (Rāmeśvara)→Gadādhara→Vidyādhara→Ratnadhara→Jagaddhara. He wrote several commentaries (Aufrecht i. 195) e.g. on the *Megha-dūta*, *Vāsavadattā*, *Veṇī-saṃhāra*, *Mālatī-mādhava* etc. MS in

Stein (p. 276) is dated Śaka 1521 = 1460 A.D. (5) Comm. by Harikṛṣṇa Vyāsa. *SCB* 34.

b. *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*

The only known MS is in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras, mentioned in their *Report* quoted above. The work has not yet been published except in parts ; see above p. 136.

Of other published works bearing the name of Bhoja, the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, 2 vols. GOS, Baroda 1924, 1925) deals chiefly with architecture and iconography ; the *Yukti-kalpataru* (ed. Isvara Chandra Sastri, Calcutta 1917) with Nīti-śāstra ; the *Tattava-prakāsa*, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, with Tātparya-dīpikā comm. of Śrīkumāra, Trivandrum Skt. Series 1920 ; trs. E. P. Janvier in *IA* liv, 1925, pp. 151-56) with religio-philosophical topics ; while the *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa* commentary on the *Yoga-sūtra* (ed. Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1883 ; ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Series, along with the text and five other comm. Benares 1930; ed Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1903 ; trs. Ganganath Jha, Bombay 1907) is devoted to an exposition of the Yoga philosophy.

MAHIMABHAṬṬA

(1)

Rājānaka Mahiman, Mahimaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, who is cited generally as the Vyaktiviveka-kāra[1] from the name of his work, was, as indicated by his title, probably a Kashmirian writer, who describes himself as son of Śrī-Dhairya and disciple of *mahākavi* Śyāmala. He informs us at the outset of his work (i. 3) that his principal object is to consider the views of the Dhvanikāra ; and as in the course of his discourse he examines the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, quoting

1 Viśvanātha, ed. Durgaprasad, NSP., 1915, p. 18, 249 ; Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii. 21 ; Ruyyaka, ed. NSP., p. 12 ; Keśava Miśra p. 80-81 ; Jagannātha p. 13 etc. Keśava mentions his name as Mahiman.

from the Kārikā and the Vṛtti with a minuteness which cannot be mistaken, we may infer with certainty that he was later than Ānandavardhana[1]. It is also probable that Mahimabhaṭṭa was later than Ānandavardhana's commentator, Abhinavagupta ; for in some places he betrays an acquaintance with the latter's work. At p. 19, for instance, Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes directly a long passage from the *Locana* (p. 33), and shows himself alive to the point involved in Abhinava's discussion by criticising it. The passage refers to *Dhvanyāloka* i. 13 where the Dhvanikāra uses the verb *vyaṅktaḥ* in the dual number with the express purpose, as Abhinava explains, of indicating a duality of sense. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka appears to have taken exception to this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinava concludes by remarking: *tena yad bhaṭṭa-nāyakena dvi-vacanaṃ dūṣitaṃ tad gaja-nimīlikayaiva.* Mahimabhaṭṭa, referring to this discussion, quotes anonymously the remarks of Abhinava (not only the aboveline but the whole passage), with the statement: *kecid vimāninaḥ...yad āhus tad bhrānti-mūlam* (p. 19). The terms of reference apparently indicate, as Narasiṃha Iyengar rightly points out,[2] that Mahimabhaṭṭa is here referring clearly to Abhinava as a theorist of a rival system who, if not contemporaneous, could not have flourished long before his own time. It should be noted that Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes and criticises (p. 28) certain views set forth by Kuntaka in his *Vakrokti-jīvita* (i. 7-8) and attempts to show that Vakrokti, like Dhvani, is to be included under Anumāna. He also quotes from Rājaśekhara's *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* (pp. 40, 50) and *Viddha-śālabhañjikā* (p. 85). This gives us one terminus to Mahimabhaṭṭa's date. On the other hand, Ruyyaka who, as we shall see, flourished in the first half of the 12th century and probably also wrote the anonymous commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa (printed in the Trivandrum edition of the text), is the

1 Cf Jayaratha p. 12 ; *dhvanikārāntarabhāvī vyaktivivekakāra iti*, the Dhvanikāra being, to Jayaratha, Ānandavardhana himself.

2 *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 65f.

earliest writer to quote and criticise Mahimabhaṭṭa.[1] We may, therefore, assign Mahimabhaṭṭa to the period between Abhinava and Ruyyaka, i.e later than the first quarter of the 11th but earlier than the first quarter of the 12th century, and approximately fix his date towards the last half or the end of the 11th century. This date will be in harmony with the probable date of Śyāmala, who is mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa as his preceptor, if this Śyāmala is the same poet as is quoted by Kṣemendra.[2]

(2)

It is difficult to determine what relation Mahimabhaṭṭa bore to Śaṅkuka who was also, like Mahimabhaṭṭa, an *anumiti-vādin*[3] in his theory of Rasa, for Śaṅkuka's work has not yet been recovered. Our author claims for himself originality

1 Iyengar (*op. cit.*) and Harichand (*op. cit.* p. 105) think that Mahimabhaṭṭa is "quoted or criticised" by Mammaṭa ; but, as *Kāv. prak.* v, p. 252 (B. S. S. 1917) shows, Mammaṭa does not at all cite Mahimabhaṭṭa or his work, but only criticises an *anumāna*-theory which tries to explain the concept of *dhvani* by means of inference. No chronological conclusion can be based on this ; for Ānandavardhana also refers to a similar theory long before Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote.

2 *Aucit. vic. ad śl.* 16 ; *Suvṛtta. til. ad* ii. 31. Also *Subhāṣ°* 2292. Kṣemendra's Śyāmala appears to be identical with Śyāmilaka, who wrote the Bhāṇa entitled *Pāda-tāḍitaka* (ed. Ramakrishna Kavi and Ramanatha Sastri, Madras 1922) ; for the verses, attributed to Śyāmala in the two works of Kṣemendra noted above, occur as *śl.* 33 and 125 respectively in the printed text of the Bhāṇa. The colophon describes the author of the Bhāṇa as son of Viśveśvaradatta and an *udīcya* (northerner), which makes it probable that he is the Kashmirian Śyāmala, Śyāmalaka or Śyāmilaka, also cited by Abhinavagupta. Both Abhinava and Kuntaka quote anonymously verses from this Bhāṇa. The verse ascribed to Śyāmalaka in the *Subhāṣ°* (*prāyaścittaṃ mṛgayate yaḥ priyā-pāda-tāḍitaḥ / kṣālanīyaṃ śiras tasya kāntā-gaṇḍūṣa-sīdhubhiḥ*) refers unmistakably to this Bhāṇa and the second line occurs in a slightly modified form in the Bhāṇa itself (*ad śl.* 132). Rājaśekhara cites a Śyāmadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17).

3 He is so called by Mallinātha (*Taralā* p. 85) and Kumārasvāmin (p. 219).

of treatment and freedom from slavish imitation,[1] and his omission of all references to his predecessor need not, therefore, appear strange. The only testimony of Rāmacaraṇa, an 18th century Bengal commentator on Viśvanātha,[2] need not be seriously considered; but it is probable that the theory developed by Mahima did not originate in himself. Ānandavardhana refutes at some length some theory of *anumāna* (pp. 201f) which attempted to explain that the suggested sense, posited by the *dhvani*-theory, can be arrived at by the process of logical inference. Mahimabhaṭṭa himself gives Antaraślokas or Antarāyās (besides Saṃgraha-ślokas summarising a discussion), which add to the discussion and are probably adduced from extenal sources, indicating previous exposition of similar topics by other writers. Thus, Mahimabhaṭṭa probably worked out systematically some such thesis (anticipated, it may be, by Ānandavardhana), as a direct rejoinder to Ānanda's classical exposition; but there is no evidence to connect him with the theory accredited to Śaṅkuka by Abhinavagupta and others.

The *Vyakti-viveka,* consisting of three Vīmarśas, is essentially a vigorous piece of polemic writing, which does not propose to set forth any new theory or system, but whose only object is to demolish the theory of Dhvani by shewing that the so-called function of Vyañjanā posited by Ānandavardhana is nothing more than the already recognised process of Anumāna or logical inference. In the first Vimarśa he states and amplifies his own position by criticizing the definition of Dhvani. In the second Vimarśa he considers the question of Aucitya, relating to Śabda and Artha. In the third Vimarśa about forty examples are cited from the *Dhvanyā-loka* and shewn to be really cases of Anumāna and not of Vyañjanā.[3]

1 He says, for instance, that he has written his work without looking into *Candrikā* and *Darpaṇa,* which apparently had the same object in view as the demolition of the *dhvani*-theory (i. 4, 5).

2 ed. Durgaprasad p. 248, ed. Röer p. 121 note: *śaṅkuka-matānuyāyināṃ vyaktiviveka-kārādīnāṃ mataṃ dūṣayati.*

3 Mahimabhaṭṭa's views will be considered in detail below in vol. ii.

(3)

From the *Vyakti-viveka* itself (p. 108) we learn that Mahimabhaṭṭa also wrote a work entitled *Tattvokti-kośa*, where he is said to have discussed what he calls *pratibhā-tattva* [1], in connexion with the poetic conception of an idea.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's work which recognised the new concept of *dhvani*, but tried to explain it by the established process of *anumāna* (and not by the separate function of *vyañjanā* explained by Ānandavardhana), never found any recognition in the hands of later theorists, most of whom became partisans of the latter. Even his commentator does not appear to possess much sympathy for his somewhat extreme view,[2] and Mahimabhaṭṭa is rather unique in having no followers in later literature.

The commentator referred to has been identified with some reason[3] with Ruyyaka, who has another commentary on Mammaṭa to his credit, as well as several independent works on Alaṃkāra. We shall deal with him hereafter as an independent writer on Alaṃkāra.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edition. By T. Ganapati Sastri with introd. notes and an anonymous Comm. (attributed to Ruyyaka), in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 1909. The Comm. breaks off in the middle of the 2nd Vimarśa.

1 Cf Jacobi *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv. 225 fn.

2 Mahimabhaṭṭa's views are vigorously criticised by Ruyyaka (*Alaṃ. sarvasva*, pp. 12f), and Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 248f).

3 For the arguments summarised see Kane, *HSP*, p. 245.

CHAPTER VI

MAMMAṬA AND ALLAṬA

(1)

A great deal of uncertainty exists with regard to the exact date of Mammaṭa whose name,[1] as well as the title *rājānaka*, indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. The story relied upon by Hall[2] and Weber[3] that Mammaṭa was the maternal uncle of the author of *Naiṣadha* may be relegated to the region of fantastic fables which often gather round celebrated names. The lower limit of Mammaṭa's date, however, may be fixed with reference to one dated MS[4] and two commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, of which the date can be ascertained. The commentary of Māṇikyacandra is expressly dated in Śaṃvat 1216=1159-60 A. D. The exact

1 Aufrecht (i. 432) notes that Mammaṭa's original name was Mahimabhaṭṭa on the mistaken authority of Keśava Miśra's erroneous citation (p. 80-81). The passage in which Keśava cites Mahimabhaṭṭa clearly refers not to Mammaṭa but to Mahimabhaṭṭa, author of the *Vyakti-viveka*, mentioned in the same context. The verse *anaucityād ṛte*, however, which is thus quoted and attributed to Mahiman by Keśava, occurs originally in the Vṛtti of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 145) from which apparently it is also cited in the *Vyakti-viveka* (pp. 31, 114) with a *sa evāha*, along with many other verses similarly quoted from the same text. Keśava might have taken the verse directly from *Vyakti-viveka's* citation, without knowing the original source, and wrongly attributed it to Mahiman himself. It does not occur at all in the *Kāv. prak.* Aufrecht's suggestion, therefore, that Mammaṭa is a corruption of the name Mahimabhaṭṭa, like his other supposition that the name Rudrabhaṭṭa yields Rudraṭa, is unwarranted. Cf Peterson ii p. 19.

2 Introd. to *Vāsavadattā* p. 55.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* (Eng. trans, 2nd ed.), p. 232 fn.

4 A Jesalmere Jaina Bhandar MS of *Kav. prak.* appears to have been copied in Saṃvat 1215 Āśvina 14 (=1158 A.D. Oct. 8) at Anahila-pātaka while Kumārapāla was still ruling. It is noteworthy that the

date of Ruyyaka's commentary is not known, but we know from other sources that Ruyyaka flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th century. The earliest dated MS from Jesalmere appears to have been copied in 1158 A.D. Mammaṭa, therefore, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 12th century.[1]

The other limit cannot be settled so satisfactorily. It has been maintained that Mammaṭa in one verse (*bhoja-nṛpates tat-tyāga-līlāyitam* under x. 26b ; B. S. S. ed. 1917, p. 684) eulogises Bhoja with whom he may be presumed to have been contemporaneous. This is sought to be supported by

colophon states that it is the joint work of Mammaṭa and Alaka (*kṛtī mammaṭālakayoḥ*). See P. K. Gode in *JOR*, xiii, p. 46-53 (=his *Studies in Ind. Lit. Hist.* i, p. 235f.)

1 Jhalakikara maintains, on the authority of Paramānanda Cakravartin and Nāgojī on Mammaṭa, that Mammaṭa in several places criticises Ruyyaka, who therefore must be placed earlier than Mammaṭa. But the passages he cites do not support his contention. Thus, the verse *rājati taṭīyam* (*Kāv. prak.* p. 758) is supposed to be directed against Ruyyaka p. 199. where the same verse is quoted in the same context. It appears, however, that Mammaṭa gives this verse as an instance of *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃkara* without any comment but with the simple statement that here we have a commixture of *yamaka* and *anuloma-pratiloma-citra* dependent on one another. Ruyyaka, on the other hand, citing the same verse and referring to the opinions of "other authors" comments on it at some length. He remarks that though the verse is given by some as an example of *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃkara*, such commixture of *śabdālaṃkāras*, in his opinion, is not possible, and the example is faulty. The verse itself occurs in Ratnākara's *Hara-vijaya* (v. 137). Jayaratha and Samudrabandha also remark in this connexion that the anonymous authors, referred to by Ruyyaka in his criticism, allude to "Mammaṭa and others." Besides, Ruyyaka himself quotes (p. 102) Mammaṭa's Kārikā iv. 15-16. Jayaratha expressly says that Ruyyaka wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa called *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa* (p. 102). In several other places, both Jayaratha and Samudrabandha point out that Ruyyaka is criticising Mammaṭa (e.g. Jayaratha pp 77, 102, 107, 150, 163, 199, 204 ; Samudrabandha pp. 23, 25, 119, 156, 243, 249, etc.).

the story, related by a very late commentator Bhīmasena,[1] that Mammaṭa was the son of Jayyaṭa and had two brothers Kayyaṭa and Uvvaṭa, of whom Uvvaṭa (or Uvaṭa) is taken to be the well known commentator on Vedic works, some of which, as he himself tells us, were composed in Avanti while Bhoja was still reigning (*bhoje rājyaṃ praśāsati*). It is suggested on this ground that Uvvaṭa was probably the medium of the quotation referred to above relating to his royal patron; or, assuming it to have been composed by Mammaṭa himself, it might have obtained for its author an introduction into the munificent court of Bhoja [2]. But this theory is untenable; for Uvvaṭa tells us that his father's name was Vajraṭa and not Jayyaṭa; and it is not clear that the stanza in question, given anonymously as an instance of the figure *udātta* (which consists of a description of the wealth and prosperity of an exalted personage) was composed by Mammaṭa himself, who certainly borrows similar illustrative verses from various sources. All that this anonymous verse may be taken to establish is that its allusion to king Bhoja indicates that Mammaṭa was probably not earlier than Bhoja.

We may, therefore, place Mammaṭa between Ruyyaka on the one hand and Bhoja on the other, if we may assume, on the authority of the commentators, the identity of this Bhoja with the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā, the reputed author of the *Sārasvatī-k*°. In other words, Mammaṭa probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Allowing two generations to intervene between him and Ruyyaka, we may assign Mammaṭa's literary activity roughly to the last quarter of the 11th century. Mammaṭa mentions Abhinavagupta who was still living in 1015 A.D. (see above), and quotes anonymously (under x. 131,

1 Introd. to ed. *Kāv-prak*. in B.S.S (3rd. ed. 1917) pp. 6-7: also extract in Peterson i, p. 94.

2 Ganganatha Jha in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak*. pp. vi-vii.

purāṇi yasyām) from *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* (canto i), which was composed about 1005 A. D.

(2)

Although well-known for his *Kāvya-prakāśa*, which helped to establish finally and exclusively the doctrines of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa is also the author of a less known work entitled the *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya* which, as its name implies, is a short dissertation on the expressive functions (Vṛtti) of words, a topic which he discusses also in the second Ullāsa of *Kav. prāk.* Mammaṭa, like most writers on Poetics, was also well-versed in the allied science of grammar, proficiency in which he also displays in the larger work.[1]

On a summary examination of the contents of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*,[2] it will appear that the work is carefully planned and systematically worked out. Peterson, however, on the indication given in Rājānaka Ānanda's *Nidarśana*[3] commentary, first called in question the unity of

1 A work on music called *Saṃgīta-ratnāvalī* is attributed to Mammaṭa by Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva in his *Saṃgīta-Nārāyaṇa* (see V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35), p. 131 ; and references therein).

2 The *Kāvya-prakāśa*, in ten Ullāsas, consists of Kārikā, Vṛtti and illustrations. The topics in brief are: I. Purpose, source and definition of Kāvya, and its division into Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. II. Explanation of Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā, and subdivisions of Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā. III. Vyañjakatva of all kinds of senses. IV. Division of Dhvani into Avivakṣita-vācya and Vivakṣitānyapara-vācya. Nature of Rasa. V. Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya and its eight subdivisions. VI. Citra-kāvya. VII. Doṣas of Pada, Vākya, Artha and of Rasa. How a Doṣa may become charming. VIII. Distinction of Guṇa and Alaṃkāra. Only three Guṇas (Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda) admitted. Combination of letters conducive to Guṇas. IX. Figures of Śabda. Vakrokti (of Śleṣa and Kāku), Anuprāsa (Cheka-, Vṛtti- and Lāṭa-), Yamaka and its varieties, Śleṣa, Citra and Punar-uktavadābhāsa. Figures of Artha, enumerated and defined as 61.

3 The name of this comm. is *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* as well as *Kāvyaprakāśa-nidarśana*.

the work, although his first erroneous impression[1], corrected afterwards by himself[2], was that the Kārikā-text was composed by Mammaṭa, while the running prose Vṛtti was added by some other hand. There is enough evidence now to show that Mammaṭa composed nearly the whole work (Kārikā and Vṛtti), and only a small portion of the last chapter, left incomplete by him, was completed by another author, whose name is given by Ānanda as Alaṭa or Alaka. That the fact of joint-authorship is skilfully concealed is supposed to be alluded to in the last verse, given in some of the MSS[3], which apparently says that "this way of the learned, though different yet appearing identical, is not strange, for here the only cause is a properly constructed (plan of) combination." This may be explained, no doubt, as meaning that the author here claims the credit of having skilfully removed, in his systematic work, all conflict of opinions held by different authors on Poetics ; but most commentators agree in finding here a hint implying that the work left incomplete by Mammaṭa was completed by some other person, and the traces of joint-authorship are ingeniously obliterated. Māṇikyacandra Sūri, one of the earliest commentators, comments on this verse ; *atha cāyaṃ grantho'nyenārabdho'pareṇa ca samarthita iti dvi-khaṇḍo'pi saṃghaṭanā-vaśād akhaṇḍāyate.* Ruyyaka remarks in his *Saṃketa* commentary : *eṣa grantho granthakṛtānena katham apy asamāptatvād apareṇa ca pūritāvaśeṣatvād dvi-khaṇḍo'py akhaṇḍatayā yad avabhāsate tatra saṃghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.* In this view Ruyyaka is followed by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, Someśvara, Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha, Kamalākara, Ānanda, Jajñeśvara and other early as well as late commentators on Mammaṭa. Rājānaka Ānanda, however, is more

1 *Rep.* i p. 21 f.

2 *Rep.* ii p. 13 f. Cf Bühler in *IA* xiii p. 30.

3 *ity eṣa mārgo viduṣāṃ vibhinno' / pyabhinna-rūpaḥ pratibhāsate yat / na tad vicitraṃ yad amutra samyag / vinirmitā saṃghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.*

explicit and quotes a traditional verse[1] in his *Nidarśana* commentary to show that Mammaṭa composed the work up to the treatment of the figure *parikara* (x. 32), while the rest, consisting of a small portion of the concluding chapter, was completed by Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa[2].

This statement about the joint-authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* receives confirmation from an independent source. Commenting on *Amaru-śataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā 18, 1916, *śl.* 30), Arjunavarman, who flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century, quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa* under vii. 14 (the verse *prasāde vartasva*[3] cited therein) with the remark: *yathodāhṛtaṃ doṣa-nirṇaye mammaṭālakābhyām.* In the same chapter on Doṣa in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Amaru 72 is quoted as instancing the fault technically known as *jugupsā-ślīla* (vulgarity causing disgust), because the word *vāyu* in the verse is supposed to connote vulgar associations. Arjuna-varman defends Amaru from this fastidious criticism with the pointed remark: *kiṃ tu hlādaikamayī-vara-labda-prasādau kāvyaprakāśa-kārau prāyeṇa doṣa-dṛṣṭī, yenaivaṃvidheṣvapi paramārtha-sahṛdayānanda-padeṣu sarasa-kavi-saṃdarbheṣu doṣam eva sākṣāt akurutām.* Both these passages, which mention the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa,* refer in particular to ch. vii where the *doṣas* or faults of composition are discussed. Unless the remarks be taken to imply a general

1 *kṛtaḥ śrī-mammaṭācārya-varyaiḥ parikarāvadhiḥ / prabandhaḥ pūritaḥ śeṣo vidhāyālaṭa-* (°*laka* or °*llaṭa-*) *sūriṇā* / /.

2 This is perhaps the reason why in some MSS of the work the colophon puts down the names of Mammaṭa and Allaṭa (or Alaka) as the authors, e.g. Bodleian MS (Hultzsch Collection 172), which is a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters, reads: *iti kāvyaprakāśābhidhānaṃ kāvya-lakṣaṇaṃ samāptam, kṛtiḥ śrī-rājānaka-mammaṭākālakayoḥ.* Also Stein, *Jammu Cat.* MS no. 1145 (cf introd. p. xiii f), 1173. See also colophon of an early MS mentioned above p. 145-46, fn. 4. The dual authorship of the *Kāv. prak.* is accepted by V. S. Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, xvi, p. 477-90.

3 This verse is ascribed to Candraka in Śārṅgadhara 3565.—On this question, see Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 208.

reference to the fact of joint-authorship without particularly meaning collaboration of any special chapter, one may be led to the conclusion the Allaṭa (here mentioned as Alaka) had a hand not only in the 10th, as the tradition makes it out, but also in the 7th chapter.[1]

(3)

Of the three forms of the name, Alaka, Alaṭa and Allaṭa, the last, which is given in Stein's Jammu MS, seems to be the most authentic. The *ṭa* is a well-known suffix to Kashmirian names, and Stein says that "this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of Kashmirian Pundits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* is otherwise perfectly familiar."[2] But Alaka is as good a Kashmirian form of the name. This Allaṭa or Alaka is supposed to be the same as Rājānaka Alaka who wrote a commentary on Ruyyaka, and is quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha as such.[3] If this identification, which was suggested by Peterson but disfavoured by Stein, is correct, then we must also ascribe to him the *Viṣama-padoddyota* commentary[4] on Ratnākara's *Hara-vijaya*, where Alaka is described as son of Rājānaka Jayānaka. It appears strange, however, that Allaṭa the continuator of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* should also be the commentator of Ruyyaka, who in his turn commented on the same work. This will make the two writers commentators on each other's text; and if this were so, we may naturally expect a reference to this fact

1 H. R. Divekar in *JRAS*, 1927, holds that Mammaṭa composed only the Kārikās up to the figure Parikara and that the remaining Kārikās and the whole of the Vṛtti were composed by Alaka. But his arguments are hardly convincing.

2 See *Jammu Cat.* pp. xxiii f. Stein notes that the form Allaṭa of the name is "found also in the fine birch-bark codex of Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa written by Pandit Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the Śaka year 1570 (A.D. 1648)."

3 Peterson ii p. 17f.

4 i pp. 13, 17. Cf. Bühler. *Kashmir Rep.* p. 45. The work, extending over 50 cantos, has been printed in Kāvyamālā 22.

by Ruyyaka, who otherwise alludes to the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but does not mention the name of Allaṭa as the continuator.[1]

(4)

A tradition, chiefly obtaining in Bengal, as we find it in Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra, two very late Bengal commentators on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*,[2] imputes the authorship of the Kārikās (here called *sūtras*[3]) to Bharata and the prose-Vṛtti to Mammaṭa, while Bharata himself is said to have drawn upon the *Agni-purāṇa*. While the last assertion about the *Agni-purāṇa* has no foundation in fact and is apparently prompted by the amiable but unhistorical imagination of late writers, which delights in exalting the antiquity of the Purāṇas, the suggestion of Bharata's authorship of the Kārikās is too unauthentic and fanciful to be accepted. Mammaṭa's authorship of the Kārikās has been

1 It is clear, however, that the combination of names in the colophon to a MS of the *Kāv. prak.* (containing, in the same codex the text and Ruyyaka's °*Saṃketa* commentary), viz., *iti śrīmad-rājānakāllaṭa-mammaṭa-rucaka-viracite nijagrantha-kāvyaprakāśa-saṃkete prathama ullāsaḥ*, should not lead us to think, as Peterson and Stein do, that the *Kāv. prak.* is a joint-compilation of Allaṭa, Mammaṭa and Rucaka (or Ruyyaka), but it only indicates the names of the authors of the original work (viz. Mammaṭa and Allaṭa) as well as the name of the author of the °*Saṃketa* commentary comprised in the codex.

2 Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Sāhitya-kaumudī* on Mammaṭa, ed. Kāvyamālā 63, 1897, p. 2, and comm. ; also comm. p. 1. and text p. 189. (Cf. Peterson ii p. 10f.) ; Maheśvara's comm. (ed. Jivananda, 1876) p. 1. This view is also endorsed by Jayarāma Pañcānana, another Bengal commentator on Mammaṭa (see Peterson ii pp. 21-22, 107).

3 The term *sūtra* should not mislead us into thinking that the work might have been originally composed in that form, upon which the later *kārikā*-verses were based ; for it is not unusual for the commentators to refer fo Mammaṭa's *kārikās* themselves as *sūtras*; e.g. °*Pradīpa*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 378 *sūtre vibhāga upalakṣaṇa-paraḥ* ; p. 384 *sūtraṃ copalakṣaṇatayā yojyam* ; °*Prabhā* p. 381 *sūtrāṣkarānusārataḥ* ; °*Uddyota* ed. Chandorkar, x p. 123.

declared by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 109=*Kāvya-prak.* v. 1-2b) in the first quarter of the 12th century, as well as accepted by a succession of authors and commentators like Jayaratha, Vidyādhara, Mallinātha, Kumārasvāmin and Appayya. Vaidyanātha, commenting on °*Pradīpa* (i. 1), alludes to this tradition and rejects it expressly[1]; and in this view most of Mammaṭa's other commentators agree. Apart from this, the evidence of the text itself goes directly against such a hypothesis. The Kārikās iv. 4-5 are expressly supported in the Vṛtti by a dictum of Bharata (vi. p. 87. ed. Grosset), and this implies a distinction between the author of the Kārikā and that of the *Nāṭya-śāstra.*[2] The Kārikā x. 8b, again, says *mālā tu pūrvavat*, implying from the context that the figure *mālā-rūpaka* follows the rule laid down for the figure *mālopamā*, which, however, is not taught in any of the previous Kārikās, but explained in the Vṛtti. This apparently indicates that the Kārikā and the Vṛtti form one block which should be attributed to one and the same author.[3]

The source of this tradition is probably the unquestioned reverence paid to the sage Bharata, but it may also be due to the fact that Mammaṭa himself has made a considerable use of Bharata's Kārikās. Thus Bharata vi. 15, 17-21 = Mammaṭa iv. 6-11. Mammaṭa, however, has also made a similar use of Kārikās and illustrative verses of many of his predecessors. Thus, the Kārikā in Mammaṭa vii. 10 *karṇāva-*

1 °*Prabhā* ed. Kāvyamālā p. 2.

2 Cf Vaidyanātha on i. 1 ; *granthakṛd iti mammaṭabhaṭṭākhyasya kārikākartur nirdeśaḥ.........bharata-saṃhitāyāṃ kāsāṃcit kārikānāṃ darśanāt sa eva granthakṛd iti na yuktam* ; *caturthe—"kāraṇāny atha kāryāṇi sahakāriṇi"* (iv. 4) *ityādi kārikārthe "tad uktaṃ bharatena" iti bharata-saṃmati-pradarśanasyāsaṃgatitvāpatteḥ.*

3 To the same effect Vaidyanātha commenting on this passage, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 329: *etad eva sūtraṃ sūtra-vṛttikṛtor ekatve jñāpakam, mālopamāyāḥ sūtrāvanuktāyā vṛttāveva kathanāt.* Also cf other agreeing opinions quoted in Jhalakikara's comm. ed. B.S.S. 1917, p. 599. See also S. K. De, *Mālā tu pūrvavat* in *ABORI*, vi, 1925 (reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, p. 131f).

taṁsādi-pade) appears as a *saṃgraha-śloka* in Vāmana's *vṛtti* on ii. 2, 19 ; while the definition of the figure *ākṣepa* in Mammaṭa x. 20 is taken from Bhāmaha ii. 67a and 68a, or Udbhaṭa ii. 2a and 3a as found quoted in Abhinava's *Locana* p. 36. Again, Mammaṭa iv.1 and 3 are clearly paraphrases from the *Dhvanyāloka* ii. 1 and 3. Mammaṭa also makes a large use of Rudraṭa's illustrations.[1]

The *Kāvya-prakāśa*, consisting of ten Ullāsas, traverses the whole field of Sanskrit Poetics (with the exception of dramaturgy) in only 143 Kārikās and about 620 illustrations derived from various sources. As it combines the merit of fulness with that of conciseness, it became one of the classic works of Sanskrit Poetics and Rhetoric which has always maintained a great authority and popularity throughout India. It sums up and explains in the succinct form of a brilliant text-book all the previous speculations on the subject, becoming in its turn the starting point of endless exegetic works and text- books. As such it occupies a unique position in the history of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature.[2]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Kāvya-prakāśa

Editions. . The work has been very often published, in part or as a whole, with or without commentaries. Only important ed. are mentioned here. *Text* only or *text with modern comm.*—(a) ed. Nathuram, Education Press Calcutta 1829 (perhaps the *editio princeps*). (b) ed. Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, with his own comm. Tātparya-vivaraṇa, Calcutta 1866. (c) ed. Vamanacharya Jhalakikar with his own Bāla-bodhinī comm. Bombay

1 This has been shown by Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, lxvi, p. 477f, referred to above.

2 For a discussion of the various topics covered by the work see S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 108-130.

Skt. Series 1889, 1901, 1917. (d) with a comm. by Harishankar Sarma Maithila, ed. D. R. Sastri, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1926. (e) with Budha-manorañjanī comm. of Mallāri Lakṣmaṇa Sastri, Madras 1891. *Text with old comm.* (a) With *Ādarśa* comm. of Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar Calcutta 1876 (the same, ed. Calcutta Skt. Ser. 1936). (b) With the comm. of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, ed. Papa Sastri, Benares 1866. (c) With *Pradīpa* of Govinda Ṭhakkura and *Prabhā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1891, 1912. (d) With *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa (ch, i. ii, vii and x), ed. D. T. Chandorkar, Poona 1896, 1898, 1915. (e) With *Pradīpa* in *Pandit* x-xiii, 1888 91. (f) With *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* (complete), ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press 1911.. (g) With *Pradīpa, Uddyota, Prabhā, Saṃketa* (of Rucaka) and *Bāla-cittānurañjanī* of Narahari Sarasvtītīrtha (ch. i, ii, iii, and x), ed. S. S. Sukthankar, Bombay 1933, 1941. (h) With *Sāhitya-kaumudī* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897. (i) With the *Saṃketa* of Māṇikyacandra, ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press, Poona 1921 ; ed. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore 1922. (j) With the *Dīpika* of Caṇḍīdāsa, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1933. (k) With *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī* of Śrīvidyā-cakravartin and *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* of Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, ed. H. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum Skt. Series, in 2 vols., 1926, 1930. (l) With *Sudhā-sāgara* of Bhīmasena Dīkṣita, ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1927. (m) With *Saṃketa* of Rucaka, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in *Calcutta Oriental Journal* ii, 1935 ; (n) With *Viveka* of Śrīdhara, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959, pt. i (ch. i-iv).

Translations. (*a*) into English by Ganganath Jha in *Pandit* xviii-xxi, 1896-99 ; reprinted and separately published, Benares 1899, 1918 ; 2nd ed., India Press, Allahabad

1925. (*b*) into English by Pandurang P. Joshi (ch. i. ii and x). Bombay 1913.

Our references are to the pages or by Kārikās of BSS ed. of Jhalakikar 1917.

The commentaries are discussed and enumerated in detail below.

b. *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*

Edition. By M. R. Telang, N. S. P. Bombay 1916. The work is also called *Śabda-vyāpāra-vicāra* in a BORI MS noticed in *Cat.* xii, p. 343-44.

THE COMMENTATORS ON MAMMAṬA

(1)

There is hardly any other technical work in Sanskrit which has been so much commented upon as the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, and no less than seventy different commentaries and glosses will be found noticed in the various reports, catalogues and journals relating to Sanskrit MSS. They count as their authors not only independent and notable writers on Poetics like Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha, but also men having other literary interests, like the Naiyāyika Jagadīśa and Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, the grammarian Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, the Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the Vaiṣṇava Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, as well as the Tāntrika Gokulanātha. Very few of these commentaries have yet been printed. We mention here the more important and better known of these writers, noting their dates when known and supplying whatever information we can gather about them.

Rājānaka Ruyyaka or *Rucaka*

His commentary is called *Saṃketa*. He is identical with Ruyyaka (*q. v.*), author of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* ; middle of the 12th century.

Ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*

ii, 1935 ; also partly (on i, ii, iii and x) ed. S. S. Sukthankar, Bombay 1933, 1941.

Māṇikyacandra

His commentary is also called *Saṃketa*. It is dated in Saṃvat 1216=1159-60 A.D.[1] Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina author of Gujarat, who belonged to the Koṭika-gaṇa, Vajra-śākhā, Rājagaccha. The concluding verses of his commentary trace his spiritual genealogy to Śīlabhadra, after whom came in succession Bharateśvara, Vairasvāmin (Vīra°), Nemicandra and Sāgarendu. Our author states that he was a pupil of Nemicandra, as well as of his successor Sāgarendu, who is identified by Peterson[2] with the Sāgarendu who wrote out in the Saṃvat 1252 (=1196 A. D.) at Paṭṭana the first copy of the *Amamasvāmi-carita*[3] Our Māṇikyacandra seems to be identical with Māṇikya-candra, author of *Pārśvanātha-carita*, which is said to have been completed on the Dewali of Saṃvat 1276(=1220 A.D.) in Devakūpa (Divbandar) by the sea (v. 36). In it the author gives a spiritual genealogy, traced up to Pradyumna Sūri and corresponding exactly to that given in the °*Saṃketa*[4]. Māṇikya also appears to have written a *Nalāyana* or *Kubera-purāṇa*[5]. Māṇikyacandra, mentioned in Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* as having flourished under Jayasiṃha of Gujarat, seems to be a different person.[6]

Edition with the text. (i) By Vasudeva Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press, Poona 1921 ; (ii) by R. Sharma Sastry, Mysore 1922.

1 Peterson iii, extr. p. 322, where the verse giving the date is incomplete, but it is given in full in Jhalakikara's introd. to *Kāv. prak.* p. 22.

2 iv, p. cxxviii. 3 iii, App. p. 98.

4 See extract in Peterson iii, App. p. 157-63 ; also vi, p. xci. The verse *ṣaṭ-tarkī-lalanā-vilāsa*°, describing his preceptor Nemicandra, occurs in *Pārśvanātha-carita* also, as in his °*Saṃketa*. See extracts in Peterson iii, pp. 160 and 321. 5 Peterson iii, App. p. 357.

6 For a discussion of Māṇikyacandra's date, see R. C. Parikh's ed. of Someśvara's comm. pp. 12-13.

Narahari called *Sarasvatī-tīrtha*

His commentary is called *Bāla-cittānurañjanī.* He also refers to two works, *Smṛti-darpaṇa* and *Tarka-ratna* (with its *Dīpikā* commentary), written by himself. Aufrecht notes that Narahari is also the author of a commentary on the *Megha-dūta,* of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library; and Stein notes (p.67) a *Kumārasaṃbhava-ṭīkā* by Sarasvatītīrtha. His commentary on Mammaṭa states that he was born in Saṃvat 1298=1241-42 A.D., in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. He traces his own genealogy to Rāmeśvara of Vatsa-gotra, and describes himself as son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and granson of Narasiṃha, son of Rāmeśvara. He had a brother named Nārāyaṇa. When he became an ascetic, he took the name of Sarasvatītīrtha and composed his commentary at Benares[1].

Edition. A part only (on i, ii, iii and x) in S. S. Sukthankar's edition of *Kāvya prak.* mentioned above, Bombay 1933, 1941 ; extract from MSS in Peterson i, 74 and *IOC* iii, pp. 325f.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa

His commentary is called °*Dīpikā* or *Jayantī.* He gives its date as Saṃvat 1350=1294 A.D. He calls himself son of Bharadvāja who was the family-priest (*purohita*) to the chief minister of Śārṅgadeva of Gujarat, the third Vāghelā sovereign who ruled at Paṭṭana during 1277-1297[2]. Jayanta is quoted by Paramānanda Cakravartin and Ratnakaṇṭha (*q.v.*), and the latter states that his own commentary was based on the *Jayantī.* Our Jayanta Bhaṭṭa must be distinguished from Bhaṭṭa Jayanta or Jayantaka, father of Abhinanda the author of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā 11, 1888), who is an earlier author quoted by Abhinavagupta (p. 142) and who lived probably in the 9th century.

Extract in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, App. 326.

1 Peterson i, pp. 25f, 74.

2 Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84 pp. 17-18 ; Peterson ii, pp. 17, 20.

Someśvara

His commentary is called *Kāvyādarśa*[1] (also *Saṃketa*). He describes himself as son of Bhaṭṭa Devaka of Bharadvāja-gotra. Jhalakikara thinks that he was a native of Kanauj from his decided partiality for that country. But his reference to the Pratyabhijñā School of Kashmir might indicate that he was Kashmirian. Peterson[2] and following him Aufrecht[3], identify him with Someśvara, author of *Kīrti-kaumudī* and *Surathotsava*, and place him in the first half of the 13th century. But this is doubtful, because this Someśvara is known as son of Kumāra. R. C. Parikh would assign the commentary to a period between 1150 and 1160 A.D. Our Someśvara cites Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Kuntaka (quoted pp. 135, 152, 302), Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra (p. 36), Ācārya Bhartṛmitra (p. 16), Candrikā-kāra (p. 55) and Yāyāvarīya (p. 224). He is cited in his turn by a very late commentator Kamalākara[4].

Ed. R. C. Parikh in 2 vols. (with the text), Rajasthan Pracya Vidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur 1959.

Vācaspati Miśra

Nothing is known of him or his commentary, but he is cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (as *prācīna* p. 131), by Viśvanātha on Mammaṭa, and by Bhīmasena. He is to be distinguished from Vācaspati Miśra, author of the *Bhāmatī*, who is probably older than Mammaṭa ; for in the list he gives of his own works at the end of the *Bhāmatī*, he does not refer to any commentary on Mammaṭa. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya (*JOI* Baroda, iii pp. 359-63) states that Vācaspati Miśra belonged to Mithila and lived near about 1200 A.D. But our Vācaspati

1 The two entries *Kāvyaprakāśa-ṭīkā* and *Kāvyādarśa* in Aufrecht i 737b should be one, as both refer to this comm.

2 v, pp. lxxxiv. 3 i, 102a, 737b.

4 In the Bhau Daji collection (see *Cat. of BRAS* p. 45) a MS of Someśvara's comm. states that it was copied from another MS dated in Saṃvat 1283. Hence the comm. appears to be older than 1227 A.D.

is probably not the Maithili legist who wrote *Ācāra-cintāmaṇi*, *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* and other works (see Aufrecht i. 559-60).

Śrīdhara

With the title Sāṃdhi-vigrahika, cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 29, 59, 62, 117), and by Viśvanātha on Mammaṭa. Śrīdhara's commentary is called °*Viveka*. A MS the *Viveka* was copied in Mithila in 1405 A. D. (Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, p. cclxxi). Śrīdhara's date would be about first quarter of the 13th century A D. As in the colophon to this MS the author is described as Tarkācārya Ṭhakkura, he probably belonged to Mithila.

Edition. By Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Part i, ch. i-iv. Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959.

Caṇḍīdāsa

His commentary, called °*Dīpikā*, was written at the instance of his friend Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The India Office MS of his work is written in Bengali characters, and he is cited mostly by Oriya, Maithili and Benares writers (e.g. Govinda in his °*Pradīpa* pp. 24, 36, 202, 274, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Kamalākara, Vaidyanātha in his °*Udāharaṇa-candrikā*, Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa in his °*Prabhā*, and Viśveśvara in his *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* pp. 125, 166). He is not identical[1] with Caṇḍīdāsa, the younger brother of the grand-father of Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. He appears to have flourished before or about 1300 A.D. He is also cited by Viśvanātha, son of Trimaladeva (*q. v.*), in a Kashmirian MS dated 1602 A.D. Caṇḍīdāsa mentions a *Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha* by himself. He also quotes a work

1 See H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, p. cclxvi, for some curious information of Caṇḍīdāsa, author of *Dīpikā*. He belonged to Bengal (born in the Mukha-kula). The family lived at Ketugrāma, four miles west of Uddhāraṇapura on the Ganges. According to Sastri, the period of Caṇḍīdāsa's literary activity was in the middle of the 15th century or earlier.—The other Caṇḍīdāsa belonged to Orissa.

called *Sāhitya-hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, which may be Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's lost *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa.*

Edition. By Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, Benares 1933. Extract in *IOC* iii, 1141/491 (p. 320).

Viśvanātha

Author of the commentary °*Darpaṇa.* He is identical with Viśvanātha (*q. v.*), author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is referred to in this commentary as his own. First half of the 14th century.

Extract in Jhalakikara's introd.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla

Known as Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla Sūri. The name of his commentary is *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi*, which is cited several times in *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana (ed. Benares, pp. 4, 8, 33). If he is the same as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa cited by Kumārasvāmin (p. 93), he should be earlier than the 15th century. K. P. Trivedi however, thinks that this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of Kumārasvāmin is the same as wrote a comm. or *Rasa-mañjarī.* He will be identical, thus, with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāvida, who wrote commentaries on Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (p. 95 above) and Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* (*q. v.*)

Edition. By R. Harihara Sastri and K. Sambasiva Sastri, 2 vols, Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926, 1930.

Bhāskara

Wrote *Sāhitya-dīpikā* commentary. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda Ṭhakkura (p. 21), Ravi (Peterson iii, p. 20), Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Bhīmasena, and Ratnakaṇṭha (Peterson ii, p. 17). Narasiṃha calls him Lāṭa Bhāskara Miśra. He is earlier than the end of the 15th century, being cited by Govinda (*Kāvya-pradīpa* pp. 25, 204, 308, 329). The commentary is also called *Kāvyālaṃkāra-rahasya-nibandha.*

Extract in Mitra 1681.

Paramānanda Cakravartin

His commentary is entitled *Vistārikā*. He refers to Miśra, Dīpikākṛt (Jayanta Bhaṭṭa?) and Viśvanātha ; and he must be later than Vidyānātha, whose *Pratāparudrīya* is cited by him. He is himself cited by Kamalākara, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharaṇa-can*°), Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, Ānanda and Ratnakaṇṭha. The earliest citation is probably by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (p. 20) in 1583 A.D. Probably a Naiyāyika of Bengal. He mentions his guru Īśāna Nyāyācārya and appears to refer in a punning verse[1] to the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. Jhalakikara thinks that the *cakravarti-lakṣaṇa*, found in the fourteen *gādādharī lakṣaṇas*, was formulated by him. Paramānanda, from his citations, cannot be earlier than the second half of the 14th century ; and he probably flourished before the 16th century[2], at the end of which Gadādhara flourished. He must be distinguished from Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, apparently a South Indian writer, who commented on Ruyyaka (*q. v.*) as well as on Mammaṭa, and who is also cited under the common designation of Cakravartin. Paramānanda also wrote a commentary on the *Naiṣadha* (*IOC* vii p. 1438).

Extract in Peterson ii pp. 108-9. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4831/2492.

Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin

His commentary, entitled *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī* refers to a commentary by himself on Ruyyaka. See under Ruyyaka for futher information on this commentator.

Edition. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926, 1930, along with the comm. of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla mentioned above.

1 *andhā doṣāndhakāreṣu ke vā na syur vipaścitaḥ| nāhaṃ tu dṛṣṭi-vikalo dhṛtaś cintāmaṇiḥ sadā.*

2 H. P. Sastri (*Catalogue ASB*, vi, p. cclxix) states Paramānanda flourished before Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (beginning of the 17th century) who cites from his work, as we have noted above.

Govinda Ṭhakkura

His well-known commentary is called °*Pradīpa*[1]. Govinda also wrote an °*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*, apparently the same as °*Śloka-dīpikā*[2] in Stein (pp. xxviii 60, 269), cited by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. This is supplementary to the larger exegetical work, being a commentary on the illustrative verses of the text. The °*Pradīpa* has been commented on by Vaidyanātha Tatsat (°*Prabhā* and *Udāharaṇa-candrikā*) and Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa (°*Uddyota*). Govinda was a native of Mithila, born in the family of Ravikara, eldest son of Keśava and Sonodevī, elder brother of poet Śrī-harṣa who is not, however, as Peterson supposes, the author of the *Naiṣadha*[3]. In addition to this information about himself, Govinda tells us that he learnt *kāvya* and *sāhitya* from his elder step-brother Rucikara. His exact date is not known, but Govinda refers to Viśvanātha as *arvācīna*, quoting the latter's criticism of Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, as well as the latter's own definition of the same, without actually naming him or his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. Govinda, therefore, is probably later than the middle of the 14th century. On the other hand, he is earlier than the last quarter of the 16th century, being quoted in Prabhākara's *Rasa-pradīpa* which was composed in 1583 A.D. Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, who flourished later, but not much later, than 1612 A.D. (having himself quoted Kamalākara), is supposed, on the authority of the family genealogy, to be fifth in descent from

1 The full name of the commentary is *Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa*, simplified generally as *Kāvya-pradīpa* ; so Peterson's speculation on the name (i, 27) is idle trifling.

2 The second verse of this work refers to his *Kāvya-pradīpa*.

3 His brother's verse is cited in ch. x (p. 355) as *mad-bhratuḥ śrīharṣasya*, but the *Naiṣadha* is cited by name in the same chapter (p. 351) with *iti naiṣadha-darśanāt*. He laments, in one of the concluding verses, the death of this brother Śrī-harṣa, in which however he does not mention him, as he could have done, as the poet of the *Naiṣadha*.

Govinda, This will roughly place Govinda towards the end of the 15th century[1].

Edition: (1) In *Pandit* vols. x-xiii, 1888-89, by Rama Sastri Bhagavatacharya. (2) With comm. of Vaidyanātha, called °*Prabhā*, in Kāvyamālā 24, NSP, Bombay 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912). (3) With °*Uddyota* in Anandasrama Series 1911. (4) With °*Uddyota* (ch. i, ii, vii, x) by Chandorkar, Poona 1889.

Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana

His commentary is called °*Tilaka* or *Jayarāmī*. The commentary called *Rahasya-dīpikā* by Jayarāma, entered in some catalogues, appears to be an alternative name. He seems to be identical with the author of the *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā*, the *Padārtha-maṇimāla*, and of commentaries on the *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* and on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*, which works indicate that he was a Naiyāyika. He is described as pupil of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabhadra) Bhaṭṭācārya Sārvabhauma and guru of Janārdana Vyāsa. He is cited by Śrī-vatsalāñchana and Bhīmasena, but the only writer who appears to quote him extensively is Viśveśvara (as Nyāyapañcānana) in his *Alaṃ. kaus.* pp. 11, 23, 106, 127, 161, 162, 172, 263, 327. Jayarāma was certainly later than Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (beginning of the 16th century), on whose *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* he commented, but earlier than the beginning of the 18th century, the date of Bhīmasena. A more precise dating is possible because the date of Jayarāma's *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā* is given as Saṃvat 1750 (=1694 A.D.). He is said to have been patronised by Rājā Rāmakṛṣṇa of Krishnagar (Bengal). See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921, pp.477f.

Extract in Peterson ii, p. 107 and Mitra 1447.

1 See introd. to N. S. P. ed of the *Pradīpa*; also the *Pandit* xiii, p. 74f.

Śrīvatsalāñchana[1] *Bhaṭṭācārya* and *Subuddhi Miśra*

Śrīvatsa's commentary is called *Sāra bodhinī.* It is mentioned by Hall[2] and attributed to "Maheśvara, otherwise called Śrīvatsalāñchana." Maheśvara or Māheśvara appears to be another name of Subuddhi Miśra who, Aufrecht notes,[3] wrote a commentary on Vāmana called *Sāhitya-sarvasva* ; but Subuddhi also appears to be cited as a commentator on Mammaṭa by Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharaṇa-can°*), Bhīmasena and Ratnakaṇṭha. The two are probably different persons, as Bhīmasena and Ratnakaṇṭha cite separately both Śrīvatsa and Subuddhi Miśra. Śrīvatsa is also the author of an independent work called *Kāvya-parīkṣā*[4], which deals in five Ullāsas with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammaṭa. This work may not be identical with *Tattva-parīkṣā* (or more fully *Śabdārtha-Tattva-parīkṣā*) by Subuddhi Miśra (perhaps the name of his commentary on Mammaṭa, cited by Ratnakaṇṭha and entered[5] by Kielhorn in *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 100).

1 Also called Śrīvatsa-śarman, Śrīvatsa-varman or simply Vatsa-varman.

2 introd. *Vāsavadattā* p. 54.

3 Aufrecht's description (*ABod* 208a ; *IOC*, iii, 1130/566, p 321) of Subuddhi-miśra as Subuddhimiśra-maheśvara, as well as Hall's statement, makes one think that the term is not *maheśvara* but *māheśvara*, which is often, as in the cases of Abhinavagupta and Vidyādhara, applied as an appellation of a Śaiva writer. This is thus a surname of both writers, which might have led to their doubtful identification.

4 Aufrecht i. 778b, ii. 19b ; *IOC*, iii, p, 342 (MS dated 1550 A.D.). The five chapters of this work correspond in the following way to those of Mammaṭa. (i) Śabdārtha-nirṇaya = M 1-3 (ii) Kāvya-bheda = M 4-5 (iii) doṣa-nirṇaya = M 7 (iv) Guṇa-nirūpaṇa = M 8-9 (v) Alaṃkāra = M 10. With a few exceptions it gives the Kārikās as well as the illustrations of Mammaṭa with appropriate observations on them. It is thus in effect a commentary on portions of Mammaṭa's work. It has been printed by the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga 1956.

5 See Peterson ii, p. 17 where both Subuddhi's comm. and *Tattva-parīkṣā* are mentioned.

It is mentioned as a Comm. on *Kav. pr.* in H. P. Sastri *Cat. ASB MSS,* vi, no. 4839/3515, pp. 417-18. Two other works, *Kāvyāmṛta*[1] and *Rāmodaya-nāṭaka,* are also ascribed to Śrīvatsa. A work called *Siddhānta-ratna-mālā* (a refutation of the Dvaita view of Vedānta) is noticed in *Madras Cat.* Trm I, B, 362, and is said to have been composed by Śrīvatsalāñchana Śarman, son of Viṣṇudhvajācārya. As Śrīvatsa cites Vidyānātha, he cannot be earlier than the 14th century ; on the other hand, he is earlier than the 17th century, having been quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A.D.) and Jagannātha (p. 39). It appears also that the *Sāra-bodhinī* in many places expands or condenses Paramānanda's *Vistārikā.* The colophon to the BORI MS of *Sāra-bodhinī* (no. 107, *Cat.* xii p. 115) informs us that Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya's father was Śrīviṣṇu Bhaṭṭācārya Cakravartin.

MSS. Extract in *Madras Catalcgue* xxii, 12827; also *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 54, pp. 56-57 (extract) of *Kāvya-parīkṣā.*

Paṇḍitarāja

This commentator, cited by Ratnakaṇṭha, is probably identical with Raghunandana Rāya, disciple of the legist Maheśa Ṭhakkura (See Jha's transl. of *Kāv. prak,* introd. p. ix). He should not be confounded with Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

Stein pp. 60, 269, extract given MS no. 1164 (Aufrecht i. 19a). Stein's MS of this work goes up to *Ullāsa* ii only and quotes no authorities except the Miśras and Pratyabhijñākāra. Jha's MS appears to have been copied in 1637 A.D.

Ravi and *Ratnapāṇi*

Ravi is the author of the *Madhumatī* commentary, the last verse of which tells us that he had a beloved daughter named Madhumatī, after whom the commentary was baptised, He also informs us that he was son of Gaurī and Manodhara,

1 Autrecht 1 103a, ii 20a.

alias Ratnapāṇi, and grandson of Acyuta, who was a minister of Śivasiṃha or Śivasiddha of Mithila (about the middle of the 15th century, *IOC* iv p. 875f). Ratnapāṇi or Manodhara also wrote a commentary or Mammaṭa, called *Kāvya-darpaṇa*[1], which is cited by his son and on which the latter's commentary itself seems to have been based. The father and the son are cited by Bhīmasena, while Kamalākara and Narasiṃha cite the Madhumatīkāra.

Extract in Peterson iii, p 332f ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, nos. 12822-23.

Maheśvara

With the title Nyāyālaṃkāra. His commentary is called °*Ādarśa*, or °*Bhāvārtha-cintāmaṇi*. He is a Bengal writer, who also composed a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga*. As he is cited by Vaidyānātha he should be placed before the middle of the 17th century, and it is probable that he flourished about the commencement of that century.

Edition. By Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1876 ; also ed. Calcutta Skt. Series 1936.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa

He is better known as a legist, and wrote a large number of works on Smṛti and Mīmāṃsā. He was a Mahratta Brahman of Benares, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Umā, younger brother of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, and grandson of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and great-grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa[2], Ananta Bhaṭṭa, who wrote the *Rāma-kalpadruma* at the request of Gariba-

1 See Peterson iii, App. p. 332 where extract is given (esp. *śl.* 5). A MS of this work, called *Kāvya-darpaṇa* or *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* is noticed in Mitra 3169, and the author's name given as Manodhara.

2 For Kamalākara's place in the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares, see the pedigree given in V. N. Mandlik's ed. of *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* p. lxxvi. See also Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 50-1. He is also the author of numerous works on Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti, some of which he mentions at the end of his comm. (see Aufrecht i. 80). It is said that his descendants still live in Benares.

dāsa, minister of Rājā Rājasiṃha, was his son. Kamalākara's date is known from the fact that he dates his well known *Nirṇaya-sindhu* in Saṃvat 1668=1612 A.D. He also wrote a poem called *Rāma-kautuka* in 4 cantos.

Edition. By Papa Sastri, Benares 1866. This comm. is described with extract in *IOC* iii, no. 1143/361, p. 327.

Rājānaka Ānanda

His commentary is called °*Nidarśana* or *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* [1]. Hall (*Vāsavadattā* p. 16) is mistaken in attributing this work to Śitikaṇṭha and taking it as dedicated to Ānanda. The colophon, as well as the first verse[2], of this commentary accounts probably for Hall's mistake ; but the author himself explains that the commentary is so named from the fact that an attempt is made in it to interpret Mammaṭa's text as having, besides its *ālaṃkārika* meaning, a mystical sense relating to Śitikaṇṭha or Śiva. Mammaṭa himself might have been a Kashmirian Śaiva ; but this leaves no doubt that Ānanda was one, although it is doubtful whether the text lends itself to such an interpretation. The date is given in the colophon as 1665 A.D., although Hall thinks that this is the date in which the MS of the work was copied. Stein remarks: "Ānanda, who composed his commentary in 1665 A.D. is still well remembered in the tradition of Kashmirian Paṇḍits as the contemporary and friend of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha[3]",

1 The colophon, as quoted by Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 69 fn), says: *iti śrīmad-rājānakānvaya-tilakena rājānakānandakena viracitaṃ kāvya-prakāśa-nidarśanam*. But elsewhere in the Jammu MS of Stein, it says: *iti śrī-kāvya-darśane śitikaṇṭha-vibodhane kāvyoddeśa-darśanaṃ prathamam*, col. to ch. i. It seems that the real name of the comm. is °*Nidarśana* as Peterson thinks, *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* being an alternative or descriptive name arising from the second meaning relating to Śitikaṇṭha or Śiva which the commentary finds in the text.

2 *praṇamya śāradāṃ kāvya-prakāśo bodha-siddhaye / padārtha-vivṛti-dvārā śitikaṇṭhasya darśyate*. Jhalakikara reads: *sva-śiṣyebhyaḥ pradarśyate*, but remarks: *atra śitikaṇṭhasya darśyate iti pāṭho vivaraṇa-kārair aṅgīkṛtaḥ*,

3 *Jammu Cat* p. xxvii fn. The date is given in Kali era 4766.

one of whose known dates is 1648 A.D. Ānanda, therefore, may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Ānanda also appears to have written a commentary on the *Naiṣadha.*

Extract in Peterson (i, 74); also in Stein, *Jammu Catalogue* p. xxvii.

Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha

His commentary is called *Sāra-samuccaya* which, as its title indicates and the author confesses, was composed by a compilation from "the principal commentaries of Jayanta and others." He cites, therefore, some of the well-known commentaries before his time, [1] among which we find the *Śāhitya-dīpikā* (of Bhāskara), *Sāra-bodhinī* (of Śrīvatsa), the commentaries of Subuddhi Miśra and Paṇḍitarāja, the *Vistārikā* (of Paramānanda), the *Pradīpa* (of Govinda), and two other works *Tattva-parīkṣā* and *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā.* This is the same Ratnakaṇṭha as copied the *codex archetypus* of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī,* mentioned by Stein (introd. p. vii f) and also transcribed MSS of the °*Saṃketa* of Ruyyaka in 1648, of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on Amara in 1655, and of Trilocanadāsa's *Kātantra-pañjikā* in 1673 A.D. He is identical with Ratnakaṇṭha, who was the son of Śaṃkarakaṇṭha and grandson of Ananta-kavi of the Dhaumyāyana family and who wrote a *Stuti-kusumāñjali-ṭīkā* (called *Śiṣya-hitā*) in 1681 A.D., and a *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya-kāvya-ṭīkā* in 1672 A.D, (Aufrecht i. 489b ; Stein, *loc. cit*). These dates range from 1648 to 1681 A.D., during which apparently the literary activity of Ratnakaṇṭha falls.

Extract in Peterson, *Report* ii, p. 129 (also ii, 16f), which gives a list of authors quoted ; BORI MS no. 113 (*Cat.* xii, p. 121).

Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura

His commentary is called *Narasiṃha-manīṣā.* He belonged to the same family as Govinda Ṭhakkura and was fifth in

1 The list of authors cited by him is given in Peterson, *Report* ii p. 17f.

descent from him. The latest writer he cites seems to be the Madhumatī-kāra (Ravi) and Kamalākara, and he is cited in his turn by Bhīmasena with the title *nyāya-vidyā-vāgīśa*. Between 1620-1700 A.D.

MSS. Aufrecht i. 101b, ii. 19b.

Vaidyanātha Tatsat

He wrote two commentaries: (1) the °*Prabhā* on the °*Pradīpa* of Govinda and (2) the °*Udāharaṇa-candrikā* on the illustrative verses of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. The date of the latter work is given in the concluding verse as Saṃvat 1740=1684 A D.[1] He also wrote *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* commentary on Appayya's *Kavalayānanda* (*q. v.*). He is different from Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, son of Mahādeva and Veṇī and pupil of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa; for our Vaidyanātha is known as son of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabuddha) Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa of the Tatsat family, and is referred to by Nāgojī himself. Our Vaidyanātha cites Caṇḍīdāsa, Subuddhi Miśra, the Dīpikākṛt (Govinda's *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*), Cakravartin and Maheśa, and is cited by Bhīmasena. He is probably not the same as Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa who wrote commentaries on the *Candrāloka* of Jayadeva and the *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara* of Nāgojī (ed. Anandasrama, Poona 1913).

Edition. *Prabhā*, ed. with *Pradīpa* by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912).

Udāharaṇa-candrikā. Extract in Peterson Report ii, p. 108, in *SCC* vii, 54, in *IOC* iii, 1151/943b.

Bhīmasena Dīkṣita

His commentary is called *Sudhā-sāgara* or *Sudhodadhi*[2]. It is dated in Saṃvat 1779=1723 A.D.[3] He was a Kanauj

1 The date is given in the *IOC MSS Cat.* iii, p. 322, no. 1151.

2 The form *Sukhodadhi* given in Peterson's extract (i, p. 94) should be *Śudhodadhi*.

3 Peterson *Report* i, p. 94.

Brahman who describes himself as son of Śivānanda and grandson of Muralīdhara; his genealogy being given thus: Gaṅgādāsa—Vīreśvara— Muralīdhara— Śivānanda— Bhīmasena. He is also the author of two independent works, called *Alaṃkāra-sāroddhāra* and *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana*[1], the latter apparently directed against Appayya's work of the same name, and both referred to in his commentary on Mammaṭa. The last work was composed at Jodhpur while Ajitasiṃha (1680-1725 A D.) was still reigning. Bhīmasena also wrote a commentary on the *Ratnāvalī*[2]. He cites a large number of commentators, such as Caṇḍīdāsa, Bhāskara, Acyuta, Ratnapāṇi, Ravi, Jayarāma Pañcānana, Vācasapati Miśra, Cakravartin, Ruci Miśra, Murāri Miśra, Pakṣadhara Upādhyāya, Devanātha Tarkapañcānana, Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda and Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Maheśa or Maheśvara, and Vaidyanātha.

Edition. By Narayan Sastri Khiste in Chowkhamba Sansk. Ser. Benares 1927. Extract in Peterson i, p. 94 and in Jhalakikara's ed. of *Kāv. prak.*

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa

Known simply as Vidyābhūṣaṇa. His work, dignified with the name of "a *vṛtti* on Bharata's *sūtra*" (so he calls Mammaṭa's Kārikās[3]), is named the *Sāhitya-kaumudī*, on which he himself writes a *ṭippaṇa*, called *Kṛṣṇānandinī*. It has the same arrangement and subject-matter as those of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but it adds an eleventh chapter on some extra Alaṃkāras of Śabda and Artha. A work called *Kāvya-kustubha* in 9 Prabhās is noticed and attributed to one Vidyābhūṣaṇa (in Stein pp. 59, 268) who appears to be a

1 The work is also called *Alaṃkāra-sāra-sthiti*, a MS of which is noticed in Mitra 4084 (Aufrecht ii. 23a). A very incorrect and at places illegible MS of this work exists in the BORI (*Cat.* xii, no. 156, pp.179-80, which gives a list of its citations). See also H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4895/3147, p. 456.

2 Aufrecht i. 492.

3 See above pp. 152f.

Vaiṣṇava and probably the same as our author (see pref. to Kāvya-mālā ed. of the *Sāhitya-kaumudī* and Aufrecht i 101a, ii. 19b, 193b, iii. 22b); for this work see below under Minor Writers. Baladeva was a pupil of Rādhādāmodara-dāsa (concluding verse of *Sah. k.* and its commentary) and Gopāladāsa (*alias* Rasikānanda, commentary on *śl.* 1), and the Guru of Uddhava-dāsa. He was a Vaiṣṇava and follower of Caitanya, and wrote various Vaiṣṇava works. Though belonging to Orissa he was a champion of the later phase of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and attempted a rapproachement between Madhvaism and Caitanyaism; see on this S K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 11-12. Apart from his commentary mentioned above, his most notable works are *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtra and *Prameya-ratnāvalī*. He is said to have been a contemporary of Jayasiṃha of Jaypur, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. Aufrecht notes that his commentary on the *Utkalikā-vallarī* was written in 1765 A.D. A pun in the first verse of his *Sāhitya-kaumudī* refers, as he himself explains in the *ṭippaṇa*, to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Utkala or Orissa.

Edition. With *Kṛṣṇānandinī*, ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897. The *Bharata-sūtra-vṛtti* in Peterson ii, 10 is the same work as this.

Nāgojī or *Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa*

He wrote two commentaries called *Laghu-* and *Bṛhat-Uddyota* on *Pradīpa*. Also author of a °*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā* or °*pradīpa* on the illustrations in the text (Stein, pp. xxvii, 268). He belongs to the first quarter of the 18 h century. He also wrote a commentary on Jagannātha (*q.v.*), from whom he was removed by two generations, and other works. See below under Jagannātha.

Edition. °*Uddyota*, ed. with °*Pradīpa* in Anandasrama Series 1911; ed. with text and °*Pradīpa* (ch. i, ii, vii and x by Chandorkar, Poona 1889, 1915.

°*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*, Aufrecht ii. 19b (extract in Stein pp. 268-69, called °Pradīpa).

(2)

We give below the names of the some of the less known commentators on Mammaṭa (alphabetically):

(1) Kalādhara. Wrote °*Kārikāvali*, which appears to be a synopsis of the Kārikās. *KBod* 501.

(2) Kalyāṇa Upādhyāya. Name of comm. unknown, mentioned by Jha in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak.* p. ix.

(3) Kṛṣṇa Dvivedin. Comm. *Madhura-rasā*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(4) Kṛṣṇa Śarman. *Rasa-prakāśa*. HPS iii no. 58 (extract; ends with the 5th chapter); *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4842/6581, pp. 419-20 (a fragment of only 20 leaves, containing the first and second chapters).

(5) Kṛṣṇamitrācārya, son of Rāmanātha and grandson of Devīdatta: a Naiyāyika, for whose works see Aufrecht i. 121b. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(6) Gadādhara Cakravartin Bhaṭṭācārya. °*Ṭīkā*. Mitra 1527; *SCC* vii 13. Gadādhara is well known for his commentary on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*, one of the standard works on Navya Nyāya of Bengal. He was a pupil of Harirāma Tarkālaṃkāra and flourished at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century.

(7) Guṇaratna Gaṇi. Comm. *Sāra-dīpikā* (*BORI Cat. MSS* xii, p. 112). The MS is dated Saṃvat 1890.

(8) Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, the Maithili Smārta. °*Ṭīkā*, mentioned in Jha *op. cit.* p. ix. See chapter on Minor Writers below.

(9) Gopīnātha. Comm. *Sumano-manoharā*. Aufrecht i. 101b. He also wrote a comm. on Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*q.v.*). End of the 17th century.

(10) Jagadīśa Tarka-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. Comm.

°*Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i. 101b (Mitra 1651). MS written by his pupil in Śaka 1579 = 1657 A.D. He is different from Jagadīśa Tarkālaṃkāra, the famous Naiyāyika who was a pupil of Bhavānanda and (Rāmabhadra) Sārvabhauma of Navadvipa (Bengal).

(11) Janārdana Vibudha, pupil of Ananta. Comm. °*Śloka-dīpikā*. Aufrecht i. 101b, ii. 19b (Stein 61, incomplete). He also wrote commentaries on the *Raghu* and *Vṛtta-ratnākara*. He should be distinguished from the better known Janārdana Vyāsa, son of Bābuji Vyāsa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Vyāsa and pupil of Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (see above p. 164).

(12) Tiruveṅkaṭa, son of Cinnatimma and grandson of Tirumala-guru. A South Indian writer who quotes Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary. *Madras Trm. Cat.* A 318.

(13) Devanātha Tarkapañcānana. Comm. *Kāvya-kaumudī* written in Saṃvat 1717 (=1661). *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, p. 81. Described as son of Govinda. Cited by Kamalākara and Bhīmasena. Bharata Mallika on Bhaṭṭi x. 73 quotes one Devanātha. Our Devanātha appears to be a logician of Bengal who upheld the views of Mammaṭa against the adverse criticism of Viśvanātha. See *Madras Trm* II, C, 1570 for extracts, and II, A, 819. See Mitra 1447 where mention is made of an *Ekaṣaṣṭyalaṃkāra-prakāśa* which quotes Devanātha and Jayarāma as its sources.

(14) Narasiṃha Sūri, son of Timmaji Mantrin and grandson of Raṅgaprabhu. Comm. *Ṛju-vṛtti* on Kārikās only. Aufrecht ii. 19b ; *Madras Trm* B. 381.

(15) Nāgarāja Keśava. Comm. *Pada-vṛtti*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(16) Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, son of Raṅganātha Dīkṣita and brother of Bālakṛṣṇa. Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Vikramorvaśī* was finished in 1656 A. D. Hence the date of our author is the end of the 17th century. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b (see also 292a: *AFI* p. 155)

(17) Bhānucandra. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b. Also wrote a commentary on the *Daśa-kumāra*.

(18) Bhavadeva, son of Kṛṣṇadeva of Mithila and pupil of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura. Comm. *Līlā*. Aufrecht ii. 20a ; *Madras Cat.* 12824-25 (extract). Also wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* (*IOC* 1428). According to the final verse in this commentary the author lived in the reign of Shah Jahan and composed his commentary at Patna in Śaka 1571 =1649 A. D,

(19) Madhumatigaṇeśa. Comm. *Kāvya-darpaṇa*, Aufrecht i. 102a.

(20) Yajñeśvara Yajvan. Comm. °*Vyākhyā*. *Madras Cat.* 12821 (extract).

(21) Raghudeva. Comm. °*Kārikārtha-prakāśikā*. Aufrecht ii. 20a (up to the end nearly of Ullāsa ii)

(22) Ratneśvara. Name of Comm. unknown, but referred to by himself in his comm. on Bhoja (cf *ABod* 209a).

(23) Rāghava. Wrote an *Avacūri Ṭippaṇa*, mentioned in Jhalakikara p. 36.

(24) Rājānanda. Comm. without a name. *Madras Cat.* 12820 (extract) ; cf Aufrecht ii. 20a.

(25) Rāmacandra. Wrote a *Kāvyaprakāśa-sāra*, which is apparently a summary exposition of the substance of the text. Aufrecht i. 102b.

(26) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, a Bengal commentator who wrote the comm. °*Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i 102a. His commentary on Bhavadeva's

Saṃskāra-paddhati was composed in 1623 A.D. (see Aufrecht i. 516a).

(27) Rāmakṛṣṇa. Comm. *Bhāvārtha* or *Kavi-nandinī* (or °*nandikā*). Aufrecht i. 102a, ii. 20a: also ii. 16b.

(28) Vijayānanda. Wrote a °*Ṭīkā*. *Deccan Coll. Cat.* p. 44. The age of the MS is given as 1683 A.D.

(29) Vidyāsāgara, apparently the title of some commentator. Cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. One Vidyāsāgara wrote a *Kalā-dīpikā-ṭīkā* on Bhaṭṭi, and is cited by Bharata Mallika (on x. 73), and by Rāmanātha on *Amara-kośa*. S. P. Bhattacharya (introd. to ed. Śrīdhara's comm. p. xxx) is inclined to take this commentator on Mammaṭa as Puṇḍarīka Vidyāsāgara who flourished in the early decades of the 15th century. He is said to have written comm. also on Daṇḍin and Vāmana.

(30) Veṅkaṭācala Sūri. Comm. *Subodhinī*. Aufrecht i. 102a. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi. no. 4837/, 8736, p. 415.

(31) Śivanārāyaṇa Dāsa Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, son of Durgādāsa. Comm. °*Dīpikā*. Weber i, no. 819; Aufrecht i. 102a. He wrote at the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 649b.

(32) Śivarāma Tripāṭhin. Comm. *Viṣamapadī*. Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 107. See below under Minor Writers for the author.

(33) Siddhicandra Gaṇi, *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* in ten Ullāsas, edited by Rasiklal C. Parikh from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1953. The writer is a notable Jaina monk and author (b. 1587-88 A.D.) in the time of Akbar and Jahangir and a contemporary of Jagannātha. His method, as he himself tells us, is *anuvāda-pūrvaka khaṇḍana*, *i.e.* first exposition and then criticism,

although all his criticisms are not justified. Siddhicandra appears also to have written a Bṛhatī Ṭīkā on the *Kāvya-prakāśa.* While Hemacandra would accept Mammaṭa's work as the standard, Siddhicandra was perhaps one of the 'Navyas', like Jagannātha, who indicates an attempt to set up a new school of poetic theories. For information about the author and his works see Introd. to ed. mentioned. – MS entitled *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* or *Kāvyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* noticed by Mitra 2674 goes up to the 7th Ullāsa ; it appears to be a different work.

Besides these, there are numerous commentaries, either anonymous or with the name of the author missing, some which are entered in Aufrecht i. 101b, 778b, ii. 20a, 193b. This illustrates the saying of Maheśvara, one of the commentators: *kāvya-prakāśasya kṛtā gṛhe gṛhe/ṭīkā tathāpy eṣa tathaiva durgamaḥ* !

CHAPTER VII

FROM RUYYAKA TO VIDYĀNĀTHA

RUYYAKA

(1)

Ruyyaka, who also bore the name of Rucaka[1] and had the Kashmirian title of Rājānaka prefixed to his name, was son of Rājānaka Tilaka[2] who, Jayaratha informs us (pp. 115, 124, 205), wrote a commentary or critique on Udbhaṭa called *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicāra*.

The *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, by which Ruyyaka is chiefly known, consists of two parts, viz. Sūtra and Vṛtti ; but the question has been raised whether the authorship of the two parts should be attributed to the same writer. The Nirnay Sagar Press edition of the text, published under the above title, admits Ruyyaka's authorship of both the Sūtra and the Vṛtti, a view which is accepted by his earliest commentator

1 *rājānaka-rucakāparanāmno'laṃkārasarvasva-kṛtaḥ* (*kṛtiḥ*), col. to Pischel's ed. of *Sahṛdaya-līlā* ; cf ed. of the same in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka v (1908), reading of MS *kha*. This name is given in some of the MSS of his larger work (e. g. col. to the N.S.P. and Trivandrum eds. of the text ; in Mitra ix. p. 117), as well as by Kumārasvāmin (pp. 393, 396, 425, 448), Appayya Dīkṣita (*Citr. mīm.* p. 72), Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (pp. 161, 179, 193), and Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, one of Ruyyaka's commentators (*Madras Cat.* xii, p. 8609). Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* no. 247, p. xvi) and Peterson (ii p. 13f) also found this name in connexion with Ruyyaka's *Saṃketa* comm. on Mammaṭa. That the form Ruyyaka is the more authentic is testified to by his pupil Maṅkhaka (*Śrīkaṇṭha-c.* xxv. 30 : see below).

2 *rājānaka-tilakātmaja°* col. to Pischel's ed. of the *Sahṛdaya-līlā*. Ruyyaka's father was thus, like himself, a writer on Poetics and a follower of Udbhaṭa. See above p. 76-77. Tilaka is mentioned and quoted (one verse) by Someśvara in his comm. on Mammaṭa (ed. Parikh, p. 295, on Ullāsa x. 106).

Jayaratha, who refers to the author as *granthakṛt* with respect to both the Sūtra and Vṛtti portions.[1] The invocatory verse to the Vṛtti in this edition reads in the second line

nijālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇāṃ vṛttyā tātparyam ucyate

so that the Sūtra is avowedly referred to as his own by the Vṛttikāra.[2] Some doubt, however, has been thrown on this view by the discovery of a different reading of this line in some of the South Indian MSS, which introduce a grave variant in the phrase *nijālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇām* by changing it into *gurvalaṃkāra-sūtrāṇām.* There is also, at the end of the Vṛtti in these MSS an additional verse[3], which gives the name of the Vṛtti (and not of the text which is called *Alaṃkāra-sūtra*) as *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, and the name of the author of the Vṛtti as Maṅkhuka or Maṅkhaka, who is described as a *sāṃdhivigrahika* to the king of Kashmir. This forms the reading of the text (based on three MSS), which is published in the Trivandrum Series, as well as of MSS noticed by Burnell,[4] Winternitz[5] and in the *Madras Catalogue*[6]. This view is supported by Samudrabandha, a South Indian commentator, who flourished at the end of 13th century and whose text is printed in the Trivandrum edition ; for the Vṛtti, the subject of his commentary, is known to him by the name of *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and its author as Maṅkhaka, while the original work of Ruyyaka is called *Alaṃkāra-sūtra.*

1 pp. 19, 20, 55, 57, 67, 72, 83, 87 etc.

2 Same reading in *ABod* 210a, where Ruppaka is a mistake or a variant (Bühler *op. cit.* p. 68) for Ruyyaka ; Mitra ix p. 117.—All the Jammu MSS have *nijālaṃkāra°*.

3 *iti maṅkhuko vitene kāśmīra-kṣitipa-sāṃdhivigrahikaḥ / sukavi-mukhālaṃkāraṃ tad idam alaṃkāra-sarvasvam //*

4 *Tanjore Cat.* p. 54a.

5 *Cat. of South Ind. MSS in the RAS*, p. 208 ; cf Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283f.

6 xii, pp. 8606-7. The question is discussed at some length in Harichand Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 105f.

We are thus confronted with two distinct traditions, embodied in these two different views and prevailing in the North and South of India respectively, with regard to the authorship of the Vṛtti, there being no dispute as to Ruyyaka's authorship of the Sūtra-text itself. So far as we can judge, the North Indian tradition, obtaining in Kashmir, to which place both Ruyyaka and Maṅkhaka belonged, seems to be the authentic one; for the South Indian tradition is not uniform in this respect and does not always distinguish between the author of the Sūtra and the Vṛtti respectively. Thus, Appayya Dīkṣita, a noted South Indian writer, refers[1] to Ruyyaka or Rucaka as the author of the work as a whole, which is called the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, attributing to him both the Sūtra and the Vṛtti; and Appayya is in agreement, in this respect, with Mallinātha[2], Kumārasvāmin[3], and Jagannātha[4]. On the other hand, the testimony of Jayaratha, himself a Kashmirian, cannot be very well superseded by what the much later commentator Samudrabandha says in conformity to a tradition which itself is not unanimous. It is also significant that while Ruyyaka (and even Jayaratha) is quoted and discussed extensively by later writers on Poetics, Maṅkhaka is not cited as a writer on the subject except once by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (p. 10).

(2)

This tradition of Maṅkhaka's collaboration with Ruyyaka would not perhaps have arisen, had not Maṅkhaka, as the

1 *Citr. mīm.* p. 14, 15, 54, 72, 84, 90, 94, 98; *Kuvalay.* p. 41, 89, 92, 96, 184.

2 *Taralā* pp. 21, 186, 187, 232, 237, 249, 261, 262, 266, 331, 332.

3 *Ratnāpaṇa* pp. 393 (=*Alam. sar. vṛtti* p. 58), 425 (=*ibid*, p. 133), 448 (=*ibid*, p. 144); p. 341 (=*ibid, sūtra* p. 20) p. 452=(*ibid*, p. 156).

4 *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* has numerous references, but see pp. 163 and and 200, where both the Sūtra and Vṛtti are quoted under the citation *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. See also pp. 251, 342-43, 352, 482. Also Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* p. 161 (=*Alaṃ. sarv. vṛtti* p. 64), p. 179 (=*ibid*, p. 75), p. 193 (=*ibid*, p. 127).

tradition says, been in fact a pupil of Ruyyaka.[1] Rājānaka Maṅkhaka or Maṅkhuka, son of Viśvāvarta and grandson of Manmatha, is well known as the Kashmirian author of *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1887) which was written, according to Bühler,[2] between 1135 and 1145 A. D, Maṅkhaka's brother Alaṃkāra (or Laṅkaka, xxv. 15, 37f) was a minister (v. 62, xxv. 43, 61) under Sussala and Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1129-1150 A.D.), and another brother Śṛṅgāra held a high office (*bṛhat-tantrapati*) under Sussala, whom he assisted in his war against Harṣadeva. Maṅkhaka tells us how after composing his poem he submitted it, at the house of his brother Alaṃkāra, to an assembly of learned scholars and officials, among whom he describes Ruyyaka as his own preceptor (xxv. 30, 135). This also explains how Ruyyaka's own work contains five verses from Maṅkhaka's poem[3] cited as illustrations ; for it is not unlikely that the Guru should in this way quote his worthy disciple. As the latest date of Maṅkhaka's poem is given as 1145 A.D., we may presume that Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva,* which quotes it, was composed a little later. Again, Māṇikyacandra's *Saṃketa* (on Mammaṭa) which was composed in 1159-60 A.D. quotes the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. We can, therefore, fix Ruyyaka's literary career in the second and third quarters of the 12th century[4].

1 This fact, as well as what Jayaratha says about corruptions and additions to the text of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva,* would perhaps explain how the tradition of Maṅkhaka's collaboration began.

2 *op. cit.* p. 50f ; extract App. pp. cix f. See also *Rāja-taraṅg.* viii. 3354.

3 See Jacob in *JRAS,* 1897, p. 283 for these verses (ii. 49, iv. 79, v. 23, vi. 16, x. 10).

4 Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 283) points out that Ruyyaka (p. 93) quotes *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv. 441 (*asamāpta-jigīṣasya*), which work was not completed till about 1150 A. D. in the reign of Jayasiṃha. This verse, however, occurs an an anonymous quotation in Abhinava's Comm. on Bharata (ch. vi, vol. i, p. 305). It should be borne in mind that Jayaratha

In this work, composed in the Sūtra-vṛtti style Ruyyuka concerns himself only with poetic figures. After dealing with Punar-uktavadābhāsa, Anuprāsa (Cheka-, Vṛtti- and Lāṭa-), Yamaka and Citra he goes on to discuss 75 figures of Artha beginning with Upamā. He gives two altogether new figures Vikalpa (p. 159) and Vicitra (p. 133-34). His work is mostly drawn upon by later writers like Viśvanātha, Vidyānātha and Appayya Dīkṣita. Ruyyaka quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in many places (p. 107 on Paryāyokta ; p, 102 = *KP* iv, p. 128 ; p. 183 definition of Bhāvika), and the definitions of Citra, Kāvya-liṅga, Vyājokti, Uttara, Milita and Samādhi are given as they occur in Mammaṭa's work.

(3)

The works of Ruyyaka are numerous, of which three only have been printed:

(1) *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa*, a commentary on Mammaṭa's text, referred to as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 102, and by Ratnakaṇṭha (Peterson ii, pp. 17, 19 as *Bṛhat-saṃketa*). For ed. see above p. 156.

(2) *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī*, referred to by himself at p. 15. Not mentioned by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's. P. V. Kane doubts if it is a work by Ruyyaka.

(3) *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsa*, referred to by himself at p. 61, also by Jayaratha p. 126. It is cited without the author's name in Vidyānātha p. 11 (Cf *ABod* 210a). Burnell mentions an anonymous metrical *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 58a), with prose Vṛtti in eight Prakaraṇas. This is apparently the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* published in the Trivandrum Skt. Series in 1934.[1] The MS sources contain large gaps and lacunae, and the name of the author is not given either at the beginning or at the

frequently complains of unauthorised additions and corruption of the text itself (pp. 50. 67, 107, 124, 126 etc), and discusses readings (pp. 21, 37, 49, 172 etc.). Jayaratha himself quotes twelve verses (p. 194) from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, which describe Lalitāditya of Kashmir.

1 See above p. 144.

end. A résumé of this work has been given by P. V. Kane (*HSP*, pp. 269-72), who believes it to be a work of Ruyyaka. It is noteworthy, however, that it speaks not of Vyañjanā, but of Tātparya-vṛtti as leading to the realisation of Rasa, a view which fundamentally differs from that of Ruyyaka who declares distinctly (p. 13): *asti tāvad vyaṅgya-niṣṭho vyāpāraḥ*. It shows some influence of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja. V. Raghavan (pp. 99-100) doubts if it is the work of Ruyyaka.

(4) *Alaṃkārānusāriṇī*, cited by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's (pp. 36, 57, 58 and 60). This work is supposed by Peterson[1], and following him by Aufrecht[2] and Jacobi[3], to be a commentary on Jahlaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāsa*. As Jayaratha's citations indicate, it discussed some of the poetic figures in that composition, but there is nothing in these citations to show that it was in fact a commentary on Jahlaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāsa*. The poet Jahlaṇa is described in Maṅkhaka's *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* (xxv. 75) ; and Somapāla, king of Rājapurī (near Kashmir), whose life Jahlaṇa appears to have recorded, is known from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (viii. 621f) to have made war against Kashmirian Sussala. It is clear that this poet, who must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century, should be distinguished from Bhagadatta Jahlaṇadeva, the compiler of the *Sūkti-muktāvali*, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, but to whom Aufrecht (i. 203a) wrongly attributes the *Somapāla-vilāsa* itself.

(5) A commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka*, referred to by Jayaratha as *Vyaktiviveka-vicāra* (p. 13). This has been identified with the anonymous commentary published with Mahimabhaṭṭa's work in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series ; for, although the author's name does not appear in the published text of that commentary, which is called simply °*Vyākhyāna*,

1 *Report* ii, p. 17 ; introd. to *Subhāṣ*°. p. 106 ; *Actes du 6me Cangrés* p. 364. It is so described by Ratnakaṇṭha in his comm. on *Stuti-kusumāñjali*.

2 *Cat. Cat.* i. 32b.

3 *ZDMG* lxii, 291 : cf Harichand Sastri, *op. cit.* pp. 105-106.

the anonymous commentator refers in it to his other works, the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 32) and *Harṣacarita-vārttika* (p. 44, 50), which we know to be two works of Ruyyaka referred to by himself in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and mentioned by Jayaratha. He refers in this work also to the *Candrikā* (on the *Dhvanyāloka*), *Kāvya-kautuka* (p. 13), *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* (pp. 1, 13), and Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* (pp. 16, 32, 36, 44).

(6) *Nāṭaka-mīmāṃsā* referred to as his own in the above commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa (p. 32).

(7) *Harṣacarita-vārttika* referred to as his own in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 61 and in *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna* p. 44, 50.

(8) *Sahṛdaya-līlā*, edited in the Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 5, as well as by Pischel (Kiel 1886, along with Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*). The work consists of four Ullekhas: (i) Guṇa, describing the ten excellences (Rūpa, Varṇa, Prabhā etc.) of a woman (ii) Alaṃkāra, speaking of ornaments of gold, pearls etc, unguents, flowers worn by a woman (iii) Jīvita, dealing with youth which is the essence of womanly charm, and (iv) Parikara, treating of the parapharnelia of beauty.

(9) *Alaṃkāra-vārttika*, cited as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 71.

(10) *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava* cited as *madīya* in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 19.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUYYAKA

Alaka (or *Alaṭa*?)

This commentator is referred to by Ratnakaṇṭha in his own commentary on Mammaṭa[1], the name given being Rājānaka Alaka. We have seen that the identification of Mammaṭa's continuator Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa with this commentator is open to doubt[2], and nothing more can be said on the subject until his commentary is recovered.

1 Peterson, *Report* ii, p. 17 f. See above p. 169.

2 See above p. 149f.

Jayaratha

His commentary is called *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī*. He informs us that his father's name was Śṛṅgāra, and his patron was king Rājarāja. From his commentary °*Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, we learn that the full name of his father was Śṛṅgāraratha, who had two sons named Jayaratha and Jayadratha[1]. He also tells us that he was a pupil of Śaṅkhadhara and Śiva. Jayaratha's pedigree is given at some length in his °*Viveka*, and we learn that his great-grandfather's brother was Śivaratha[2], who was a minister of king Ucchala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.). As four generations intervene between the minister of Ucchala and Jayaratha, Bühler thinks that the latter lived in the beginning of the 13th century. Jacobi supports this conclusion and attempts to arrive at greater precision by identifying Jayaratha's (and his father's) patron king Rājarāja with Rājadeva who is mentioned by Jonarāja in 2 *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v. 79-91, and who lived in 1203-1226 A.D.[3]

The citations in Jayaratha are numerous, and include the names of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana), the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Abhinavagupta, the Vyaktiviveka-kāra, Bhoja and Mammaṭa.

1 The Kashmirian MSS of the *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī* examined by Bühler vacillate between these two names as the name of our author ; and Peterson's MS of Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sāra-samuccaya* reads Jayadratha (ii p. 17), which is accepted by Aufrecht, although the published texts of the °*Vimarśinī*, as well as the °*Viveka*, have Jayaratha, which Bühler himself considers (*op. cit.* p. 68) to be the correct name of the author of the two commentaries, the other being that of his brother.—Jayadratha wrote a Kāvya in 32 cantos, named *Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi* (ed. NSP, Bombay 1897)

2 v. 22 ; see the extract given in Bühler *op. cit.* App. pp. cli f. This Śivaratha is mentioned in *Rāja-taraṅg°* viii. 111.

3 Jacob (*JRAS*, 1897, p. 283) came to the conclusion that Jayaratha must be placed later than the end of 12th century, for he quotes (p. 64) from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, a poem dealing with Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi who fell in 1193 A. D. (cf Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 62).

Besides citing his own author's other works and Rājānaka Tilaka's work on Udbhaṭa, Jayaratha also mentions some other works on Alaṃkāra unknown to us, viz. *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* (p. 150), *Alaṃkāra-bhāṣya* (pp. 35, 46, 83, 138, 173) and *Alaṃkāra-sāra* (pp. 88, 97. 171, 172, 184), as well as an *Alaṃkāra-vārttika* (p. 71) ascribed to Ruyyaka. The *Alaṃkāra-bhāṣya* is also cited by Jagannātha (pp. 239, 365) ; while a work bearing the name *Alaṃkāra-sāra* is mentioned in Kielhorn's list[1] and in Peterson iii, App. p. 393 ; but this is probably a later work attributed to Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa who also wrote a commentary on Appayya's *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (*q. v.*) and was thus later than the end of the 16th century[2]. The °*Vimarśinī* is, in its turn, cited extensively by Jagannātha (pp, 325, 327, 352, 380, 387, 414, 418), chiefly because Appayya, against whom Jagannātha's attacks are primarily directed, follows Ruyyaka and Jayaratha pretty slavishly.

Jayaratha appears also to have written another work on Poetics called *Alaṃkārodāharaṇa*,[3] in the concluding verse of which he refers to his °*Vimarśinī*. It appears from the résumé of the work given in Mitra 2442 that it was chiefly meant to adduce illustrations to Ruyyaka's text, which the limited scope of his °*Vimarśinī* did not allow him to do properly.

Samudrabandha

Samudrabandha flourished, as he himself tells us, in the time of Ravivarman, *alias* Saṃgrāmadhīra, king of Kolamba (Quilon) in the Kerala country (Malabar), and there are numerous illustrative verses in the commentary itself, which sing the praise of this king[4]. This king was born in 1266-67 A.D.

1 Kielhorn's List 18 ; see also Aufrecht i. 32b.

2 But see Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p 765 ; *contra* Jacobi in *ZDMG* xlii 293.

3 See *Jammu Cat.* no. 806, p. 59.

4 e. g. pp. 48, 58, 76, 133, 149 (*kolambādhipati*) etc. For Ravivarman and Samudrabandha, see K. Kunjunni Raja, *op. cit.* pp. 211-13.

and crowned himself as king of Malabar on the banks of the Vegavatī in 1312-13 A.D. ; so that Samudrabandha may be taken to have flourished towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

The citations from earlier authors are not so numerous in Samudrabandha, but he shows his familiarity with Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja and Mammaṭa. He also cites Udbhaṭa's *vṛtti*, presumably on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. He refers to the explanation of other commentators of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (pp. 55, 96, 145, 239) and discusses readings (p. 57).

Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin

A commentary, called °*Saṃjīvanī* or *Alaṃkāra-saṃjīvanī* on Ruyyaka is cited by Mallinātha[1] and Kumārasvāmin[2]. Appayya[3] and Viśveśvara[4]. They apparently refer to the author of this commentary by citing Cakravartin ; for the two verses[5], cited by them, are attributed to this commentator by Kumārasvāmin, whose other references show that Cakravartin wrote a °*Saṃjīvanī* commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. This Cakravartin, who is to be distinguished from Paramānanda Cakravartin, appears to be identical with Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, two MSS of whose commentary on Ruyyaka, called °*Saṃjīvanī*, are noticed in the *Madras Catalogue*[6]. This commentary refers to and is referred to by the same

1 pp. 31, 57, 221, 237, 324.

2 pp. 54 (Cakravartin as commentator on *Alam. sarvasva*), 319, 377, 383 (°*Saṃjīvanī* as a comm. on *Alam. sarv.*), 387, 393. 398, 435, 449-50, 465.

3 *Citr. mīm.* pp. 7, 74.

4 *Alaṃ. kaust.* p. 11.

5 as cited above = *Ratnāpaṇa* p. 378.

6 xit, no. 12799-12800, pp. 8609-10. Jacobi wrongly conjectured Alaka to be the author of this °*Saṃjīvanī* (*ZDMG* lxii, p. 292).

author's *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī Bṛhatī Ṭīkā* on Mammaṭa[1], and both the commentaries are mentioned together at the close of the former work thus:

kāvyaprakāśe'laṃkārasarvasve ca vipaścitām /
atyādaro jagaty asmin, vyākhyātam ubhayaṃ tataḥ / /,

which indicates the popularity of the works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in later times. Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin calls his author Rucaka. He refers to Viśvanātha as *sāṃdhivigrahika*. He is evidently a South Indian writer, belonging to the Śaiva Saṃpradāya or Śaiva sect[2]. The reference by Mallinātha should place him chronologically earlier than the end of the 14th century. He appears to have flourished in the court of Vīra Vallāla III (Hoysala) in the beginning of the 14th century (V. Raghavan in *ABORI* xiv, 1933, p. 256). A *Rasa-mīmāṃsā*[3] is also ascribed to Vidyā-Cakravartin, as well as a *Bharata-saṃgraha* on Dramaturgy and Rasa (*ABORI*, xiv, 1933, p. 257).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alaṃkāra-sarvasva

Editions. (1) ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nirnay Sag. Press, Bombay 1893 (with Jayaratha's °*Vimarśinī*). (2) ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Sansk. Series 1915 (with comm. of Samudrabandha); 2nd ed. 1926. Translated into German by H. Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxii, pp. 289-336, 411-58, 597-628. Our references are to the N.S.P. ed., unless otherwise specified.

1 *ibid*, no. 12826-28, p. 8627; Burnell 55a. Ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926; see above p. 162. He also wrote a *Laghu-Ṭīkā* prior to his writing of the *Bṛhatī Ṭīkā* in which this comm. is referred to. Only one of these commentaries has been published in the Trivandrum ed.

2 The Saṃpradāya-mata or Sāṃpradāyikas are quoted by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (before 1583 A. D.) at pp. 11, 13, 32.

3 See V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi, 1934-35, p. 140. It is mentioned by Vidyā-Cakravartin himself in his comm. on Ruyyaka (*rasa-mīmāṃsāyaṃ vistaraḥ*), but it is not clear whether it is a separate work.

Commentaries. (1) *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī* of Jayaratha, ed. with text in Nir. Sag. Press, as above, 1893. On MSS of *Alaṃkārodāharaṇa* see Aufrecht i. 32a, 773a, ii. 6b ; *WBod* 1157. (2) °*Vṛtti* of Samudrabandha, ed. with text in Trivandrum Sank. Series 1915, as above. (3) °*Saṃjīvanī* of Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12799-12800 ; Aufrecht i. 32b. Not yet published.

Sahṛdaya-līlā

Edition. (1) ed. Pischel (with Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*), Kiel 1886. (2) ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka v, 1908.

Comm. on the *Vyakti-viveka*

Edition. With the text of that work, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri (anonymous but attributed to Ruyyaka), Trivandrum Sansk. Series, 1909.

HEMACANDRA AND THE VĀGBHAṬAS

(1)

The versatile and volumious Jaina writer Hemacandra directed his many-sided activity to the field of Sanskrit Poetics as well, and wrote a *Kāvyānuśāsana* with its *Vṛtti* named *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi* and a glass called *Viveka*, basing it chiefly on Mammaṭa's work, but appropriating his materials from various sources[1]. While as a textbook it hardly super-

1 He appropriates, for instance, long passages, without acknowledgment, from Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Mammaṭa and others. A passage in *Abhinava-bhāratī* on Bharata ch. iv is copied (Hemacandra pp. 57-66) almost literally with only a general acknowledgment at conclusion: *iti śrīmān abhinavaguptācāryaḥ, etanmatam evāsmābhir upajīvitaṃ veditavyam* (p. 66). In the Vṛtti, again, at p. 83, his remarks on the *sthāyi-bhāva* (pp. 83-84) are copied from the same source. His extensive appropriation from Rājaśekhara has been already alluded to ; see p. 118 above. At p. 316 he calls himself a follower of Bharata's views (*bharata-matānusārī*). His dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or plagiarism.

sedes the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, it is, like most of Hemacandra's other productions, more or less an industrious compilation, displaying its author's encyclopaedic erudition, but hardly constituting an original contribution to the subject.

About Hemacandra and his time, we know perhaps more than we do with regard to other writers on Poetics, and the biographical and other details will be found collected together in Bühler's erudite little pamphlet on this author[1]. Hemacandra was born at Dhunduka or Dhandhukā (in Ahmedabad) on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika in the Saṃvat year 1145=1088 A.D. of humble Bania parents, named Caciga and Pāhini. He was originally named Caṅgadeva. He was initiated as a Jaina monk in Saṃvat 1150=1093 A.D., taking the name of Somānanda. He was a pupil of Devacandra of Vajra-śākhā, author of the *Sthānaka-vṛtti* and the *Śāntinātha-carita*. He became a *sūri* or *ācārya* in Saṃvat 1166=1109 A.D. changing his name, again, into Hemacandra. He spent the greater part of his life, as the acknowledged head of the Jaina community at Aṇahilla-pattana, under the patronage of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. D.) and his successor Kumārapāla of Gujarat (1143-1172 A.D), dying shortly before the latter is Saṃvat 1229=1172 A. D. at the ripe old age of 84 years. He wrote most of his works at the request of his patrons, of whom he converted Kumārapāla into Jainism in Saṃvat 1216=1160 A.D.

Hemacandra wrote voluminous works on many branches of Sanskrit learning, such as grammar (*Siddha-hemacandra*, *Śabdānuśāsana*, *Liṅgānuśāsana*, *Dhātu-pārāyaṇa* and *Uṇādi-sūtra*), prosody (*Chandonuśāsana*), lexicon (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, *Anekārtha-saṃgraha*, *Nighaṇṭu-śeṣa*, and *Deśī-nāma-mālā*), besides works on Jaina Śastra. His stupendous learning justifies his sobriquet Kalikāla-Sarvajña. His *Kāvyānuśā-*

1 *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, Wien 1889; trs. into English by Manilal Patel in the Singhi Jaina Series 1936. See also Jacobi in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, vi, 591.

sana in eight Adhyāyas has the merit of comprehending all topis of Poetics, including a brief reference to Dramaturgy. In spite of occasional differences Hemacandra borrows freely from Bharata, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and Rājaśekhara. Its want of any striking originality perhaps stood on the way of its being accepted as an authoritative work. It exercised little influence on later writers and is scarcely ever quoted[1]. It is written in the form of Sūtra and Vṛtti.[2]

(2)

There are two Vāgbhaṭas in Sanskrit Poetics who must be distinguished from each other, viz. Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa I) and Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its Vṛtti, *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa II). Eggeling[3] falls into the error of confounding the two and assigning both the works to the same author. From the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* iv. 148, we learn that the Jaina name in the Prakrit form of the author is Bāhaḍa and that he was son of Soma[4]. From the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its commentary[5], on the other hand, we learn that its author was son of Nemikumāra and Mahā-(mahī?-) devī or Vasundharā; while his native town, called Rāhaḍapura from the shrine of a deity of that name, is mentioned[6], as well as described in a verse by the author himself[7].

1 Except, as P. V. Kane notes (*HSP*, p. 278), by *Ratnāpaṇa* pp. 46, 75, 224, 233, 259, 299.

2 For summary of the topics of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* see below vol. ii, ch. vii (6).

3 *IOC* iii, pp. 330-1.

4 So also in Jinavardhana, Siṃhadeva and Kṣemahaṃsa-gaṇi's comms. on this verse.

5 p. 1 *vṛtti*, and the concluding verse.

6 p. 1 *vṛtti*.

7 *IOC* iii, p. 332. In the Nir. Sag. Press edition of the work, this verse is also given at p. 10, but the words *asmābhir uktam*, preceding it in the India Office MS, are wanting.

Vāgbhaṭa II also appears to cite Vāgbhaṭa I as one of his authorities[1]. Both the Vāgbhaṭas, however, quote from the poet Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*, Vāgbhaṭa II citing the poem by name frequently for the purpose of illustrating the characteristics of a good poem (e g. p. 16)[2]. Vāgbhaṭa I may or may not be identical with the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa* ; but Vāgbhaṭa II should be distinguished from both[3]. We must also distinguish the medical writer Vāgbhaṭa, son of Siṃhagupta.

Vāgbhaṭa I seems to have been contemporaneous with Hemacandra, and lived under Cālukya Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Aṇahilla-pattana[4], who flourished from 1094 to 1143 A. D. We have references to this king and his capital in iv. 45, 76, 81, 85 and 132, and he is described as son of king Karṇadeva. Both Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gaṇi in their commentaries explain that the prince referred to is Jayasiṃha, son of Karṇadeva, of Aṇahilla-pāṭaka. It also appears from what Siṃhadeva Gaṇi on iv. 148 says that Vāgbhaṭa was probably a *mahāmātya* of the said prince, a statement which is supported by the description given of our author in Prabhācandra Sūri's *Prabhāvaka-carita*[5] (p. 205).

1 ii, p. 31: *iti daṇḍi-vāmana-vāgbhaṭādi-praṇītā daśa kāvya-guṇāḥ, vayaṃ tu mādhuryaujaḥ-prasāda-lakṣaṇāṁs trīneva guṇān manyāmahe.*

2 The verses quoted in *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* from the *Nemi-nirvāṇa* are given by Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 309.

3 Winternitz thinks (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* ii, p. 338 fn 1 ; iii, p. 22 fn 1, also iii, p. 642) that Vāgbhaṭa I is the same as the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa.*—Jahlaṇa ascribes the verse *anālocya premṇaḥ* to one Vāgbhaṭa, but it does not occur in any of these Vāgbhaṭas. It occurs, however, in Amaru 80. It is cited anonymously by Vallabhadeva 1170 ; while in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* it is attributed to Rājaśekhara, and in *Kavīndra-vacana* 372 to the poetess Vikaṭanitambā.

4 And not Jayasiṃha of Kashmir, as Harichand (p. 49) erroneously gives it.

5 Second half of the 13th century, see Bühler's *Hemacandra* note 1 ; also *Vāgbhaṭālaṃ°* (ed. Kāvyamālā 1916) p. 1-2 fn.

from which we also learn that Vāgbhaṭa was living in 1123 A. D. and also in 1157 A.D. Vāgbhaṭa's literary activity, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the first half of the 12th century.

The *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*, consisting of five Paricchedas, covers in 260 verses most of the topics of Poetics, but excludes Dramaturgy. Although it claims a large number of commentaries, it is a small compilation of no superior merit. It speaks of ten Guṇas instead of three of Mammaṭa and Hemacandra, and only two Rītis, namely Vaidarbha and Gauḍīya. Weber's Berlin MS no. 1718 adds a sixth chapter ; see also Burnell, *Cat. Tanjore MSS*, p. 576.

Vāgbhaṭa II appears to be a later writer. His reference to Vāgbhaṭa I and considerable borrowing from Hemacandra give us one limit to his date. The other terminus[1] is unknown ; for the Jaina authors (excepting Hemacandra) are rarely quoted by later writers on the subject. He may have been earlier than Deveśvara, whose borrowings, however, are not conclusive enough for any chronological inference. Vāgbhaṭa II himself cites two of his own works, viz. *Ṛṣabhadeva-carita* (p. 15, called a *mahākāvya*) and *Chandonuśāsana* (p. 20) ; but of these nothing is known. In two illustrative verses there are references to two princes called Mūlarāja (p. 45) and Vibhākara (p. 44). This Vibhākara is unknown, but Mūlarāja appears to be the same as the founder of the Cālukya dynasty at Aṇahilla-pattana (=Anhilvāḍ) in Gujarat[2]. A MS of *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Eggeling, *Ind. Office Cat.* no. 1157) is dated in Saṃvat 1515 (=1458-59 A.D.). Vāgbhaṭa II probably flourished in the 14th century.

Like Hemacandra's work of the same name, the *Kāvyānu-*

1 Harichand Sastri (*op. cit.* p. 49) places him in the 13th century, but he does not state the grounds of his opinion.

2 Peterson notes (iii, App. p. 124) a reference in the *puṣpikā* of a MS of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalāka-puruṣa* to one Nemikumāra, who flourished in Saṃvat 1295, and he queries whether this Nemikumāra was our Vāgbhaṭa's father (iv, p. lxxi).

śāsana of Vāgbhaṭa II is written in the form of Sūtra and a running commentary ; but it is a much smaller work of five Adhyāyas. It covers most topics of Poetics but there is no treatment of dramaturgy. It speaks, however, of three Guṇas and three Rītis after Mammaṭa. The name and definition of poetic figures in these Jaina writers differ in some cases from those of orthodox authors. They do not exceed 40 in number, but Vāgbhaṭa II gives nearly 70 poetic figures.

(3)

No commentaries on Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa II is known, but the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*[1] of Vāgbhaṭa I appears to have been fortunate in this respect. Of the commentators on this work, whose names are noted below, Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gaṇi are better known, and their commentaries have been published. Jinavardhana was pupil of Jinarāja Sūri and was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 to 1419 A.D.[2]. In some catalogues (e.g. Mitra 2814), his name is given as Ādinātha.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hemacandra

Edition. (i) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1901, the text with *Alaṃkāra cūḍāmaṇi* and *Viveka*. (ii) with *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi* and *Viveka*, and an anonymous Ṭippaṇa, ed. R. C. Parikh and R. B. Athavale, in 2 vols., Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay 1938.

Vāgbhaṭa I

Editions. *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (1) ed. by A. Borooah, Calcutta

1 The published text of this work contains five chapters, which is also the number in the Bodleian, Stein, Madras and India Office MSS ; but Weber's MS (no. 1718) adds a sixth chapter, which appears to deal with the figure *yamaka*.

2 Klatt in *IA* xi p. 249 ; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 25 ; *IOC* iii, no. 1156 and 2656a.

1883. (2) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab (with Siṃhadeva Gaṇi's comm.), Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895, 1915 (our references are to the ed. of 1915). (3) by Jivananda Vidyasagar, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1903, (4) by Murtidhara, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay. (5) with an old gloss, by Ksemaraja Srikrishnadasa, Bombay 1894. (6) Granthamālā iii, 1889-90 (with Jinavardhana's comm.).

Commentaries. (1) by Jinavardhana Sūri, who was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 to 1419. Ed. with the text in Granthamālā iii, as noted above. Ādinātha in Mitra 2814 (Aufrecht i. 559a) is the same as Jinavardhana. A MS copied in Saṃvat 1610 =1553-54 A.D. (*Cat. MSS BORI* xii, p. 323).

(2) By Siṃhadeva Gaṇi, ed. NSP, Bombay, as noted. In *ALeip* MS no. 824, p. 269, the commentary is called *Cūrṇī*. But this name is not found in Jammu MS no. 1231, p. 274.

(3) By Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of Jinacandra. His comm. was composed in Ahmedabad for Harirāma in 1636 A. D. See Peterson iv, p. cxxvi. Also wrote a comm. on *Raghu*.

(4) By Rājahaṃsa Upādhyāya, pupil of Jinatilaka Sūri who was a pupil of Jinaprabha Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. The MS noticed by Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156, 279) was copied in Saṃvat 1486=1430 A.D. See P. K. Gode's note in *Calcutta Orient. Journal* ii, pp. 312-14, in which he gives 2nd half of 14th century (between 1350 and 1400 A. D.) as the probable date of this commentary.

(5) *Samāsānvaya Ṭippaṇa* by Kṣemahaṃsa Gaṇi. Extract in Stein p. 274.

(6) *Vivaraṇa* of Gaṇeśa, son of Anantabhaṭṭa and disciple of Bhāskara. Aufrecht i. 559a, 794a ; *IOC* iii, no. 1155/702b, p. 330. A MS copied in 1713 A.D.

(7) *Avacūri*. Author's name unknown. Aufrecht ii. 132a, iii. 118b.

(8) *Jñāna-pramodikā* of Vācanācārya Jñānapramoda-gaṇi,

composed in Saṃvat 1681 (=1624-25). See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Literary Hist.* i, p. 76.

Vāgbhaṭa II

Edition. *Kāvyānuśāsana*, by Sivadatta and K. P. Parab. NSP, Bombay 1894, 1915 with *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*.

JAYADEVA

(1)

Jayadeva, author of the popular text-book *Candrāloka*, is otherwise known as Pīyūṣavarṣa (i. 2)[1]. He himself gives us the names of his parents as Mahādeva and Sumitrā (i. 16). The name Jayadeva, however, is borne by our author in common with many other Sanskrit writers. Of the fifteen or more different persons, mentioned by Aufrecht, as bearing the same name, it seems likely that our author is identical with the poet who wrote the well-known drama called the *Prasanna-rāghava*; for in the prologue to that drama there are two verses (i. 14-15) which inform us that the dramatist was also son of Mahādeva of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra and Sumitrā, a coincidence of names which does not seem to be accidental. Aufrecht, however, identifies[2] our author with Jayadeva who composed the well-known lyric named *Gīta-govinda*; but apart from all arguments derived from the style and poetic genius of the two writers, which possess few kindred excellences, the fact that the author of the lyric, in one of his

1 Also in a verse given at the end in some MSS, e.g. Peterson ii, p. 109, *Madras Cat.* xxii, p. 8656 : *pīyūṣavarṣa-prabhavaṃ candrālokam manoharam* etc. Also the verse *jayanti yājñika-śrīman-mahādevāṅga-janmanaḥ | sūkti-pīyūṣa-varṣasya jayadeva-kaver giraḥ*, commented on in the *Śaradāgama* and the *Rākāgama* comms. These verses are wanting in the Calcutta ed. The *Rākāgama* comm. of Gāgābhaṭṭa expressly states: *Jayadevasyaiva pīyūṣavarṣa iti nāmāntaram.*

2 *ZDMG* xxvii, p. 30.

concluding verses,[1] tells us that he was son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (or Vāmādevī or Rādhādevī, according to other readings) stands seriously against the proposed identification. The identity of Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara, also called Jayadeva, is equally doubtful, and Aufrecht mentions the two names separately. The name Pakṣadhara, no doubt, was a mere title given to the logician from the circumstance of his having been able to maintain by subtle reasoning whatever side of a question he undertook to defend ; but the argument for his identity with our Jayadeva, relied on by Hall[2], that Jayadeva in his drama refers (i. 18) to his knowledge of *pramāṇa,* befitting a logician, is hardly convincing and sufficient[3].

(2)

The date of Jayadeva yet remains unsettled. There is hardly any doubt, however, that he should be placed earlier than Keśava Miśra, who cites (p. 47) the verse *kadalī kadalī* from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 37). As Keśava flourished in the middle of the 16th century, we may safely assign Jayadeva to a period earlier than that. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the *Śaradāgama* commentary on the *Candrāloka,* was composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A.D.[4], under the patronage of a Bundella prince, named Vīrabhadra, of the Vaghela dynasty, who himself wrote a commentary on Vāt-

1 xii, p. 171, ed. N. S. P. 1917. It is not commented upon by Kumbha in his *Rasika-priyā* comm., but Śaṃkara, in his *Rasa-mañjarī* comm. says: *adhunā pitṛ-mātṛ-nāma nibadhnan prāthayate sajjanān* (ed. N. S. P. *loc. cit*). The same in the colophon in Bühler's MSS (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 46), where read Rāmādevī for Rāmadeva.

2 Introd. to *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* (Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1956), pp. 62-63. Keith (*Indian Logic* p. 33f) appears to accept the identification.

3 Jayadeva, author of a manual on Erotics, called *Rati-mañjarī* in 60 verses (ed. in Haeberlin and by Pavolini in *Giornale della Soc. Asiat. Italiana,* 1904 pp. 371f) is probably a different and later writer.

4 *AFl* no. 467 (51) p. 158 ; *ALeip* no. 820, p. 268.

syāyana (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) in Saṃvat 1633=1577 A.D.[1] We may push this limit to the date of Jayadeva's work back to the beginning of the 14th century, because some verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 19 and 33)[2] are quoted in *Śārangadhara-paddhati* (164 and 3520), compiled in 1363 A.D. ; while Śiṅgabhūpāla, whose date has been fixed at 1330 A.D., cites the drama itself in his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (pp. 258, 277). This gives us one terminus to the date of Jayadeva in the first quarter of the 14th century[3].

The other terminus is given by the inference that Jayadeva is later than Ruyyaka ; for in his *Candrāloka* he directly adopts some of the original definitions of poetic figures given for the first time by Ruyyaka. The figure Vikalpa, for instance, which (as both Ruyyaka himself and Jayaratha inform us)[4] was invented and defined for the first time by Ruyyaka,

1 Peterson ii, pp, 66, 132 ; iv, p. cxvi. Ed. Rama Chandra Sastri, Lahore 1926.

2 Other varses quoted are ii. 22 (=3557), vii. 59 (=3626), vii. 60 (=3631).

3 Paranjpe and Panse in their edition (Poona 1894) of the drama *Prasanna-rāghava* (p. xiii f) seek to identify Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara Jayadeva and assign him to a period between 1500 and 1577 A.D. So also Peterson in introd. to *Subhāṣ°* p. 37f. Cf also Eggeling *IOC* iii, pp. 332f. Winternitz (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii, p. 26. fn 3) thinks that Jayadeva could not have written long before Appayya. But all these scholars appear to have overlooked this quotation in Śārangadhara. No chronological conclusion is inferable from Jayadeva's mention of the poet Cora ; for Bühler's identification of this poet with Bihlaṇa is not free from doubt (see Solf, *Die Kashmir Recension der Pañcāśikā*, Kiel 1886, p. xxi f ; also see on the question S. K. De, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 368-69. Nor should stress be laid on the fact that verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* occur in the *Mahānāṭaka* ; for the date of the latter, as well as its proper text, cannot be taken to have been satisfactorily settled (see Lévi ii, p. 48 ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* pp. 88-9). Jayadeva himself, as a rhetorician, is quoted by very late writers like Appayya, Keśava and Bhīmasena.

4 Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxii, p. 600, note 1. Ruyyaka says expressly

is literally copied by Jayadeva (v. 112). We cannot, therefore, place Jayadeva, who upholds the views peculiar to Ruyyaka as well as Mammaṭa, earlier than the second half of the 12th century.

Jayadeva, therefore, should be assigned to the period between the last quarter of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 14th, a closer approximation than which is not possible at present ; but perhaps we may tentatively place him in the first half of the 13th century.

(3)

The *Candrāloka* is a general treatise on Poetics in ten chapters (called *mayūkhas*) and about 350 verses, written in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The Calcutta edition of the text, published in 1874[1], enumerates the following divisions: (1) Vāgvicāra (*śl.* 16). (2) Doṣa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 44½). (3) Lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 11). (4) Guṇa-nirūpaṇa, given as ten in number (*śl.* 12). (5) Alaṃkāra-nirūpaṇa, consisting of Śabdālaṃkāras (*śl.* 10), Alaṃkārānukramaṇikā (*śl.* 16) and Arthālaṃkāras (*śl.* 174). (6) Rasādi-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 24), incidentally dealing with three Rītis and five Vṛttis. (7) Dhvani-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 18). (8) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (*śl.* 10). (9) Lakṣaṇā-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 15). (10) Abhidhā-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 4). This arrangement is substantially followed in the Leipzig MS 819 (which contains only five *mayūkhas*) and correspond closely with the arrangement mentioned by Gaṅgādhara in his commentary (p. 9) on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, where the chapters are given thus: 1. Śabda-mayūkha. 2. Doṣa-mayūkha. 3. Lakṣaṇa-mayūkha. 4. Guṇa-

with regard to this figure : *pūrvair akṛta-viveko'tra darśita ity avagantavyam*, upon which Jayaratha remarks: *anenāsya granthakṛd-upajñatvam eva darśitam* (p. 159). Also the figure Vicitra (Ruyyaka p. 133= Jayadeva v. 82).

1 The Calcutta edition (by Jivananda) of 1906 substantially keeps to this arrangement and numbering of verses in the different chapters. The work contains about 300 verses, but the numbering differs to some extent in the different editions. The author gives his own illustrations.

mayūka. 5. Alaṃkāra-mayūkha. 6. Rasa-mayūkha. 7. Dhvani-mayūkha. 8. Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya-mayūkha. 9. Lakṣaṇā-mayūkha and 10. Tatśakti (=Abhidhā)-mayūkha[1].

It will be seen from this that the section on Arthālaṃkāra in chapter v is the most considerable part of the work, which appears to have become, to the exclusion of the rest of the work, a popular manual of poetic figures. It was specially adapted for this purpose by Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayānanda*, which bodily incorporates the Kārikās of this section (with only slight modification), himself only writing the running prose commentary and adding a few supplementary figures. This work of Appayya's, therefore, may be regarded, in a sense, as a commentary on the Arthālaṃkāra-chapter of the *Candrāloka*. Appayya himself indicates his indebtedness in one of the prefatory verses[2] by saying that the definition-stanzas of the *Candrāloka* are borrowed in his own work, but there are a few modifications and additions[3] of his own. He also explains in the concluding verse how his work came to be called *Kuvalayānanda* (lit. 'delight of lotuses') from the *Candrāloka* (lit. 'the sight or light of the moon'):

> *candrāloko vijayatāṃ, śaradāgama-saṃbhavaḥ /*
> *hṛdyaḥ kuvalayānando yat-prasādād abhūd ayam,*

which, apart from the obvious pun involved, praises the *Candrāloka*, the cause of its commentary called *Śaradāgama*, from the contact of both of which the charming *Kuvalayānanda* originated. This *Śaradāgama* commentary obviously

1 The text as commented upon by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa, Gāgābhaṭṭa and Vaidyanātha (*Madras Cat.* xii, 12876-78) contains ten *mayūkhas*. MSS of the complete text noticed also in Mitra ii p. 177, v p. 103, ix p 184 : Peterson ii 109.

2 *yeṣāṃ candrāloke dṛśyante lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-ślokāḥ / prāyas ta eva, teṣām itareṣāṃ tvabhinavā viracyante.*

3 The differences of reading in the Kārikās are noted in Halasynatha Sastri's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* (with the *Rasika-rañjanī* of Gaṅgādhara), Kumbhakonum 1892.

refers to the commentary of the same name on the *Candrāloka*, composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A. D.[1].

But on account of the wholesale appropriation of this chapter of Jayadeva's work, the title *Candrāloka* appears to have been frequently applied to the Arthālaṃkāra-section of the work[2] alone, as well as to Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*[3] itself. Thus, the India Office MS 2656, Weber 1721 and Madras MSS 12871-74 constitute in reality the Arthālaṃkāra-section of the *Candrāloka*, embodied in the *Kuvalayānanda*, and not the whole text, but they are entitled *Candrāloka*. Appayya's work does not end with the hundred or 108 poetic figures[4] dealt with by Jayadeva, but it adds a supplementary chapter on a few additional figures. In some texts of the

1 Vaidyanātha, apparently ignorant of the existence of the *Śaradāgama* commentary, interprets (ed. N. S. P. 1917 p. 188) the phrase *śaradāgama-saṃbhavaḥ* as referring to some previous original of the *Candrāloka* itself. An instance of similar ignorance on the part of the commentator is given by the story of Āśādhara in his comm. on the *Kuvalay°* (p. 86) that Appayya composed the *Candrāloka* itself at the request of the king of Veṅkaṭagiri. and later on wrote his *Kuvalay°* on its basis. Gaṅgādhara, a more reliable commentator on Appayya's work (who tells us that Appayya was the Guru of a brother of his grandfather) interprets the phrase correctly as: *atra candrāloka-nāmā granthaḥ śaradāgama-nāmnā ṭīkā-granthena saṃbhava utpattiḥ* (p. 283). The supposition (*ŚgŚ* ii, pp. 68-9) that Appayya's utilisation of Jayadeva's work was resented by the latter, who is said to have made a veiled reference to this fact in the prologue to the *Prasanna-rāghava* (where the stage-manager alludes to the stealing of his name) is disproved by the fact that Appayya lived long after Jayadeva.

2 Cf. Gaṅgādhara on *Kuvalay°* p. 9: *candrāloko'rthālaṃkārātmaka eva, na tvanya iti keṣāṃcid bhramaḥ.*

3 Thus, Regnaud (*Rhétorique Sanskrite* p. 375) speaks of the *Candrāloka* as being composed of 151 *ślokas*, dealing with the definition and illustration of poetic figures, which description applies to the *Kuvalay°*.

4 This is not the largest number of poetic figures enumerated and defined in works on Alaṃkāra. Mammaṭa defines 61, Ruyyaka 75 Arthālaṃkāras; but Sobhākaramitra gives 109, Appayya Dīkṣita 115 Alaṃkāras, which go on multiplying!

Candrāloka this appears to have been erroneously included. A considerable confusion is also noticeable in the different MSS of Jayadeva's and Appayya's works as to the arrangement of the three opening verses, as well as with regard to the total number of Ślokas contained in the Arthālaṃkāra-section. The verse *paraspara-tapaḥ-saṃpat°* occurs in most accepted texts of this section of the *Candrāloka*, but it is not intelligible why Jayadeva should add this benedictory verse in a chapter, which occurs in the middle of the book. Gaṅgādhara pointedly remarks that this verse is not Jayadeva's but was composed by Appayya himself as prefatory to his own work[1].

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON JAYADEVA

Of the commentators on the *Candrāloka*, mention has already been made of Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa (*alias* Padmanābha Miśra) and his commentary, called *Candrāloka prakāśa Śaradāgama.* He is described as son of Miśra Balabhadra, and his patron's name is given as Vīrabhadra (or °rudra)-deva, son of Rāmacandra and grandson of Vīrabhānu, king of Ayodhya, of the Vaghela (Vandella)[2] family. His commentary is dated in 1583 A. D.; while his patron lived in the second half of the 16th century, as we find Vīrabhadra's commentary (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) on Vātsyāyana is dated in 1577 A.D. Vīrabhadra is said to have murdered Abul Fazl at the instigation of Prince Selim His Court-pandit

1 Gaṅgādhara *op. cit.* p. 9: "*tathā paraspara-tapaḥsaṃpat*" *iti candrāloka-nāndī-śloka ity api bhrama eva* ; *pañcama-mayūkhe śadhālaṃkārān nirūpya* "*upamā yatra sādṛśya*" *ityādinā arthālaṃkāra-prastāve nāndyā evābhāvāt.* The same remark applies apparently to the second verse *alaṃkārṣu bālānām* and to v. 174 which alludes to "Veṅkaṭaprabhu", for they appear to be Appayya's additions. Cf *IOC* iii, pp, 333-34 for a discussion of this point.

2 The Madras MS reads *vandella*, but the Florentine MS (*AFl* p. 158) has *vāghela.*

Mitra Miśra wrote the Viramitrodaya, in which he mentions his patron's name.

There is another commentary called *Ramā*[1] written by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, who is probably not identical with Vaidyanātha Tatsat, the commentator on Govinda's *Kāvyapradīpa* and Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, although the two writers are taken as identical in most catalogues. The colophon to their commentaries distinctly make out their respective family-names as Pāyaguṇḍa and Tatsat ; while in one of the introductory verses of the *Ramā* our Vaidyanātha distinctly calls himself Pāyaguṇḍa which is a well-known Mahārāṣṭra surname; but he does not give his own genealogy. He appears to have written a commentary called *Gadā* on Nāgojī's *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara* ; he must, therefore, be later than the beginning of the 18th century.

There is another less known commentary, called *Rākāgama* or °*Sudhā*, composed by Gāgābhaṭṭa, *alias* Viśveśvara, son of Dinakara (or Divākara) Bhaṭṭa, who was a Mīmāṃsaka. Viśveśvara, who also wrote a number of Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti works (Aufrecht i. 587b), was a great-great-grandson of Rāmeśvara, nephew of the well-known Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, whose date is the first quarter of the 17th century[1]. Viśveśvara, therefore, is a comparatively modern writer who probably flourished in the beginning of the

1 The name of his commentary is often given, through a confusion, as *Harilocana-candrikā* (Aufrecht i. 182a), which itself appears as a mistaken name for the *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* comm. of Vaidyanātha Tatsat on *Kuvalayānanda* ; the mistake arising from the word *harilocana-candrikā* occurring in the benedictory verse to the latter commentary, as well as from this confusion between the commentators on Jayadeva and Appayya respectively. The benedictory verse runs thus : *anucintya mahālakṣmīṃ hari-locana-candrikām / kurve kuvalayānanda-sad-alaṃkāracāndrikām*. See under Appayya Dīkṣita for the commentary. To Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe, however, is ascribed a *Laghu Kuvalayānanda* (*BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 287, pp. 342-43).

2 see above p. 167. The genealogy is given thus: Rāmeśvara →Nārāyaṇa→Rāmakṛṣṇa→Dinakara→Viśveśvara.

18th century, and should not be confused with Viśveśvara, author of the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (*q. v.*).

Two other little known commentaries are mentioned below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. Printed very often. (1) By Vyāpāradarpaṇa Press, Madras 1857 in Telugu characters. (2) by Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1874, 1896, 1906, 1917. (3) by Subrahmanya, Vizagapatam 1898. (4) by Venkatacharya Sastri, in Grantha characters, Palghat 1912. (5) by V. L. Pansikar, NSP, Bombay 2nd ed. 1907 (contains also *Kuvalayānanda* with the *Candrikā* comm. of Vaidyanātha), 1912, 1917. (6) With the *Candrāloka-prakāśa Śaradāgama* of Prayatana Bhaṭṭa *alias* Padmanābha Miśra, ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1929. (7) With *Ramā* of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe, ed. Govinda Sastri, Benares 1883; also ed. Mahadeva Gangadhara Bakre, Gajarati Printing Press, Bombay 1923. (8) With *Kuvalayānanda* and Vaidyanātha's comm. ed. Govinda Sāstri, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1911. (9) With *Rākāgama* comm. of Gāgābhaṭṭa, ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1938. (10) By Suryabalirama Chaube, Benares 1895 (with Candrāloka-nigūḍhārtha-dīpikā). The ed. with *Budha-rañjani* comm. published from Madras (1863) is really a commentary on the Arthālaṃkāra-section incorporated in the *Kuvalay°* and not upon the whole text. Our references are to the Calcutta ed. 1917, which contains the whole text. On commentaries on *Kuvalayānanda* see under Appayya Dīkṣita below.

MSS. *Madras Cat.* xii, 12860 (which contains the verses of the *Candrāloka* with *Kuvalay°*), 12871-73. Most of the MS mentioned in other catalogues (see Aufrecht), however, contain the Arthālaṃkāra-section and not the whole text, see above p. 201-2. The *Alaṃkāra-śataka* of Jayadeva in Oppert ii, 2763 is a descriptive name perhaps of this section

of the *Candrāloka*. The *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha* in Mitra 1612 is in reality this Arthālaṃkāra-section.

Commentaries. (1) *Candrāloka-prakāśa Śaradāgama* by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa. Ed. as above. See *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12878 for a description. (2) *Rākāgama* or *Sudhā* by Viśveśvara *alias* Gāgābhaṭṭa. Ed. as above. Gāgābhaṭṭa is known to have officiated at the coronation of Sivaji in 1674 A.D. His *Samaya-naya* was composed for king Sambhāji in 1680-81 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1939, pp. 1166-71). He belonged to the famous Maratha Bhaṭṭa family of Benares. His father Dinakara was author of *Dinakaroddyota*. (3) *Ramā* by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. Ed. as above. *Madras Cat.* xii 12876. (4) Comm. by Vājacandra. Aufrecht i. 182a. (5) °*Dīpikā*. Name of author unknown. Aufrecht i. 182a. (6) *Śārada-śarvarī* by Virūpākṣa. Hultzsch 1617 ; *Tanjore Cat.* ix 5221.

VIDYĀDHARA

(1)

The date of Vidyādhara, author of the *Ekāvalī*[1] has been fixed with sufficient approximation by K. P. Trivedi and R. G. Bhandarkar[2]. The latest writer quoted and mentioned by Vidyādhara is Ruyyaka (p. 150) ; and this gives us one

1 Aufrecht (i. 75) mentions three different works called *Ekāvalī*, which appear to be the same work. The first and the third are undoubtedly identical and refer to our *Ekāvalī* ; but the second is described by Burnell 54a (cf Oppert ii. 3605) as composed by Mahāmāheśvara Kavi. This, however, appears to be a title of Vidyādhara himself, and is apparently the source of the confusion of our Vidyādhara with Abhinavagupta who also bore the same title (see Weber ii, no. 1723). The colophon in the Madras MS (*Madras Cat.* xii, p. 8611) reads: *iti śrīmato mahāmāheśvarasya kaver vidyādharasya kṛtāvekāvalī-nāmny alaṃkāra-śāstre* etc. The first verse quoted in Burnell is the same as found in all the texts of our *Ekāvalī* The commentary *Taralā* noticed by Weber (*loc. cit.*) is apparently the same as *Taralā* of Mallinātha. The *Keli-rahasya* on Erotics is ascribed to Vidyādhara by Aufrecht, but the colophon gives the author's name as Vaidya Vidyādhara.

2 Introd to the text in B. S. S. ed. and Bhandarkar *Rep*, 1887-91, p. lxvi f.

terminus to his date at the middle of the 12th century. This conclusion is apparently supported by Vidyādhara's mention (p. 19) of Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*, who lived very probably in the 12th century[1]; but Vidyādhara's allusion in the same context to the poet Harihara[2], who is said by him to have obtained amazing wealth from a prince Arjuna (presumably the ruler of Mālava of that name), puts this terminus a little lower at the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Ekāvalī*, in its turn, is quoted by Śiṅgabhūpāla[3], whose date is fixed at 1330 A.D.; while Mallinātha, at the end of the 14th century, commented upon it. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century.

This approximation has been considerably narrowed down to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century by the identification of king Narasiṃha of Kaliṅga, panegyrised in the illustrative verses of the work[4], with either of the two Narasiṃhas of Kaliṅga, whose dates fall between 1282 and 1327. The patron of our author is described as one who crushed the pride of Hammīra (pp. 176, 177, 257, 260), who is probably the famous Cauhan prince, the hero of

1 See Bühler in *JBRAS* x p. 31f, xi. p. 279f; K. T. Telang in *IA* ii, p. 71, iii 81f; Bühler, *Rep.* 1874-75, p. 8.

2 See Trivedī's note at p. 348.

3 *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 107=*Ekāv.* i. 2. Cf *ŚgŚ* i, p. 7f. This verse occurs, however, as the third *praśasti-śloka* in the printed text of Bihlaṇa's *Karṇa-sundarī* (ed. Kāvyamālā 7, 1895, p. 56).—Śiṅgabhūpāla refers to Vidyādhara and his *Ekāvalī* expressly in the following terms: *utkalādhipateḥ śṛṅgāra-rasābhimānino narasiṃha-devasya cittam anuvartamānena vidyādhareṇa kavinā bāḍham abhyantarīkṛto'si, evam khalu samarthitam ekāvalyām anena* (ed. Triv. Skt. Ser. p. 206). K. P. Trivedi (Introd. p. xxiii) comes to the conclusion that Vidyādhara was patronised by Keśarī-Narasiṃha (1282-1307 A. D.) or by Pratāpa-Narasiṃha (1307-1327).

4 As the author himself says (*Śl.* 7): *karomi narasiṃhasya cāṭu-ślokān udāharan.* In this respect the work resembles *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, *Raghunātha-bhūpālīya* of Kṛṣṇa Yajvan and *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā* of Devaśaṃkara.

Nayacandra Sūri's poem[1], who began his reign about 1283 A.D. and attempted a conquest of Sourthern countries. All this makes it probable that the *Ekāvalī* was composed towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

Vidyādhara appears to have written a work on Erotics entitled *Kali-rahasya*[2].

(2)

Mallinātha

The date of Mallinātha, author of the *Taralā* commentary on the *Ekāvalī*, has been fixed at the end of the 14th century by Bhandarkar and Trivedi[3]. He must have written his commentary after a certain time had elapsed from the composition of the original text ; for from *śl.* 6 it appears that the *Ekāvalī* was not studied for some time because it had no commentaries. He is identical with Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri (Pedda Bhaṭṭa) who is the well-known scholiast and commentator on the five standard Mahākāvyas of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Śrīharṣa and Māgha, in some of which he quotes from the *Ekāvalī* itself.

The *Ekāvalī*, consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti in eight Unmeṣas, utilises the works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in its treament of poetic figures in the last two chapters (vii-viii). After a general discussion of the definition of Kāvya in ch. i it deals in ch. ii with the three Vṛttis, namely, Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā. Ch. iii and iv are devoted to Dhvani, and ch. v-vi deal with three Guṇas, three Rītis, and the Doṣas. The illustrative verses are all composed by Vidyādhara himself and consist of panegyrics of the author's patron Narasiṃha of Utkala.

1 See ed. Kirtane v. 56. also p. 27 ; Bhandarkar *op. cit.* p. lxvii f.

2 Aufrecht i. 537 b.

3 Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, p. lxix ; Trivedi, introd. to Bhaṭṭi pp. xxiv-xxviii, introd. to *Ekāvalī* p. xxvii f. ; Pāṭhak, introd. to *Megha-dūta* pp. 11-12 ; Nandargikar, introd. to *Raghu*, pp. 1-6, esp. pp. 5-6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edition. ed. K. P. Trivedi in the Bombay Sansk. Series 63, 1903, with the *Taralā* of Mallinātha and introd. and notes. There is another comm. by Prabhākara (b. 1564 A.D.), son of Mādhavabhaṭṭa and grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa.

VIDYĀNĀTHA

(1)

The latest writer that Vidyānātha cites is Ruyyaka (pp. 291, 334), whose lost work *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* is also apparently referred to at p. 11. Vidyānātha, in his turn, is quoted extensively but anonymously for definitions of poetic figures by Mallinātha in the latter's many commentaries on the different Kāvyas[1].

This gives us the same broad limits to his date as to that of Vidyādhara ; and other considerations make it probable that he was contemporaneous with the latter. The *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha was written, like the *Ekāvalī*, with the obvious object of panegyrising the king whose name it bears on its title. All the illustrative verses in the work eulogise the same king (also called Vīrarudra or Rudra), who is described as the son of Mahādeva and Mun-muḍi or Mummaḍambā (pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 133) ; and a short drama, named *Pratāparudra-kalyāṇa*[2] after him, is introduced in the third chapter to illustrate the characteristics of a drama, discussed in the work itself. He is described as a Kākatīya king[3] whose capital was Ekaśilā-nagara in the Tṛliṅga or Andhra country, and who is said to have vanquished, among other kings, the princes of the Yādava family. All these and

1 For the quotations, see Trivedi's introd. to the text p. ix.

2 Separately entered by Aufrecht i. 349a and published in the Granthamālā vol. i.

3 so called, as the *Ratnāpaṇa* explains (p. 10, also *Ratnaśāṇa* p. 485) from the goddess Kākati he worshipped.

other details have led K. P. Trivedi to identify Vidyānātha's patron with Pratāparudra, the seventh Kākatīya king of Ekaśilā or Warangal, whose inscriptions date between 1298 and 1317 A.D.[1], and who is placed by Sewell between 1295 and 1323 A.D., and by Sesagiri Sastri between 1268 and 1319 A.D.[2] The Yādava king referred to, therefore, seems to be Rāmacandra, sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devagiri, whose dates are 1271 to 1309 A.D.[3] We may, therefore, assign Vidyānātha approximately to the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. It has been suggested that the author's real name was Agastya Paṇḍita, and Vidyānātha was his title.

Vidyānātha's work, like the *Ekāvalī*, consists of Kārikā and Vṛtti with illustrative verses in praise of the author's patron. In nine Prakaraṇas it deals respectively with the topics of Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Doṣa, Guṇa, Śadālaṃkāra, Arthlāṃkāra and Miśrālaṃkāra. In the third Prakaraṇa, as we have already noted, it illustrates the requirements of a Nāṭāka by a model drama. Its treatment is based mainly on Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka, Bharata and Dhanañjaya, but it is more comprehensive than the *Ekāvalī* inasmuch as it includes Dramaturgy.

(2)

Kumārasvāmin

Vidyānātha's commentator Kumārasvāmin describes himself as the son of Kolācala Mallinātha[4], the well-known

1 Eggeling (*IOC* iii, p. 338) gives the dates 1268 and 1319.

2 See Trivedi, introd. pp. xvi-xxii. The correct dates appear to be 1298 and 1323 A. D.

3 Bhandarkar, *Early Hist*. p. 92.

4 Nārāyaṇa, who describes himself as a descendant of Kumārasvāmin, gives the genealogy of his ancestors in his comm. on *Campūrāmāyaṇa* (*Madras Catalogue* xxi, Kāvya p. 8212) thus: Mallinātha—Kapardin—Mallinātha Peddubhaṭṭa—Kumārasvāmin. He speaks of Peddubhaṭṭa as a Mahāmahopādhyāya, a commentator on *Naiṣadha* and as having been bathed in gold by Sarvajña (Siṅgabhūpāla?).

commentator and author of *Taralā* on the *Ekāvalī*. He may, therefore, be placed in the beginning of the 15th century. The title of his commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* (wrongly called *Ratnārpaṇa* by Eggeling *op. cit.* p. 338b, following Burnell 36b) signifies, as he himself explains, a market-place where are sold jewels of poetic sentiments, collected together by Vidyānātha, after they have been fashioned on the grindstone furnished by the merits of the hero.

The quotations in the *Ratnāpaṇa* are numerous and include, besides other well-known names, the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, the *Ekāvalī*, the *Sāhitya darpaṇa* (p. 245), Cakravartin and his *Saṃjīvanī* commentary on Ruyyaka, Śiṅgabhūpāla and his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, the author's own father Mallinātha and brother Peddayārya, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Narahari Sūri. There are numerous references to a work on Rasa, called *Bhāva-prakāśa*, which is now known to be a work of Śāradātanaya (*q.v.*). Mention is also made of Vasantarājīya Nāṭya-śāstra, its author Vasantarāja being apparently king Kumāragiri (*q.v.*) of the same name, who was a patron of Kāṭayavema. A Kavikalpadruma-kāra is also cited at p. 170, but this is a work on grammar (*dhātu-pāṭha*) by Vopadeva. We know nothing of the *Nāṭaka-prakāśa* cited at p. 113. On *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi* cited on p. 44, see below under Appayya Dīkṣita who also quotes the same work. The *Rasa-nirūpaṇa* may be by Narahari Sūri, and the *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* is probably the work of the same name composed ly Vīranārāyaṇa (*q.v.*).[1]

There is another incomplete commentary, called *Ratna-śāṇa*, included in the Bombay edition of the text. From the colophon of a MS of this work (*Madras Trm*, II, C, 1923), it appears to have been composed by Tirumalācārya, son of Rāmānujācārya of Śukavaṭa family and disciple of Vātsya Rāmānujācārya. He is said to have lived in Rāmatīrtha near Koṭipallī in the Godāvarī district.

1 For these authors, see chapter on Minor Writers below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. (1) by K P. Trivedi in Bombay Sanks. Series 65, 1909, with Kumārasvāmin's *Ratnāpaṇa*, and *Ratnaśāṇa*, notes and introd. Our references are to this edition. (2) lithographed ed. in Puthi form, Poona 1849. (3) by Sarasvati-Tiruvenkada Acharya and Vangipuram Ṛamakrisnam Acharya, with *Ratnāpaṇa*, in Telugu characters, Madras 1868, 1869, 1871, 1888. (4) by S. Chandrasekhara Sastrigal, with comm. *Ratnāpaṇa*. Balamanorama Press, Madras 1914.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM VIŚVANĀTHA TO JAGANNĀTHA

VIŚVANĀTHA

(1)

Viśvanātha never cites Ruyyaka and Mammaṭa by name ; but, like Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha, he draws very considerably upon the works of both. He adopts, for instance, the definitions of the figures *upameyopamā* and *bhrāntimat* directly from Ruyyaka, and admits the two figures *vikalpa* and *vicitra* which, both Ruyyaka and Jayaratha inform us, were inventions of Ruyyaka's.[1] It is quite possible, as P.V. Kane holds, that the censorious glancing on Mammaṭa's text, reproved by Viśvanātha (*ad* ii. 14, p. 57), refers in particular to Ruyyaka's *Saṃketa* commentary where the latter criticises Mammaṭa on the particular point under discussion. But a surer indication of Viśvanātha's acquaintance with Ruyyaka's works is given by his quotation of the verse *bhujaṅga-kuṇḍalī-vyakta*° at p. 445 (*ad* x. 2), which Ruyyaka himself cites (p. 19) as his own from the *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava*. Viśvanātha quotes two other writers who, in all probability, belong to this century, namely, Jayadeva, author of the *Gīta-govinda*,[2] and

1 For other instances, where Viśvanātha is following or criticising Ruyyaka, see P. V. Kane's ed. of the text in the introd. and notes.

2 The verse *hṛdi viṣa-latā* quoted by Viśvanātha at p 506 (*ad* x. 39) occurs in the *Gīta-govinda*, ed. N. S. P. iii. 11, p. 58. It is also ascribed to Jayadeva by Śārṅagadhara (no. 3460) and Vallabhadeva (no. 1314). Jayadeva is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara and therefore must be placed before 1206 A.D. Bühler and Peterson assign (*Kashmir Rep*. p. 64 and *Subhās*° p. 38) 1116 A.D. as the date of Jayadeva, while Haraprasad Sastri gives the date 1175 A. D. (*Notices*, 2nd. Ser. i, p. xxxviii). Jayadeva, however, is said to have been cited by Cāndkavi, who wrote his epic on Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi towards the end of the 12th century (but see *WZKM* vii, p. 189 ; *JBRAS* xi, p. 283). Viśvanātha

Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha.*[1] Viśvanatha also quotes a verse *kadalī kadalī* (*ad* iv. 3) from *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 37) of Jayadeva. Again, the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv. 441 is quoted in our text at p. 529, under x. 57a (possibly indirectly through Ruyyaka p. 93); but this work of Kahlaṇa's was not completed till the middle of the 12th century. All this will roughly fix one terminus to the date of Viśvanātha, who cannot thus be placed earlier than the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century.

The other more or less terminal date is given by the date of a MS of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, discovered by Stein at Jammu, which was written in Saṃvat 1440=1384 A.D.[2] This certainly negatives the date (viz. the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber[3], Eggeling[4] and Harichand Sastri[5], the last of whom makes the unfortunate mistake of identifying Caṇḍīdāsa, referred to as a relative by Viśvanātha, with Caṇḍīdāsa, the Bengali poet of the 15th century. It may be noted that Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, names and quotes (pp. 245, 248) the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (iii. 146a, 147 and 150).

All this raises the most likely presumption that Viśvanātha should be assigned to a period ranging roughly from 1200 to 1350 A. D. This approximation can be considerably narrowed down if we can draw any chronological inference from a verse in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iv. 14, p. 232) which refers to a Muhammadan king named Allāvadīna[6]. This

also refers to *Laṭaka-melaka* (p. 176, *ad* iii. 212) of Śaṅkhadhara, which also belongs to this century.

1 P. 526, *ad* x. 54 (*hanūmadādyai°*)=*Naiṣadha* ix. 122b p. 520, *ad.* x. 50 (*dhanyāsi vaidarbhi*)=*ibid* iii. 116. For the date of Śrīharṣa see S. K. De, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* pp. 325-26.

2 *Jammu Cat.* p. 64, no. 349.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 231 (Eng. trans. 1904).

4 *IOC* iii, p. 337. 5 *op. cit.* p. 115.

6 *saṃdhau sarvasva-haraṇam vigrahe prāṇa-nigrahaḥ / al(l)avadīna-nṛpatau na saṃdhir na ca vigrahaḥ.*

Allāvadīna or Alāvadīna[1] may probably be Sultan[2] Ala-ud-din Khalji, whose army invaded the Deccan and seized Warangal. Even if we suppose that the verse in question was composed in the life-time of that Sultan, who died in 1316 A. D., the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* may be presumed to have been composed at a date not earlier than 1300 A.D. At any rate, if this historical deduction is permissible, we may assign Viśvanātha to a period between 1300 and 1350 A.D., or roughly in the first half of the 14th century[3].

(2)

Viśvanātha describes himself as the son of Mahākavi Candraśekhara (p. 583, concluding verses) who appears, like his son, to have been a poet and scholar[4], as well as a high official[5] in the court of some king, probably king of Kaliṅga. Nārāyaṇa, who appears to have written also on some topics of Poetics, is either his grandfather or great-great-grandfather ; for in his commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Viśvanātha speaks of Nārāyaṇa as *asmat-pitāmaha*, while in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (p. 73, *ad* iii. 4a), the same person is called *asmat-vṛddhapitāmaha*. Caṇḍīdāsa, who appears to be different from the Bengal author of the °*Dīpikā* commentary on Mammaṭa, is also quoted.[6] He should not be confused with Viśvanātha's relative.

1 We find both these forms of the name in two inscriptions, see *JASB* xliii, p. 108 and Bhavanagar inscription 114=*Prācīna-lekha-mālā* ii. 28. In Harṣakīrti's *Dātu-pāṭha* this king is referred to as Allāvadi (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 43).

2 The sanskritised form of this word *suratrāṇa* occurs at p. 509 (*ad* x. 42).

3 Cf Kane *op. cit.* introd. ; M. Cakravarti in *JASB* lxxii (1903), p. 146, N. S. ii, 1906, p. 157f ; Keith in *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 848f ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama*, p. 3. Prabhākara in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (1583 A.D.) quotes *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* at pp. 18, 20, 35.

4 His verses are cited at pp. 58, 116, 170, 174, while his works, called *Puṣpamālā* and *Bhāṣārṇava*, are referred to at pp. 263 and 316 respectively.

5 Both are described as *sāṃdhivigrahika-mahāpātra*.

6 Viśvanātha cites one Puruṣottama (p. 440, *ad* ix. 4a). A work

Viśvanātha appears to have written a number of works, besides his well-known *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* ; for in it he himself refers to his own productions, namely:

(1) *Rāghava-vilāsa-kāvya* (*ad* vi. 325a, p. 355).

(2) *Kuvalayāśva-carita* in Prakrit (*ad* vi. 326, p. 356).

(3) *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* (*ad* vi. 182b, p. 320), also referred to in his commentary of Mammaṭa ch. vii.

(4) *Praśasti-ratnāvalī* in 16 languages, a *karambhaka* (*ad* vi. 337b, p. 358).

(5) *Candrakalā* (*ad* vi. 183a and 184. p. 320-1), a *nāṭikā*. He also wrote a commentary called *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* on Mammaṭa's work ; but this was probably composed after he had written his larger independent work on Poetics ; for in it he himself refers, while commenting on *lakṣaṇā* (ch. ii), to the latter work[1]. In the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* itself he draws very considerably upon Mammaṭa ; and although at the beginning of this work, he quotes and criticises at some length Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, he distinctly reproves all irreverent criticism of this venerable writer, who is declared to be his own *upajīvya* (*ad* ii. 14 p. 57). In this commentary Viśvanātha refers to a *Narasiṃha-kāvya* by himself.[2]

It is not clear on what grounds Weber and Eggeling[3] state that the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* was composed "on the banks of the Brahmaputra", i. e. in Eastern Bengal. It appears on the contrary that Viśvanātha was probably a native of Kaliṅga, which we may take at this date to have been co-extensive roughly with Orissa and Ganjam. In his commentary on

called *Kavitāvatāra* is attributed to one Puruṣottama in Burnell 54a.—On Viśvanātha's genealogy in relation to Nārāyaṇa, Caṇḍīdāsa and Candraśekhara see Sivaprasad Bhattacharya *Viśvanātha Kavirāja and his references* in *JOI*, Baroda, iii (1954) pp. 35f.

1 *eṣāṃ ca ṣoḍaṣāṇāṃ lakṣaṇā-bhedānām iha darśitāny udāharaṇāni mama sāhitya-darpaṇe'vagantavyāni*. Also on figure *anumāna* (ch. x): *tad uktam matkṛte sāhitya-darpaṇe*.

2 Anantadāsa in his comm. on *Sāhitya-d.* quotes a verse on p. 9 with the words: *yathā mama tāta-pādānāṃ vijaya-narasiṃhe*.

3 Cf also Macdonell, *Sansk. Lit.* p. 434 ; *SCC* vii, no. 53, p. 33.

Mammaṭa, he explains certain expression with Oriya equivalents[1]; and speaking of his ancestor Nārāyaṇa, he refers to king Narasiṃha-deva of Kaliṅga (presumably Narasiṃha II, about 1279-1306), at whose court Nārāyaṇa vanquished one Dharmadatta[2], who is also referred to in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[3] at pp. 73, 79. It is probably in praise of one of the Narasiṃhas of Kaliṅga that Viśvanātha's lost poem *Narasiṃha-vijaya* was written.

(3)

Though not a work of much originality, the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* gives in ten chapters a comprehensive treatment of all topics of Poetics, including Dramaturgy. The distribution of topics in the different chapters is as follows: (i) Definition of poetry, (ii) Three Vṛttis of word and sense, (iii) Rasa, (iv) Dhvani and Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya, (v) Establishment of Vyañjanā-vṛtti, (vi) Dramaturgy, (vii) Doṣa, (viii) Guṇa (three in number), (ix) Rītis enumerated as four, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī, Pāñcālī and Lāṭī, (x) Alaṃkāras. The treatment of Dramaturgy is based mostly on *Daśa-rūpaka*.

The commentaries on Viśvanātha are not so numerous or important as to deserve any special enumeration. Of the five commentaries mentioned below, that of Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa, dated in Śaka 1622=1700 A.D., has been frequently printed with the text.

1 *"vaiparītyaṃ ruciṃ kuru" iti pāṭhaḥ, atra ciṅku-padaṃ kāśmīrādi-bhāṣāyām aślīlārtha-bodhakam, utkalādi-bhāṣāyāṃ dhṛta-vāṇḍaka-drava iti*, on Mammaṭa v, p. 238 (ed. Jhalakikara).

2 Cited also in the *Rasa-pradīpa* of Prabhākara, son of Bhaṭṭa Mādhava (Weber i. 823), in which the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is also quoted. Prabhākara's work was composed in 1583 A. D. For Dharmadatta see Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in the article cited above, p. 360-62.

3 *yad āhuḥ śrī-kaliṅga-bhūmaṇḍalākhaṇḍala-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-narasiṃha-sabhāyāṃ dharmadattaṃ sthagayantaḥ sakala-sahṛdayagoṣṭhī-gariṣṭha-kavi-paṇḍitāsmat-pitāmaha-śrīman-nārāyaṇadāsa-pādāḥ*, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. Published frequently, of which ed. (1) by Nathurama, Education Press, Calcutta 1828, and (2) by E. Röer in Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1851, are notable. These editions do not contain the comm. of Rāmacaraṇa. Also eds. with Rāmacaraṇa's comm. *Vivṛti* (i) by Chandicharan Smritibhushan, Calcutta B. S. 1318. (2) ed. Durgaprasad Dviveda, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1902, 1915, 1922. (3) by P. V Kane (ch. i, ii, x) with intro. and notes, Bombay first ed. 1910, 2nd. 1923 (with a Hist. of Skt. Poetics), 3rd ed. 1951 (revised and enlarged, but the commentary is not given). (4) by Karunakar Kavyatirtha, with comms. *Vijña-priyā* of Maheśvara and *Locana* of Anantadāsa, Lahore 1938.—Translated into English by J. R. Ballantyne and P. D. Mitra, Bibl. Indica 1875. Our references are to the N. S. P. ed. of 1915 by Durgaprasad Dviveda, unless otherwise specified.

Commentaries. (1) °*Locana* by Anantadāsa, son of Viśvanātha, a MS of which is dated 1636 A.D. Aufrecht ii. 171a. An incomplete MS (no. 262, p. 65) in *Jammu Cat.* Ed. as noted above. The commentator is described as son of Viśvanātha himself.

(2) °*Ṭippaṇa* by Mathurānātha Śukla, a voluminous writer, under whose name Aufrecht makes no less than 64 entries. Apparently the same person as Mathurānātha Śukla, a native of Pāṭalīputra in Mālava, who wrote at Benares in 1783 A. D. the *Jyotiḥ-siddhānta-sāra* by order of prince Dalacandra (but see Aufrecht i. 422-23). One Mathurānātha was also author of a comm. on *Kuvalayānanda*, and may have been the same person. Aufrecht i. 715b.

(3) °*Vivṛti* by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa, a native of Western Bengal. He was a Chattopadhyay Brahman ; his home was at Rāyavāṭi in Burdwan district. He dates his commentary in 1700 A. D. Frequently printed with the text in Bengal editions. Also in N. S. P. ed. 1915, as noted above.

(4) °*Prabhā* by Gopīnātha. *Madras Trm C* 712. Gopīnātha is also the author of the *Sumanomanoharā* comm. on Mammaṭa. See above p. 173. He is probably identical with Gopīnātha Kavirāja who composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Raghu-vaṃśa* in 1677 A.D. (see Aufrecht i. 163b).

(5) *Vijña-priyā* by Maheśvara Bhaṭṭa, Ed. as noted above. This Maheśvara appears to be the same as Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra who commented also on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Middle of the 17th century. See above p. 167.

KEŚAVA MIŚRA AND ŚAUDDHODANI

(1)

Keśava himself tells us that he composed his *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* at the request of a ruling chief named Māṇikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra and grandson of Rāmacandra, who is said to have ruled near Ḍilhi (Dhilli) and defeated the king of Kābila (Kabul?). Eggeling[1] is obviously wrong in identifying him with Māṇikyacandra of Tirabhukti or Tirhut; while Bühler[2] did not go further than suggesting that this prince was not a Kashmirian but ruled or lived in Delhi just before the Muhammadan conquest. The patron of our author, however, appears to be Māṇikyacandra of Koṭ-kaṅgra, whose genealogy corresponds to that given by Keśava and whose date of accession, according to Cunningham[3], is 1563 A.D. The literary activity of Keśava may, therefore, be fixed in the third quarter of the 16th century.

(2)

The Kārikā-portion of the *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, called *Sūtra*, is declared to have been based on, if not actually taken from, some lost work of an authority who is cited as *bhagavān* (or

1 *IOC* no. 1197.

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 69.

3 *Arch. Survey* v. 152f, at p. 160. (cf. *JASB*, 1907, p. 212).

maharṣi p. 50) Śauddhodani[1], Keśava himself apparently assuming the modest rôle of a commentator or interpreter in the running prose Vṛtti. The name Śauddhodani, apparently Buddhistic, is otherwise unknown in Alaṃkāra-literature[2]. Whatever may be the original source of his work, Keśava shows himself conversant with the work of most of his predecessors, and quotes, among more recent writers, Rājaśekhara (pp. 32, 67), Bhoja (p. 7), Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammaṭa, the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*, Deveśvara and Jayadeva author of *Candrāloka*. He also quotes one Śrīpāda (pp. 4, 5, 6, 23, 27, 32, 72, 81), who may be his master Śauddhodani himself designated by this honorific term, as well as the author of a *Kavi-kalpalatā* who is described as a follower of this Śrīpāda[3]. This Kavi-kalpalatā-kāra, however, is neither Deveśvara nor Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, whose works also bear a similar title. The passage cited by Keśava in this connexion (pp. 48-9, *veṇyāḥ sarpāsi-bhṛṅgālyo*) gives a list of more or less conventional words useful for the purpose of conveying a simile or metaphor. A comparison of an almost similar passage in Deveśvara (p. 157f), who copies it directly from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (pp. 135f), will show enough verbal discrepancy to indicate that neither of these sources constitutes the original from which Keśava quotes. A similar discrepancy is also noticeable in another passage of Keśava's (*ratnāni yatra tatrādrau* pp. 55-6), which at first sight will seem to have been borrowed from Deveśvara (p. 36f) who, however, copies it almost literally from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra

1 Mentioned in exalted terms as: *alaṃkāra-vidyā-sūtrakāro bhagavāñ chauddhodaniḥ parama-kāruṇikaḥ* (p. 2). The *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* of Śauddhodani is mentioned at pp. 2, 20.

2 This Śauddhodani should not be identified with the Śauddhodani mentioned in the *maṅgala* verse (where it apparently stands for the name of Buddha) of the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri.

3 *śrīpāda-matānusārī kavikalpalatā-kāraḥ* p. 48, ed. Nir. Sag. Press. Frequently quoted, pp. 4, 5, 23, 27, 32, 72, 83 etc.

(p. 30f). At the same time, Keśava betrays otherwise an acquaintance with Deveśvara's text, from which he reproduces at least one long passage anonymously (*nṛpe kīrti-pratāpājñā* p. 57f = Deveśvara p. 26f), which Deveśvara himself probably adapted from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (p. 27f) ; but it is curious that Keśava copies here the text of Deveśvara with its variations, rather than the original text of Arisiṃha Amara on this point.

Keśava cites one Śrīharṣa (p. 71) who may or may not be the same person mentioned by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa (*q. v.*) as Śrīharṣa Miśra, or Harṣa (Śrīharṣa) who wrote a Vārttika on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. The opinions of a writer called Govardhana are frequently cited by Keśava (pp. 17, 29, 37, 43, 49). There is also a reference to Jayadeva *paṇḍita-kavi* (p. 17) in the court of an Utkala king. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva, who is said to have lived under Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal and who also calls himself Jayadeva *paṇḍita-kavi* in his *Gīta-govinda* (xii, p. 171)[1], then it is likely that Govardhana, who is quoted immediately before this reference to Jayadeva, may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva's contemporary referred to in the beginning of the *Gīta-govinda*.

Keśava, who is described in the colophon as a Nyāyācārya, tells us that he had already composed seven abstruse treatises on the subject before he undertook the composition of his *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*. Two of these are apparently those which are mentioned in the text as his own under the citations *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (p. 9) and *Vākya-ratna* (p. 12) or *Kāvya-ratna* (p. 72). A *Kāvya-ratna* is mentioned in Oppert ii. 6237.

The *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* written in the form of Kārikā and Vṛtti, consists of eight chapters (called Ratnas) and 22 sections (called Marīcis) with topics distributed as follow: i. Definition

1 The verse *unmīlan-madhu-gandha°* of the *Gīta-govinda* (ed. N. S. P. p. 29) is quoted anonymously by Keśava at p. 6, as an instance of the Gauḍī Rīti.

of Kāvya, etc. ii. Three Rītis (Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Māgadhī), Ukti, Mudrā with their varieties. iii. Three Vṛttis (Abhidhā etc). iv-vi. Eight Doṣas of Pada, twelve of Vākya and eight of Artha. vii-viii. Five Guṇas of Śabda (Saṃkṣiptatva, Udāttatva, Prasāda, Ukti and Samādhi), four Guṇas of Artha (Bhāvikatva, Suśabdatva, Paryāyokti and Sudharmitā). ix. Cases when Doṣas become Guṇas. x-xii. Eight Alaṃkāras of Śabda and fourteen Alaṃkāras of Artha. Some of the names and definitions are different from those of orthodox writers. xiii-xvii. Devoted mostly to Kavi-śikṣā topics—poetic convention, mode of describing different objects etc. xviii-xix. Certain verbal tricks, Samasyā-pūraṇa etc. xx. Nine Rasas, topics of Nāyaka-nāyikā, Bhāvas etc. xxi-xxii. Rasa-doṣas ; and letters favourable to each Rasa. It will be seen that although Keśava Miśra accepts Dhvani and Rasa and the general pattern of orthodox Poetics, he appears yet to follow a different tradition, especially in the treatment of Guṇa, Doṣa and Alaṃkāra. But the difference is not material ; for as noted above, he draws largely upon most of his well-known predecessors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions. (1) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895. (2) ed. Anantaram Sastri Vetal, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1927. (3) ed. Ganesha Sarma, Benares 1886. Our references are to Nir. Sag. Press ed.

APPAYYA DĪKṢITA

(1)

Appayya Dīkṣita himself furnishes us with a clue to his date. He tells us at the end of his *Kuvalayānanda* that it was composed at the instance of a South Indian prince

named Veṅkaṭa[1]. Aufrecht[2], and following him Eggeling[3], identify this patron of Appayya with Veṅkaṭa of Vijayanagara (about 1535 A. D,), while Hultzsch[4] shows that he was Veṅkaṭa I of Pennakoṇḍa, whose inscriptions range from Śaka 1508 to 1535 (=1586 to 1613 A. D.).[5] On the other hand, in the colophon to his *Śivādityamaṇi-dīpikā* (Hultzsch 1056), Appayya mentions as his patron a prince Cinna Bomma, son of Cinnavīra and father of Liṅgama Nāyaka. The inscriptions of this chief of Velur (Vellore in the North Arcot district) are dated in Śaka 1471 and 1488 (=1549 and 1566 A.D.).[6] In the last verse of the *Kuvalayānanda* reference is made to Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa's commentary *Śaradāgama* (on the *Candrāloka*) which in dated 1583 A.D. The extreme limits, therefore, of Appayya's literary activity are 1549 and 1613 A. D. We may thus assign him to the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century ; and as he was alive in the time of Veṅkaṭa I, he may have lived into the beginning of the 17th century[7]. This date is confirmed by the fact that we

1 Cf also *śl* 168 (ed. NSP 1913) which, though occurring also in the text of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, is probably one of Appayya's additions.

2 *Cat. Bod.* 213a. But in his *Cat. Cat.* i. 22a and ii. 5a, he assigns the dates, viz. end of the 15th and end of the 16th century respectively. Regnaud's conjecture (*Rhétorique Sansk.* p. 375) that Appayya flourished in reign of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara in 1520 A.D. is not correct.

3 *IOC* iii, p. 335.

4 *Rep. of South Ind. Sansk. MSS* ii, p. xiii and *EI* iv. 271 (cf *JASB* 1907, p. 211).

5 *South Ind. Inscrip.* i, p. 69f and p. 84. Also see H. D. Velankar in *Cat. JBRAS.*, i. no. 141.

6 *IA* xiii p. 155 and *EI* iii p. 238 Table.

7 He is said to have lived to the ripe old age of 73 (see introd. to Halasyanatha's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* p. 15). The usually accepted date is 1552-1624 or 1554-1626 A.D. But the date 1520-1593 is argued in *JOR*, Madras, 1928, pp. 225-237 and 1929, pp. 140-160. See also the Madras Univ. ed. (1929) of *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya* (introd.) and Vanivilas Press ed. of *Yādavābhyudaya* vol. ii→(introd.), p. ivf. where the date argued is between 1552 and 1624. Veṅkaṭa, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* tells us that he hailed from Kāñcī (or Conjeevaram). That Appayya is

find Appayya cited by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in the first quarter of the 17th century and attacked by Jagannātha about the same time.

(2)

We find the author himself using the forms Appa or Apya of his name in his *Kuvalayānanda*, but it is variously spelt as Appaya and Appayya. A champion of Southern Śaivism he was a versatile and prolific writer, and tradition ascribes to him more than one hundred works,[1] of which Aufrecht mentions nearly seventy. A Tamil Brahman of Bharadvāja gotra, he was the fifth son of Raṅgarāja (or Raṅgarājādhvarin) and had a brother called Apya or Ācchān.

Appayya is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his three works, viz. the *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Vṛtti-vārttika*. Of these, the last seems to have been his earliest work, after which comes the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* which is referred to in his *Kuvalayānanda*. None of these works displays much originality ; and we have seen that his *Kavalayānanda* was directly based on Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, up to the section on the figure *hetu*.[2] To the "one hundred" Alaṃkāras of Jayadeva Appayya, however, adds fifteen,[3] and this perhaps constitutes

later than the 14th century is shown by the fact that he cites the *Ekāvalī*, *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* and *Saṃjīvanī* comm. of Jayaratha.

1 So states Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* i. 44. The question is complicated by the fact that no less than four Appayya Dīkṣitas belonged to the family in three generations. See V. Raghavan in *Proceedings* of *A-I.O.C*, Tirupati 1941, pp. 176-80. In the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (ed. V. Raghavan), Madras 1949, pp. 197-200, there are no less than 58 entries after careful sifting. This Catalogue may be consulted for Appayyas II, III, and IV also.

2 See above p. 200.

3 In the text of the *Kuvalayānanda-kārikā* with Āśādhara's commentary, which is translated by Schmidt and published by the N. S. P. 1906, the fourth chapter dealing with *śabdālaṃkāras* is an interpolation, or rather mistaken incorporation into the text of Appayya of a chapter from Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya's *Kāvya-vilāsa* (*IOC* iii, pp. 340-44). as the

the largest number of such figures mentioned in any Alaṃkāra work, and forms the climax in the process of multiplying the poetic figures with endless minute differentiation. The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* is a more independent work; but it was probably left incomplete. In most of the MSS,[1] as well as in the printed texts,[2] it goes up to the *atiśayokti-prakaraṇa* and breaks off with the curious verse:

apy ardha-citramīmāṃsā na mude kasya māṃsalā /
anūrur iva gharmāṃśor ardhendur iva dhūrjaṭeḥ //

which, if authentic, implies that the work was designedly left incomplete. But in some MSS there is an additional verse, which gives a list of the figures to be dealt with (*pratipādyā-laṃkāra-sūcī*),[3] which ends with the mention of *utprekṣā*, and omits *atiśayokti* which ought to come after it. The *Candrikā* commentary of Vaidyanātha supports this tradition with the remark: *utprekṣā-granthānantaraṃ citra-mīmāṃsā na kvāpi dṛśyate*; but the commentary of Dharānanda, son of Rāma-bala, includes and comments on the section on *atiśayokti* coming thereafter. Appayya's own references to the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* in *Kuvalayānanda* (pp. 78, 86, 133) relate to the treatment of the figures of *śleṣa*, *prastutāṅkura* and *arthāntara-nyāsa*, which are wanting in the present-day text. The printed text of the *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* of Jagannātha goes only as far as *apahnuti*. Appayya's third work, the *Vṛtti-vārttika*,

colophon at the end of that chapter itself shows. It is well known that the *Kuvalayānanda* deals only with Arthālaṃkāras.

1 e.g. *IOC* iii p. 336, ends with *atiśayokti* at fol. 72a ; *Madras Trm* A 1104 : *ŚgŚ* ii, p. 82.

2 Ed. V. L. Panshikar, Kāvyamālā 38, NSP, 1907. In the text published in the *Pandit* xiii, the work ends with *utprekṣā*, and the *atiśayokti* is wanting.

3 *upamā sahopameyopamayāthānanvayaḥ smaraṇaṃ / rūpaka-pariṇati-saṃśaya - bhrāntimad - ullekha-nihnavotprekṣāḥ //* This verse occurs at the end of the text printed in the *Pandit* and in the India Office MS referred to. The MS *kha* used in the Kāvyamālā ed. (see p. 101 fn) ends with *utprekṣā*. In *Madras Cat.* xxii, MS no. 12879 ends with *atiśayokti*, but nos. 12880-81 end with *utprekṣā*.

which is a short dissertation, after a work called *Kāvya-saraṇi*, on the three functions of word and its sense, is also incomplete as it stands ; for it consists only of two chapters on the two functions *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, and the third chapter which should deal with the third function *vyañjanā* is wanting.

Appaya appears to have written another work, called *Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī* on the Lakṣaṇas of Rūpaka.[1]

Appayya Dīkṣita, second son of Āccān Dīkṣita who was a brother of our Appayya, wrote an *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*.

(3)

Appayya's works appear to have started some controversies in his time. Thus Jagannātha, who flourished immediately after him, not only attacked Appayya in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and stigmatised him as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha, but also wrote his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* to demolish Appayya's work of that name. Bhīmasena, in his commentary on Mammaṭa, also refers to a *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana* written by himself as an attack on Appayya's other work ; and we find Atirātrayajvan, a younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and descendant of Appayya's, taking up the cudgel to defend the fair fame of his ancestor in his *Citramīmāṃsā-doṣa-dhikkāra*.[2]

Among more recent writers and works cited by Appayya, we find the names of the Sāhityacintāmaṇi-kāra, Ratnākara, *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi*[3] (*Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 19) and *Kāvya-saraṇi*,

1 See T. R. Cintamani in *JOR*, Madras, iv, 1930, pp. 242-44 (text of a newly discovered fragment).

2 The authorship of this work is uncertain. Oppert 4802 ascribes it to Cinna Appayya, younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita ; but Hultzsch (ii, p. 126, no. 1281, up to Apahnuti-prakaraṇa) ascribes it to Cinna Appayya's last brother Atirātrayajvan. See *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 200.

3 This is probably the work of the same name attributed to Sāyaṇa, younger brother of Mādhava and elder brother of Bhoganātha. But the illustrative verses, which are in praise of Sāyaṇa, appear to have been composed by Bhoganātha. As ministers of Harihara I (1336-55 A.D.) and Bukka (1355-77 A.D.), Sāyaṇa belonged to the 14th century. He is better known as a commentator on Vedic works. An anthology,

the last work (of which nothing is known) being avowedly the model or source of his *Vṛtti-vārttika*. The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi*, also cited by Kumārasvāmin, is probably the work of the same name by Vīranārāyaṇa (*q. v.*, about 14C0 A.D.). The *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi* is apparently the same work as cited by Kumārasvāmin at p. 44. If the Ratnākara quoted in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 20 be the same as Ratnākara cited extensively by Jagannātha in his two works, then it refers to the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra, and should be distinguished from *Rasa-ratnākara* cited by Mallinātha on *Megha-dūta*. A *Kāvyāloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (pp. 27, 53)

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON APPAYYA

The popularity of the *Kuvalayānanda* as a convenient manual is indicated by the many commentaries on it, the more important ones of which have been published. The *Dīpikā* of the poet Āśādhara, son of Rāmajī and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara, has been edited as well as translated. The *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* and *Ṣaṭpadānanda* of Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa have not yet found an editor, but the *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, son of Rāmacandra (or Rāma Bhaṭṭa) and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa, has been printed several times in Madras and elsewhere. The more reliable commentary of Gaṅgādharādhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin, son of Devasiṃha-sumati of Vādhūla-gotra and pupil of Viśvarūpa Yati of Benares, probably preserves the text and the Appayya-traditions better, inasmuch as the commentator tells us that Appayya was the teacher of a brother of his grandfather, and he himself takes great pains to settle the readings of his text. Other less known commentaries are mentioned below.

called *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* is ascribed to him (*Proc. A-I.O.C.* Baroda 1935, pp. 121-24.

The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* has been commented upon by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vasiṣṭha-gotra and grandson of Ṭhākura, who had, besides the author's father, two other sons named Pūraṇadāsa and Devadāsa. The commentator was disciple of Paramānanda and was born in Bharatapura. He wrote also a commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*Madras Cat.* xii. 12625).

No commentary on the *Vṛtti-vārttika* is known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kuvalayānanda

Editions. The work as a popular text-book has been printed frequently at Poona, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Benares in Devanāgarī as well as in Grantha, Telugu and Bengali characters, with or without commentaries. The earliest edition appears to be that printed in Puthi form from Pathsala Press, Poona 1842 (2nd ed. 1845). It is not necessery to enumerate here all the editions, but the following publications in Devanāgarī are noteworthy. *Without commentary*: (1) by P. R. Subrahmanya Sarman with Eng. trs. and notes, Banerjee Press, Calcutta 1903. *With the Candrikā commentary* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat (2) the Poona ed. mentioned above. (3) ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Satya Press, Calcutta 1847 etc. (4) ed. Satyavrata Samasrami in *Pratna-karma-nandinī*, Satya Press, Calcutta 1874. (5) ed. Kashinath Vasudev Khandekar, Jagadisvara Press, Bombay 1884. (6) printed in oblong Puthi form, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1879, (7) ed. Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1907 (2nd ed.), 1913 etc. (8) ed. Govinda Sastri, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1911. (9) the Madras eds. are mostly in Grantha (1870, 1881) or Telugu characters (1870, 1895). *With the Rasika-rañjanī comm.* of Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. (10) ed. R. Halasyanath Sastri, Kumbhakonam 1892. *With the Alaṃkara-dīpikā comm.* of Āśādhara, (11) ed. Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nirnay Sag. Press, Bombay 1909 ;

(12) the same, with text trs. into German by R. Schmidt, Berlin 1907, along with Rāmadeva Cirañjīva's *Kāvya-vilāsa*. See also Bibliography under *Candrāloka* above p. 204f. (Our references are to the NSP ed. of 1913 by V. L. Panshikar, which also contains the *Candrikā* comm.).

Commentaries. (1) *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat. Ed. as above. Published many times with the text. MSS: *SCC* vii, 1, 29; *Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12862-67; *IOC* iii, no. 270-72, p. 33. For a list of editions see *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, pp. 182-83. Mitra in *Bik. Cat.* no 607, p. 213 gives a wrong impression of the work. Vaidyanātha also wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kav. Prak.* (*q.v.*) which in dated in 1684 A.D. See above p. 170.

(2) *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* by Āśādhara. Printed by NSP and translated, as above. Āśādhara comments only on the Kārikās, but he is not aware of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*. Āśādhara himself appears to have added what is called an Uddiṣṭa-prakaraṇa of about 21 Kārikās with pertinent comm. See *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 153, p. 174. Āśādhara also wrote *Kovidānanda* and *Triveṇikā* (see under Minor Writers below). He should not be confused with Āśādhara who wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa; see above p. 93.

(3) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gaṅgādharādhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. Printed from Kumbhakonam as noted above. MSS: Aufrecht i. 113a (the attribution to Appayya himself is wrong, as corrected later), ii. 22b; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12868-70; also see *Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5205, pp. 4024-27. This commentator describes Appayya as *asmat-pitāmaha-sahodara-deśikendra*; but according to tradition the commentator lived under the Tanjore prince Śāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). Originally he was a native of Tiravālaṅgāḍu in Chingleput district. Also wrote some comms. on philosophical works.

(4) *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. First quarter of the 18th century. Nāgojī is said to have written also

another commentary on *Kuvalay°* called *Ṣaṭpadānanda*, or in full *Viṣamapada-vyākhyāna Ṣaṭpadānanda* ; see *Jammu Cat.* nos. 1190 and 1191 ; *SCC* viii. 28. As its name indicates, the latter commentary probably deals only with difficult words and passages. The two commentaries are often confused. In this last commentary, Nāgojī refers to his *°Marma-prakāśikā* on Jagannātha's work. Extracts of both in Stein pp. 270-271.

(5) *Kāvya-mañjarī* by Nyāyavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya. Aufrecht i. 113a. Is he identical with Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa, son of Vidyānidhi (*q.v.*) and author of *Kāvya-candrīkā*?

(6) Comm. by Mathurānātha. Aufrecht i. 113a. See above p. 217, bibliography under Viśvanātha.

(7) *°Ṭippaṇa* by Kuravirāma referred to in the introductory verse of his comm. on the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* ; Hultzsch i, extr. p. 57, no. 21. For the author who also wrote on Dramaturgy see above p. 127 (under Dhanañjaya). As Veṅkṭādhvarin, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*, is known to be a grandson of Appayya's, Kuravirāma, who commented on this poem, could not have been earlier than the middle of the 17th century.

(8) *Laghvalaṃkāra-candrikā* by Devīdatta. *SCB* 830.

(9) *Budha-rañjanī* by Veṅgala Sūri. The colophon to some MSS describes him as *Śrī-rāmabhūpāla-sabhābhūṣaṇa*. Ed. in Telugu characters, Bharati Nilaya Press, Madras 1882. Also included in the Palghat ed. of *Candrāloka*, see under *Candrāloka*, p. 204. This is really a comm. on the Arthālaṃkāra-section of *Candrāloka*, which is co-extensive with the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*.

(10) An anon. comm. in *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, no. 155, p. 177.

Citra-mīmāṃsā

Editions. (1) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga in the *Pandit* xiii, 1891, (2) With Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana, ed. Sivadatta, and

V. L. Panshikar. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1893, 1907 (our references are to the 2nd ed. of 1907).

Commentaries. (1) *Sudhā* by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vasiṣṭha-gotra. Comments up to Atiśayokti. *Madras Cat.* xii, 12884-86 (extract). Dharānanda also wrote commentaries on the *Anargha-rāghava* (*Madras Cat.* xxi. Kāvya, no. 12444, p. 8355) and on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*ibid*, no. 1265, p. 8475). The last-named comm. was composed in 1814 A.D. In it he gives his genealogy and an account of himself, from which we learn that he was son of Rāmabala of Bharatapura, grandson of Ṭhākura and disciple of Paramānanda.

(2) *Gūḍhārtha-prakāśikā* by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa. Aufrecht ii. 38b. He should be distinguished from Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, author of *Alaṃkāra-sāra*. See chapter on Minor Writers below.

(3) *Citrāloka*. *SCB* 106.

Vṛtti-vārttika

Editions. (1) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga in the *Pandit* xii, 1890. (2) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1893. Our references are to the N.S.P. 2nd ed. of 1910.

Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī

Ed. T. R. Chintamani in *JOR* Madras, iv, 1930, pp. 242-44 (a fragment). An incomplete Grantha MS entitled *Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī-vyākhyā* without the name of the author is noticed in *Tanjore Cat.* xi, no. 5295, p. 4079 ; but it is probably a different work which appears to deal with Dramaturgy.

JAGANNĀTHA

In his *Bhāminī-vilāsa* Jagannātha tells us[1] that he passed his youth under the patronage of the emperor of Delhi, from

1 *dillīvallabha-pāṇipallava-tale nītaṃ navīnaṃ vayaḥ*, ed. Granthamālā vol. iv, *śl* 32. This verse is wanting in the N.S.P. ed. 1894. The

whom, we are told elsewhere, he received the title of Paṇḍita-rāja.[1] This emperor seems to have been Shah Jahan (1628-1658). He also seems to have lived under the protection of Nawab Asaf Khan (d. 1641), brother of Nur Jahan and a nobleman in the court of Shah Jahan, in whose praise he wrote his *Āsapha-vilāsa* and who is also referred to in verses quoted in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (p. 166 *sudhīva vaṇī* ; 457 *yuktaṃ tu yāte*, referring to Asaf's death). In the latter work, there is also a reference in a verse (p. 521) to Nuradīna which is apparently the Sanskritised form of one of the names of Jahangir (1605-1627), Shah Jahan's father. Shah Jahan came to the throne in 1628 A. D., and was thrown into prison in 1658 A. D. In his *Jagad-ābharaṇa* Jagannātha eulogises king Jagatsiṃha of Udaipur (1628-1654) and in his *Prāṇābharaṇa* king Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa (1633-1666) ; but they are essentally identical works which have been utilised, with certain change of names and addition of verses, to eulogise two patrons. It seems, therefore, Jagannātha enjoyed the patronage of four rulers, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Jagatsiṃha and Prāṇanārāyaṇa at different periods of life. His literary activity, therefore, lay in the second and third quarters of the 17th century ; and it extended roughly from about 1620 to 1660 A. D. Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa commented upon his

Granthamālā text is published with the comm. of Mahādeva Dīkṣita who claims to be a grandson of Jagannātha himself. The phrases *dillī-narapati* and *dillīśvara* occur also in *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and other works (see Aryendra Sarma, *Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha*, Osmania Univ. 1958, p. vii for references).

1 See citation from *Āsapha-vilāsa* given in introd. to Kāvyamālā ed. of *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 2 fn. ; also Nāgeśa on *Rasa-gaṅg°* p. 3. The text of the *Āsapha-vilāsa* appears to contain lacuna and ends abruptly. The poet Paṇḍita-rāja, cited in the anthology *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* of Haribhāskara, whose commentary on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* was composed in 1676 A.D. (Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1877-91, p. lxii and *Rep.* 1883-84. p. 60) is probably our author. There is also a commentator on Mammaṭa named Paṇḍitarāja (*q.v.*) who is a different author. Aufrecht (ii. 40a), making a confusion between the two, attributes the *Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭīkā* to our Jagannātha.

Rasa-gaṅgādhara in the beginning of 18th century, while Jagannātha himself attacks Appayya Dīkṣita who lived in the third quarter of the 16th century.[1]

(2)

Jagannātha describes himself as son of Peru[2] (or Perama[3]) Bhaṭṭa and Lakṣmī. He was, like Appayya, a South Indian writer, being a native of Tailaṅga[4] (Telugu country), and belonged to the Veṅgināḍu, Vegināṭi or Vegināḍa family of Brahmans[5]. His father was reputed for his learning, having been, as Jagannātha himself tells us,[6] taught the Vedānta by Jñānendra-bhikṣu, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika by Mahendra Paṇḍita, the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā by Khaṇḍadeva and the *Mahābhāṣya* by Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Our author learnt these subjects from his father, and also from one of his father's teachers, Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Very little is known of his personal history, although curious tales about his fondness for a Muhammadan woman, named Lavaṅgī, and his death by plunging into the sacred river Ganges have gathered round his name.[7] Jagannātha was also the author of several

1 On Jagannātha see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (reprinted from *Journal of Annamalai Univ.* iii-iv) and Aryendra Sarma in the work cited above. Ramaswami Sastri gives Jagannātha's date as 1590-1665.

2 *Rasa-gaṅg°* i. 3.

3 concluding verse to his *Prāṇābharaṇa*.

4 *Prāṇābharaṇa śl.* 52.

5 colophon to *Bhāminī-vilāsa*.

6 *Rasa-gaṅg°* i. 2.

7 P. K. Gode, in *Studies in Ind. Lit. History* ii, 1954, pp. 452-59, finds the earliest mention of the tradition in a MS dated 1843 A.D. But Acyuta Rāya, whose *Sāhitya-sāra* is dated in 1831 A.D., discusses in his commentary on the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* (ed. NSP, Bombay 1933) the autobiographical significance of the lyrics in that work and of verses like *yavanī navanīta-komalāṅgī* often attributed to Jagannātha. See also L. R. Vaidya in the introd. to his ed. of the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*. For a full discussion of the Lavaṅgī episode see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21 ; P. K. Gode in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* iv, 1942, 57-62 and in *Rājasthāna Bhāratī* (Bikaner) ii, 1948, pp. 45-49. Aryendra Sarma assumes the Lavaṅgī verses (given on p. 190, nos. 582-88) to be genuine.

poetical works,[1] besides writing the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, the latest yet not the least important work on Poetics, and the *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*. He also wrote a grammatical work, directed against Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's famous commentary *Manoramā*, and called it *Manoramā-kuca-mardana*.

Both the rhetorical works of Jagannātha have been obtained incomplete. The printed editions of the text of the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* go up to the treatment of *uttarālaṃkāra* and break off with an incomplete verse ; and so do most MSS noticed in the various reports and catalogues. Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa's commentary also ends with the same section. In conformity to a pun in the word *gaṅgādhara* in the title, the work was apparently planned to consist of five heads (*ānana*) or chapters, of which we have got only one complete and another incomplete chapter[2]. The topics covered by the

1 Some of these have been published by the N.S.P. For a list, see introd. to Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅg°* (N. S. P. ed.) ; Aufrecht i. 196b ; Kāvyamāla Gucchaka i, p. 79 ; and Aryendra Sarma in the work cited. These are: (1) Amṛta-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (2) Āsapha-vilāsa, praise of Asaf Khan (in Aryendra Sarma, *op. cit.*) (3) Karuṇā-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (4) Gaṅgā-laharī or Pīyūṣa-laharī (ed. N. S. P. Bombay 1930) (5) Jagadābharaṇa, praise of Jagatsiṃha of Udaipur (6) Prāṇābharaṇa, praise of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa (Km Gucchaka ii ; 51 verses in different metres) (7) Bhāminī-vilāsa (in four Samullāsas on Anyokti, Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa and Śānti, ed. NSP 1894) (8) Manoramā-kuca-mardana, directed against Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's *Manoramā* (9) Yamunāvarṇana-campū (quoted in *Rasa-g*. pp. 19, 128) (10) Lakṣmī-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (11) Sudhā-laharī (Km. Gucchaka i). Of these nos. 3, 6 and 11 are quoted in the *Rasa-gaṅgā°*, e.g. *śl* 60=p. 36 ; *śl* 4=p. 56 ; *śl* 1=p. 20 ; as also *Gaṅgā-laharī* p. 243 (*samṛddhaṃ saubhāgyam*), 491 (*samutpattiḥ*) ; *Bhāminī-vilāsa* p. 402 (*digante śrūyante*), 403 (*pura-sarasi*). The Pañca-laharyaḥ (five laharīs) are mentioned at p. 109.

2 It cannot be determined whether the work was completed ; but it was certainly composed before Jagannātha wrote his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, the second verse of which refers to the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*. In *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, however, a reference is made to Udāharaṇālaṃkāra-prakaraṇa of *Rasa-g*. (*viśeṣas tu udāharaṇālaṃkāra-prakaraṇe rasa-gaṅgādharād avaseyaḥ*, p. 12), but this Prakaraṇa is not found in the extant text of *Rasa-g*.

first Ānana are : definition of Kāvya, its four varieties Uttamottama, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama ; Rasa and Bhāvas ; Guṇas, whether three or ten. In the second Ānana we have divisions of Dhvani, with a discussion of Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā, after which comes treatment of Upamā and other poetic figures, enumerated as 70 ; but it is incomplete. The work is written in the form of Sūtra and Vṛtti. The *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, directed against Appayya's work of that name, also goes as far as the *apahnuti*-section and does not deal with *utprekṣā* and *atiśaya* which are found in some MSS of the *Citra-mīmāṃsā*. There is a reference to a matter to be dealt with in the Nidarśanālaṃkāra-prakaraṇa (p. 101: *adhikaṃ tu nidarśanālaṃkāra-prakaraṇe cintayiṣyate*) which Jagannātha obviously contemplated writing.

(3)

Of comparatively recent writers, Jagannātha, besides citing Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Jayaratha extensively, refers to and quotes Vidyādhara (p. 254), Vidyānātha (p. 162), Viśvanātha (and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 7) and Appayya, and refers very often to the *navyāḥ* (pp. 25, 149, 240, 313, 429, 478). The scathing criticism which he levels against Appayya as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha was, no doubt, prompted by the zeal of eclipsing the fame of another South Indian writer in the same field. Jagannātha also cites Śrīvatsalāñchana (p. 39), apparently the commentator on Mammaṭa, an unknown Alaṃkāra-bhāṣyakāra (pp. 239, 365 ; also referred to by Jayaratha), and Ratnākara (pp. 202, 207, 209, 211, 221, 225, 281, 313, 480, 492 etc.) which last name is also cited by Appayya. Jagannātha also refers to a work called *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* (pp. 163, 165). An anonymous *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* is mentioned in Burnell 54a ; but Bühler[1] describes a work of that name by Śobhākaramitra, son of Trayīśvaramitra. Peterson informs us[2] that

1 *Kashmir Rep.* App. ii no. 228, p. cxxviii.

2 *Rep.* i p. 12. Bühler (*Report* 1877) mentions a small work called

the Kashmirian poet Yaśaskara extracted some *sūtras* on Alaṃkāra[1] from a work called *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* by Śobhākaramitra, and illustrated them in his *Devī-stotra* by composing verses in praise of Devī, as the opening words of the latter work themselves show[2]. The work of Yaśaskara in Stein is for this reason called *Alaṃkarodāharaṇa-saṃnibaddha Devī-stotra.*[3] The *Ratnākara* of Jagannātha undoubtedly refers to this *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra ; for the citation from Ratnākara at p. 202=*sūtra* 11 (as given in Peterson i p. 78).[4] Jayaratha criticises (pp. 41, 52) the Kashmirian Śobhākara who deviates from Ruyyaka. Jagannātha says (p. 281) that Appayya Dīkṣita follows *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara*.

(4)

Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa

The commentator on the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* is Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, whose name we have already mentioned as a commentator on Mammaṭa, Govinda Ṭhakkura, Bhānudatta

Dhvani-gāthā-pañjikā which contains explanations of Prakrit verses, apparently of the *Dhvanyāloka* ; but there is no evidence (except the epithet Kāśmīrakācārya in the colophon) to show that he was the same as the Kashmirian Ratnākara, author of the poem *Hara-vijaya*. BORI MS no. 182, *Cat.* xii, p 207.

1 These are given in Peterson, *op. cit.* App. pp. 77-81.

2 *ratnākarābhyantarato gṛhītvālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇi yathākrameṇa | bandīva devyā girirāja-putryāḥ karomi śaṃsan śruti-gocarāṇi.* The commentary on this verse explains: *śrī-trayīśvara-mitrātmaja-śrī-śobhākaramitra-viracite'laṃkāra-ratnākare'laṃkāra-sūtrāṇi.* The colophon to Bühler's MS of the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* reads *trayīśvara-mantra-putrasya* as a description of Śobhākaramitra, in which the word *mantra* is obviously a mistake for *mitra*. Stein's Jammu MS 58 reads Śobhākaramitra as the name of the author (cf. also *WBod* 1162).

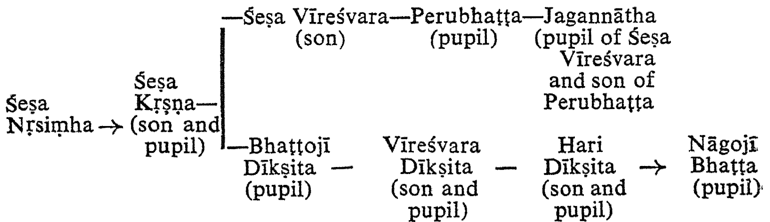
3 The original is also called *Alaṃkāra-ratnodāharaṇa* and the author Śobhākareśvara. See also Mitra 1822 ; Hultzsch's *Eine Sammlung ind. Handschriften* 170.

4 The work has been recovered and edited by C. R. Devadhar, Poona 1942. See under Minor Writers below. Jagannātha refers to *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* in as many as eleven different places (see C. R. Devadhar in *Proc. A-I. O.C*, Lucknow 1955, pp. 60-65).

and Appayya. He was a Mahratta Brahman (with the surname Kāla or Kāle), son of Śiva Bhaṭṭa and Satī. He lived in Benares and was patronised by Rāmasiṃha of Śṛṅgavera-pura (near Allahabad). He is one of the latter-day grammarians, who composed a number of works and commentaries on grammar, poetics and philosophy. He was a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita, who was the son of of Vīreśvara Dīkṣita and great-grandson of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. Bhaṭṭojī is known as a pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa,[1] whose son Śeṣa Vīreśvara was, as we have noted, a teacher of Jagannātha himself. Nāgojī was, thus, separated from Jagannātha roughly by two generations, and flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. The India office MS of his commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* is dated in Māgha Saṃvat 1769=Feb. 1713 A.D.[2] Nāgojī was the teacher of Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, and of Gaṅgārāma, the great-grandfather of Maṇirāma (1802 A.D.).[3]

Nāgojī wrote the following commentaries on various works on Poetics: (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* on Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*. (2) *Bṛhat* and *Laghu Uddyota* on Govinda's *Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa. (3) *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā* or °*Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa. (4) *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* and *Viṣamapada-vyākhyāna Ṣaṭpadānanda* on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*. (5) *Prakāśa* on

1 author of the *Pada-candrikā* and *Prakriyā-prakāśa*, and son and pupil of Śeṣa Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha. For the Śeṣa family of Benares see *IA*, 1912, p. 245f.—Nāgojī's relation to Jagannātha is illustrated thus:



2 *IOC* iii, p. 355 ; cf. Belvalkar's *Systems of Skt. Grammar*, p. 49.

3 Maṇirāma wrote a comm. on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa* in 1802 A.D. See *IOC* vii, p. 1526.

Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*. (6) A commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*.

The relative chronology of some works of Nāgojī is fixed by P. K. Gode (*Oriental Thought* i, no. 2, 1955, pp. 45-52) between *circa* 1670 and 1750 A.D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rasa-gaṅgādhara

Editions. (1) Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab (with Nāgojī's comm.), NSP, Bombay 1888, 1913, 3rd ed. 1916, 6th ed. 1947 (2) Ed. Gangadhar Sastri (with Nāgojī's comm.), Benares Skt. Series 1885-1903. Our references are to the NSP ed. of 1916.

Commentaries. (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* by Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. Printed in NSP and Benares ed. as noted above. (2) *Viṣamapadī*. Anonymous. Aufrecht i. 494b.

Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana

Edition. Ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, with *Citra-mīmāṃsā*, NSP, Bombay 1893, 1907.

CHAPTER IX

LATER WRITERS ON RASA AND KAVI-SIKṢĀ

WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

ŚĀRADĀTANAYA

Śāradātanaya, author of the *Bhāva-prakāśa*, °*prakāśikā* or °*prakāśana*, appears to have been a popular writer on the Rasas and Bhāvas, who is quoted extensively by Kumārasvāmin,[1] and in the *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana,[2] as well as by commentators like Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Raṅganātha[3] and Vāsudeva.[4] He is described as son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, and great-grandson of Lakṣmaṇa of Kāśyapa-gotra who is said to have been a resident of Māṭarapūjya village in the Merūttara country of the Āryāvarta, and to have written a commentary on the Vedas, called the *Veda-bhūṣaṇa*. Our author was so named, because he was considered to have been born by the grace of Śāradā, worshipped in Benares. He learnt Nāṭya-śāstra from Divākara, and says that he is following Abhinavaguptācārya ; but his work in some parts is in reality a condensed epitome chiefly of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, which it cites and practically summarises. This fact will place Śāradātanaya chronologically later than Bhoja ; and the citation of the *Bhāva-prakāśa* by Siṅga-bhūpāla (pp. 20, 139, 169, 202 etc.) will fix its other terminus at 1330 A.D. We may, therefore, assign our author roughly to the period between 1100 and 1300 A.D.

Śāradātanaya cites Agastya (p. 2), Kohala, Mātṛgupta Subandhu and Āñjaneya (p. 251) as authorities on the dramatic

1 pp. 12, 15, 44, 68, 102, 106, 118, 121, 127, 129, 139, 143, 145, 219, 223 etc.

2 e g. on I. 3. 30.

3 on *Vikramo°*, ed. N. S. P. 1885, p. 10.

4 on *Karpūra-mañj°* ed. N.S.P. 1900, pp. 5, 7, etc.

art. The work consists of ten *adhikāras* as follows: 1 and 2. Bhāva. 3. Avāntara-bhāvabheda-svarūpa. 4. Śṛṅgārālambana-nāyakādi-svarūpa. 5. Nāyaka-bhedāvastha-rasa-bhāva-vikāra. 6. Śabdārtha-sambandha-bheda-prakāra. 7. Nāṭyetivṛttādi-lakṣaṇa. 8. Daśa-rūpaka-lakṣaṇa. 9. Nṛtyabheda-svarūpa-lakṣaṇa. 10. Nāṭya-prayoga-bheda-prakāra.

The *Kavi-kalpalatā* cited in this work (pp. 131, 175) is different from works of the same name of Arisiṃha and Deveśvara; for our author believes that the *Kāvya-prakāśa* borrowed from it. For quotations in Śāradātanaya's work see *Adyar Library Bulletin* xix, 1-2, pp. 47-51.

Ed. Yadugiri Yatiraj of Melkote and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in Gaekwad's Orient. Series 1930.

(2)

ŚIṄGA-BHŪPĀLA

Śiṅga-bhūpāla, whose name is also given as Śiṅga-dharaṇīśa, Śiṅga-rāja or Śiṅga-mahīpati has been identified by Sesagiri Sastri with Śiṅgama Nāyaḍu, rājā of Veṅkaṭagiri who ruled, on the authority of a biographical sketch of the Rājās of Veṅkaṭagiri, about 1330 A.D.[1] This date is probable, as Mallinātha (on *Kumāra* i. 25, *iti bhūpālaḥ=Rāsārṇava* i. 181), as well as Kumārasvāmin, quotes our author. The introductory verses of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, attributed to this South Indian prince, show that he belonged to the Recarla dynasty, and ruled over the country lying between the Vindhyas and Śrīśaila, of which Rājācalam (Rācakoṇḍa) was the hereditary capital. He was the son of Ananta (or Anapota)

1 For detaills see *ŚgŚ* i, pp. 7-11; also introd. to Trivandrum ed. of the *Rasārṇava°*. M. T. Narasimha Aiyangar (ed. *Subhāṣita-nīvī*, Vanivilasa Press, Srirangam 1908) states that Śiṅgama Nāyaḍu, our author, was a contemporary of Prauḍha Devarāja of Vijayanagar (1422-1477 A.D.); but P. R. Bhandarkar in his Note on Śiṅga-bhūpāla (in *Proc. First Orient. Conf.* Poona, ii, 1916, p. 425) doubts the correctness of this date. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar would assign the period between 1340 and 1360 A. D. (*Proc. A-I.O.C.*, Mysore 1937, pp. 264-73).

and Annamāmbā, while his grandfather and great-grandfather were respectively named Siṅga-prabhu (or Siṅgama Nāyaka) and Yācama Nāyaka. Our author was, like Hemacandra, called *sarvajña* on account of his great knowledge, and was a patron of letters[1].

The *Rasārṇava*° appears to be mainly based on previous works like Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (Bhoja cited 57, 69, 149, 168, 190) and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana* (cited pp. 139, 169, 202), although it draws directly on Bharata, Rudrabhaṭṭa (cited pp. 29, 30, 87), the *Daśa-rūpaka* and other authors and works on Rasa and Dramaturgy. The author Siṅga-bhūpāla is in the third person throughout the work. We have a large number of dramas actually quoted or cited for illustration, among which may be noted: *Prabodha-candrodaya* (pp. 265, 291), *Anargha-rāghava* (72, 83, 261, 266, 274), *Prasanna-rāghava* (pp. 258, 277), *Dhanañjaya-vijaya-vyāyoga*[2] (p. 287), *Abhirāma-rāghava*[3] (*anapotanāyakīya* pp. 119, 243, 265, 273, 275), *Mādhavī-vīthikā* (p. 290), *Māyākuraṅgikā-īhāmṛga* (p. 298), *Padmāvatī* (p. 263, 266), *Kāma-datta*[4] (p. 285), *Rāmānanda* (pp. 248, 255, 269), *Karuṇākandala-aṅka* (pp. 163, 197, 198, 286), *Vīrabhadra-vijṛmbhaṇa-ḍima* (pp. 272, 274, 276, 278, 298), *Maheśvarānanda* (p. 275), *Ānandakośa-prahasana* pp. 40, 41, 278, 291, 297), *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-bhāṇa*[5] (p. 288),

1 *SgS* loc. cit. 9.—For Viśveśvara Kavicandra's *Camatkāra-candrikā* panegyrising Siṅga-bhūpāla who is called here *sarvajña*, see under Minor Writers below.

2 By Kāñcana, son of Nārāyaṇa, in Aufrecht i. 266b (ed. Kāvya-mālā 54, 1895).

3 A drama of this name was written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A.D. (Lévi 268).

4 This little known work is also alluded to in the *Padmaprābhṛtaka-bhāṇa* (ed. Madras 1922), ascribed to Śūdraka. According to the editors of this Bhāṇa (Pref. p. iv), the *Kāma-datta* was a *prakaraṇa* composed by Śūdraka himself. This Bhāṇa is quoted anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 198, l. 12).

5 A *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-bhāṇa* by Gopālarāya, son of Jakkula Veṅk-ṭendra and Vīramāmbā, is mentioned in Hultzsch i, extract p. 77 (no. 385), p. x.

Payodhimathana-samavakāra (p. 290), *Kandarpa-sarvasva* by himself (p. 151), and *Vīrānanda* (pp. 159, 160).

The *Rasārṇava* in three Vilāsas comprehends, with profuse illustrations, practically all the topics of Dramaturgy and Rasa. The topics, in brief, are as follow: Vilāsa I. Nāṭya-lakṣaṇa and Rasa-lakṣaṇa ; qualities and classification of the Nāyaka ; his assistants in love affairs : the qualities and classification of the Nāyikā ; incidental treatment of three Rītis (Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī), four dramatic Vṛttis (Sāttvatī, Kauśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Bhāratī), Pravṛttis and Sāttvika Bhāvas. II. Detailed treatment of 33 vyabhicāri- and 8 sthāyi-bhāvas ; aspects of Rati ; other Rasas besides Śṛṅ-gāra ; opposition and commixture (Saṃkara) of Rasas ; Rasābhāsa. III. Different kinds of Rūpaka and its subject-matter ; five Artha-prakṛtis ; Patākā-sthānaka ; five Avasthās; five Saṃdhis with all their Aṅgas treated in detail ; Bhūṣaṇas ; Nāṭaka as the principal Rūpaka ; other types of Rūpaka ; languages to be employed ; naming of different characters. The printed text in the Trivandrum Skt. Series covers more than 300 pages.

Siṅga-bhūpāla appears to have written a *Nāṭaka-pari-bhāṣā*[1], which topic is also treated briefly at the end of his *Rasārṇava*. Śiṅga-bhūpāla also wrote a work entitled *Saṃgīta-sudhākara* (ed. Kalivara Vedantavagisa and S. P. Ghosh, New Arya Press, Calcutta 1879) which appears to be a commentary on the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva.

Editions. (1) by Sarasvatisesa Sastri, Venkatagiri 1895. (2) by T. Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sansk. Series, 1916.

(3)

BHĀNUDATTA

Bhānudatta[2] is notable for his two popular works on the subject of Nāyaka-nāyikā and the Rasas, called the *Rasa-*

1 It is a small work of 289 verses. See *India Office Cat.* vol. ii (Keith and Thomas), no. 5248, p. 346.

2 The form Bhānukara of this name is given by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi's

mañjarī and the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. In the latter work, the author excuses himself[1] from giving further details about a certain point because, he says, they are already given in his *Rasa-mañjarī* which was, therefore, the earlier composition. Besides some verses from Bharata and Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* and a verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*[2], Bhānudatta cites a work called the *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*[3], which may or may not be the same work as quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mammaṭa[4]. In the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, Bhānudatta refers to Pūrvācāryāḥ, Pūrva-granthakāra-sammati and Prācīna-sammati. These citations, however, give us no clue to his exact date.

A lyrical poem, called the *Gīta-gaurīśa* or *Gīta-gaurīpati* in ten cantos, published in the Granthamālā 1887-88, also professes to have been composed by Bhānudatta, who is probably identical with our author[5]. As indicated by their respective writings, both the authors are Śaivas, and both possess poetical pretensions. Our Bhānudatta gives the name of his father as Gaṇeśvara[6], Gaṇapatinātha[7] or

°*Parimala*, Gopāla's °*Vikāsa* and Raṅgaśāyin's °*Āmoda* commentaries. The title *miśra* is also appended sometimes to the name.

1 *bahavo bhedāś ca rasa-mañjaryāṃ viśeṣato darśitāḥ, iha punar vistara-bhiyā na pradarśyanta iti*, ed. Granthamālā, p. 35 ; ed. Regnaud, p. 57, l. 32.

2 The verse *anaucityād ṛte* in *Dhva*° p. 145 is cited with the remark *tatra prācīna-granthakṛtaḥ*, implying that Bhānu was much younger than Ānandavardhana, in whose Vṛtti the verse occurs.

3 In *Rasa-taraṅg*° ed. Granthamālā *ad* i. 31 ; ed. Regnaud, p. 44, l. 32.

4 Peterson ii, 17. An incomplete MS of a work called by this name is entered in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533, where the name of the author is given as Allarāja, which occurs as Mallarāja in Bühler *Rep.* 1874-75, no. 19, p. 16. See ch. on Minor Writers below under Allarāja.

5 Aufrecht apparently distinguished the two authors at first by separate entries under their name (i. 405), but later on (i. 793) he states that the author of the lyric "is most likely identical with the writer of the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*." (MS described in *IOC* vii, pp. 1443-45).

6 *Rasa-mañj*°. 168.

7 *Rasa-taraṅg*°. ed. Regnaud p. 66, col.; also Weber 824.

Gaṇanātha[1], while the author of the poem describes himself as the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha[2]. There are also a few verses in the two works of our Bhānudatta which occur in the poem. Thus the *maṅgala*-verse of the *Rasa-mañjarī* (*ātmīyaṃ caraṇam*)=*Gīta-gaurīśa* ii, p. 90; *akaroḥ kimu netra°* in *Rasa-mañjarī* 51=*Gīta-gaurīśa* ii, p. 14; *prāṇeśasya prabhavati* in *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* iv, p. 40 ed. Granthamālā=*Gīta-gaurīśa* ii, p. 77. As the *Gīta-gaurīśa* is not a mere compilation in which we may expect verses from other writers, the presence of verses in it from the two works of Bhānudatta can be reasonably explained by a presumption of common authorship of the three works.

The *Gīta-gaurīśa* appears to have been modelled on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* which, like Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*, gave birth to numerous imitations in later times.[3] Even a cursory examination of these two works will show the close connexion between them; and it is remarkable that not only the general scheme, but even the verses in some chapters of Bhānudatta's poem correspond in metre with those of Jayadeva's. Thus:

Jayadeva

pralaya-payodhi-jale dhṛtavān asi vedam
vihita-vahitra-caritram akhedam
keśava dhṛta-mīna-śarīra, jaya jagadīśa hare

and Bhānudatta

bhramsi jagati sakale pratilavam aviśeṣam

1 In MSS of *Rasa-taraṅg°* noticed in *ALeip* 835, Weber 1726.

2 *kavi-gaṇanātha-sutasya kaver iti vacanaṃ tri-jagati dhanyam*, ii, p. 50; *kṛta-hara-vinayo gaṇapati-tanayo nigadati hita-kāraṇam* ii, p. 58.

3 e.g. the *Gīta-gaṅgādhara* by Kālyaṇa, the *Gīta-girīśa* by Rāma, the *Gīta-digambara* by Vaṃśamaṇi (*HPS* i. 18), the *Gīta-rāghava* by Prabhākara, son of Bhūdhara, dated Saṃvat 1674 (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83 p. 9). A *Gīta-rāghava* by Hariśaṃkara is mentioned in *HPS* ii, no. 53. See also *Rāma-gīta-govinda* (*IOC* vii, p. 1480) characterised by Eggeling as "a weak imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*" but attributed to Jayadeva. Eggeling quotes from Garcin de Tassy about such passing off of imitations of *Gīta-govinda* for that of Jayadeva. Cf. Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* p. 23.

śamayitum iva jana-khedam aśeṣam
purahara kṛta-māruta-veśa, jaya bhuvanādhipate.

Again, Jayadeva

nibhṛta-nikuñja-gṛhaṃ gatayā niśi rahasi nilīya vasantam
cakita-vilokita-sakala-diśā rati-rabhasa-rasena hasantam
sakhi he keśi-mathanam udāram
ramaya mayā saha madana-manoratha-bhavitayā savikāram

and Bhānudatta

abhinava-yauvana-bhūṣitayā dara-taralita-locana-tāram
kiṃcid-udañcita-vihasitayā calad-avirala-pulaka-vikāram
sakhi he śaṃkaram udita-vilāsam
saha saṃgamaya mayā natayā rati-kautuka-darśita-hāsam.

These two extracts, taken at random, will show how close the imitation is. We may presume reasonably from this that Bhānudatta's work was written some time after Jayadeva's lyric had achieved sufficient literary reputation to be thus imitated. Whether we place Jayadeva in the first or second half of the 12th century, Bhānudatta cannot be put earlier than that century, and this conclusion gives us one terminus to his date.

The other terminus is furnished by the date of one of the commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī*, called the *Rasamañjarī-vikāsa* (or *-vilāsa*) by Gopāla (*alias* Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṃha, which is expressly dated in 1572 A. D.[1] In the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, which was

1 Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 63, corrected at p. 421, also p. 273. As to the date of this commentary and the era used, see below Bibliography.—Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, quotes (p. 280) the authority of a work called *Rasa-mañjarī* to show that *viraha-*

compiled about 1363 A.D., several verses are cited under the names of Bhānu-paṇḍita and Vaidya Bhānu-paṇḍita (790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328, 3685), none of which, however, can be traced in the known works of our author. Jahlaṇa, whose anthology (ed. GOS, Baroda 1938) was compiled about the middle of the 13th century, also quotes and ascribes to Bhānu-paṇḍita and Vaidya Bhānu-paṇḍita as many as 36 verses, which are similarly untraceable, but three of which are found under the same citation in the *Paddhati* (790=p 68, 973=p. 107, and 3328=p. 183). It may, however, be presumed that the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī* was not unknown at this period, and that in the anthologies the epithets *vaidya* and *paṇḍita* were annexed to an earlier or later Bhānu in order to distinguish him from our author, whose namesake he was[1].

A closer approximation of Bhānudatta's date is possible if any inference is permissible from the mention of Nijāma-dharaṇīpāla in the *Rasa-mañjarī*. It is suggested[2] that the Nizam referred to as ruler of Davagiri by Ananta Paṇḍita's commentary is Ahmad Nizam Shah, who obtained possession of Daulatabad (Devagiri) sometime between 1499 and 1507 A.D. and founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Dekkan. P. V. Kane brings in fresh evidence by pointing out (*HSP*, p. 296-

vipralaṃbha is also termed *praṇaya-māna*. It is not clear whether the reference is to Bhānudatta, for the dictum cannot be traced in his *Rasa-mañjarī*.

1 In the *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* of Govindaji (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1887-91, p. lxiii) we have selections from the poems of Bhānukara and Bhānu-paṇḍita, by which obviously a distinction, is meant between the two poets.—Har Datta Sarma (*ABORI*, xvii, 1936, pp. 243-58), relying chiefly on the ascription of a large number of Bhānudatta's verses to poet Bhānukara by some late anthologies, suggests their identity, which is very doubtful. See on this question G. V. Devasthali in *NIA*, vii, 1944, pp. 111-17 ; P. K. Gode in *Ind. Culture* iii. pp. 751-56 and S. K. De, *Some Problems*, p. 147.

2 S. K. De in *Some Problems*, p. 144-45. But Ramnath Jha (*Journal of Patna Univ.* iii, no. 1-2) thinks that the Nizam is the second ruler of the dynasty, and Kṛṣṇa (so interpreted also by Ananta Paṇḍita) is Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1530).

97) that Bhānudatta married a sister of the Smṛti-writer Misaru Miśra, author of *Vivādacandra*, who flourished in the middle of the 15th century. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to assign Bhānudatta to a period between 1450 and 1500 A.D.

In the last verse of the *Rasa-mañjarī*, Bhānudatta's native country is given as Videha (*videhabhūḥ*)[1] or Mithila, which agrees with Burnell's description of Bhānudatta as a native of Mithila. As a Maithili writer, it is not surpising that he was acquainted with the Gauḍīya Jayadeva's well-known lyric, and tried to emulate it with a similar work on Śiva and Gaurī. In another work called *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*[2] attributed to Bhānudatta, the author is called the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha (obviously the same as our author), and his pedigree is given thus: Ratneśvara→ Sureśvara (author of a *Śārīraka-bhāṣya-vārttika*)→ Viśvanātha→ Ravinātha→ Bhavanātha→ Mahādeva→ Gaṇapati→ Bhānudatta. Gaṇapati appears to have been a poet whose verses are quoted by Bhānudatta himself in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. A poet Gaṇapati is praised, in a verse ascribed to one Rājaśekhara in Jahlaṇa's anthology (p. 45), as the author of a work called *Mahāmoda*. An *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* in five chapters and a *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* are also attributed to our Bhānudatta.

The *Sṛṅgāra-dīpikā* is not available, but the *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* has been published[3]. It is written in mixed prose and verse and cover the usual topics of Sanskrit Poetics. The first Pariccheda speaks of Kāvya, of which Rasa is declared

1 In Madras ed. of 1872, as well as in the MSS noticed by Aufrecht (*Bod. Cat.* 213b) and Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84 p. 12), the reading *vidarbhabhūḥ* is a mislection ; for the author represents the river Ganges as flowing through his country, which is true of Videha and not of Vidarbha. Cf. Weber ii no. 1726. The title *miśra*, often appended to Bhānudatta's name, would indicate that he was a Maithili Brahman, and that he was probably *not* a *Vaidya*.

2 The work is in 12 Ucchvāsas in mixed prose and verse. See *IOC* vii p. 1540, where the genealogical verses are quoted in full.

3 By G. V. Devasthali in *JBRAS* (New Series), xxiii-xxv (1947-49).

to be the soul, and deals with its three varieties, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. It then goes on to six Rītis and four Vṛttis (Kaiśikī etc.). The second and third Paricchedas are devoted respectively to Doṣa and Guṇa, in the treatment of which the work closely follows Bhoja. The fourth and fifth Paricchedas deal with Alaṃkāras of Śabda and Artha respectively, enumerated as 77. A work of the author's called *Citra-candrikā* is cited.

The *Rasa-mañjarī* is a much smaller work which deals generally, with illustrations, the topics of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, their adjuncts and excellences, the two varieties of Śṛṅgāra, and ten stages of Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra. The *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, divided into eight Taraṅgas, deals more elaborately with Rasas, with a detailed treatment of Śṛṅgāra. The chapter-arrangement of topics is as follows: (i) Sthāyi-bhāva (ii) Vibhāva (iii) Anubhāva (iv) Sāttvika-bhāva (v) Vyabhicāri-bhāva (vi) Śṛṅgāra Rasa (vii) Other Rasas (viii) Three kinds of Dṛṣṭi in relation to Sthāyi-bhāva, etc.

The commentaries on the two works of Bhānudatta, as detailed below, are numerous. Of these, the *Naukā* on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi, and the *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* and *°Prakāśa* on *Rasa-mañjarī* by Ananta-paṇḍita and Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa respectively have been published.

Bhānudatta also appears to have compiled an anthology called *Rasa-pārijāta* (printed by Matilal Banarsidas, Lahore 1939).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rasa-mañjarī

Editions. (1) In Kāvya-saṃgraha of Jīvānanda Vidyasagar, 2nd. ed. Calcutta 1886. (2) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga, with Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī of Ananta Paṇḍita and °Prakāśa of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, Benares Skt. Series, 1904. (3) ed. Venkatarama Sastri in Telugu characters, Madras 1909. (4) In *Grantha-ratna-mālā* vol. 1. Our references are to the Benares ed.

Commentaries. (1) *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Ananta Paṇḍita, son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita (Timaji) and grandson of

Bālo Paṇḍita, and great-grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha Paṇḍita. His native place was Puṇyastambha (Puntambem in Ahmednagar) on the Godāvarī. The comm. was written at Benares in Saṃvat 1692=1636 A. D. at the request of Candrabhānu, son of Vīrasenadeva and grandson of Madhukara. The date of composition is specified in the concluding verse which is given in the India Office MS (Eggeling, *IOC* iii, p. 356), but omitted in the printed text. Ed. as above. Ananta also wrote a *Mudrārākṣasa-pūrvapīṭhikā* (Mitra 1654), and a commentary on *Govardhana-saptaśatī* in 1645 A.D. (ed. N.S.P. Bombay, 1886).

(2) °*Prakāśa* by Nāgojī or Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, for whom see under Jagannātha. Ed. as above. *IOC*, iii, no. 1222/2602 ; *BORI Cat.* xii, nos. 223-25, p. 258f.

(3) °*Parimala* by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha and younger brother of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. Extract in Mitra 3115, vol. ix p. 194, and Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 365. The MS in Mitra appears to have been copied in Saṃvat 1609 (=1552-53 A.D.) ; but the MS in Bhandarkar bears no date. There are six MSS of this comm. in *BORI Cat.* xii, nos. 217-222 ; see also *IOC* iii, nos. 1226-27, p. 357. Cintāmaṇi also wrote several other works including one on Prosody called *Chandaḥ-prakāśa* (Aufrecht 189a).

(4) °*Vikāsa* (or °*Vilāsa*) by Gopāla Ācārya, *alias* Vopadeva of Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of Nṛsiṃha and grandson of Gopāla of Jabala-grāma in the Mahārāṣṭra country, and pupil of Meṅganātha. He calls his author Bhānukara. The comm. is dated in Saṃvat 1484=1428 A. D. See *Jammu Cat.* no. 1221 (extract). Sridhara Bhandarkar however, points out (*Rep. of Second Tour* 1904-06, p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273), but he thinks that it is Śaka era, in which case the date of the commentary will be 1572 A. D. See P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35) pp. 145-47.

(5) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa

Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha Bhaṭṭa. He also wrote a comm. on Rudra's *Śṛṅg. til.* There is also a commentator of the same name on Mammaṭa. They may all be identical. See above pp. 95, 161. MSS: Aufrecht i. 495b, ii. 116a, iii. 106a; *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, nos. 226-30 (extracts). The commentary by Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa in *Oudh Cat.* xi. 10 is probably a mistake for this comm. of his son. For Gopāla's other works see Aufrecht i. 161.

(6) *Samañjasā* or *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhara, for whom see the chapter on Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i. 495b, ii. 116a, iii. 106a.

(7) °*Āmoda* by Raṅgaśāyin *alias* Gurujālaśāyin or Gurujāla Raṅgaśāyin, who is said to have studied under Mahādeśika of Vādhūla-gotra and under his own paternal uncle Anantācārya. He is described as son of Dharmācārya of Cilukamari family. He was a Śrīvaiṣṇava. V. Raghavan points out that Gurujāla is a village in Palnad Taluq in Guntur district; the author's real name was thus Raṅgaśāyin. Chilakamari is in the East Godavari district; this epithet attached to the names of his father and grandfather shows that this must have been their original home. Raṅgaśāyin frequently criticises *Parimala* which, as noted above, cannot be later than 1553 A. D. He quotes also *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya, as well as *Prauḍha-manoramā* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, whose literary activity belongs to the last quarter of the 16th century. Raṅgaśāyin, therefore, may be assigned to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D. Besides the *Āmoda* commentary he wrote a *Śṛṅgāra-laharī* which he himself quotes. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12941-42, (extracts).

(8) *Vyaṅgyārtha-dīpikā* by Ānanda Śarman, son of Tryambaka. Aufrecht i. 495a. ii. 116a.

(9) *Bhānu-bhāva-prakāśinī* by Mahādeva. *Tanjore Cat* ix, no. 5284, p. 4070.

(10) *Rasika-rañjana* by Vrajarāja Dīkṣita, son of Kāmarāja and father of Jīvarāja. *North Western Pov. Cat.*

1877-86, ii. 120. See below under Jīvarāja's comm. on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. Burnell wrongly enters *Rasika-rañjana* as a commentary by "the author of the text." It appears from *Madras Cat.* xx, Kāvya, p. 8008 that Vrajarāja wrote an independent poem, entitled *Rasika-rañjana*, in three Stabakas, describing feminine attractions and charms. Are the two works identical?

(11) *Rasamañjarī-sthūla-tātparyārtha*. *IOC* iii, 1230/543, p. 358.

Rasa-taraṅgiṇī

Editions. (1) with Naukā of Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi, in Puthi form, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1886 (2) in *Grantha-ratna-mālā* vol. i. 1887-88 (3) ed. Regnaud in his *Rhétorique Sanskrite*, Paris 1884 (text in Roman transliteration).

Commentaries. (1) °*Naukā* by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi or Jaḍin. *Madras Cat.* xxii 12930 (extract)-31. This commentary is dated in Saṃvat 1799=1742-43 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xiii, p. 186). Gaṅgārāma is also the author of an independent work called *Rasa-mīmāṃsa* (ed. with the author's Chāyā, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1885), in which he refers to his *Naukā*. He was son of Nārāyaṇa and pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha, and also wrote two works on logic, one of which is *Tarkāmṛta-caṣaka*; in it he gives the names of his father and preceptor (see Aufrecht i. 140). This is a comm. on the *Tarkāmṛta* of Jagadīśa. On Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi see G. V. Devasthali in *Journal of Univ. Bombay*, xi, pt. 2, 1942, pp. 84-88.

(2) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Veṇīdatta Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Vīreśvara and grandson of Lakṣmaṇa. From a corrupt verse giving the date Eggeling (*IOC*, no. 1216) surmises that the commentary was dated is 1553 A. D.; but G. V. Devasthali (*IA* v, 1942, p. 195f) shows that this early date cannot be accepted. In his opinion the work belongs to the beginning of the 18th century, about 1708 A. D. The author belonged to the Ahicchatra-dhara Kula,

and his genealogy is thus given: Mahīdhara (a Māntrika of Kāśīpati and author of *mantra-mahodadhi*)→Kalyāṇa→ Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara→Veṇīdatta. Veṇīdatta also wrote an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya*. See under Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i. 494b, ii. 115b, 220a, iii. 106a; *IOC* iii, no 1216/1703a p. 354 (extract); *Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12932.

(3) °*Setu* or °*Setu-bandha* by Jīvarāja, son of Vrajarāja Dīkṣita (see bibliography above under *Rasa-mañjarī*). MSS: Aufrecht i. 494b, ii. 220a, iii. 106a. The *Rasa-setu* in Aufrecht i. 494b is probably the same commentary. He was the great-grandson of Sāmarāja Dīkṣita (*q. v.* under Minor Writers), who lived in the latter part of the 17th century. He speaks of Gāṅgārāma's comm. *Naukā* with contempt (introd. verse 9). Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* no. 226.

(4) *Rasodadhi* by Gaṇeśa. MS dated 1698 A. D. Bühler, *Cat. Gujarat, Kathiawad* etc. 3. 54.

(5) *Rasodadhi* by Mahādeva. Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* 104.

(6) *Sāhitya-sudhā* or *Kāvya-sudhā* by Nemiśāha, son of Bhīmaśāha, described as *mahārājādhirāja*. Aufrecht i. 494b, iii. 106a. See *Cat. BORI M S* xii, pp. 234-35. P. K. Gode (*Cal. Orient. Journal.* i, pp. 217-20) would identify the author with Nemi Shah II of Jawhar line of chiefs in Bombay Presidency—about 1650 A D.

(7) *Nūtana-tarī* by Bhagavadbhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i. 494b.

(8) Comm. by Ayodhyāprasāda. Aufrecht i. 494b. The author also commented on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara*.

(9) Comm. by Dinakara. Aufrecht ii. 115b. Possibly this is the comm. ascribed to Nemiśāha, mentioned above, who was Dinakara's patron, as the nominal author.

Alaṃkāra-tilaka

Ed. G. V. Devasthali in *JBRAS*, New Series, xxiii pp. 57-82, xxiv-xxv pp. 92-120 (1947-49). The name of the author is given as Bhānukara in Burnell 54a and Bhau Daji Catalogue. The work is in five paricchedas (Peterson vi, App. p. 29).

Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā

Aufrecht i. 661a (=*Oudh Cat.* iii. 12).

(4)

Following upon these, we have innumerable works of a similar nature which take Rasa, especially Śṛṅgāra, as its principal theme, and which were composed apparently with the purpose of guiding the poet with rules and illustrations in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit literature. The most important of these works and their authors will be mentioned in the chapter on Minor Writers below.

Some Vaiṣṇava authors, like Rūpa Gosvāmin, however, attempt to bring Vaiṣṇava ideas to bear upon the general theme of poetic or dramatic Rasa. We shall, for convenience of treatment, take them in a group here.

RŪPA AND JĪVA GOSVĀMIN

Rūpa Gosvāmin, son of Kumāra and grandson of Mukunda, is the author of numerous Vaiṣṇava works, including the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, which give an analysis and exposition of Bhakti-rasa on the analogy of the orthodox Rasa, especially the Śṛṅgāra or Erotic. He is well known as a contemporary of Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, and must have, therefore, flourished towards the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. This date is confirmed by the dates which some of his works bear. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and *Vidagdha-mādhava* were composed respectively in 1495 and 1533 A.D.[1]; while his *Lalita-mādhava*, *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Utkalikā-vallarī* are dated respectively in 1537, 1541 and 1550 A.D. The most flourishing period of Rūpa's literary activity thus falls between 1533 and 1550 A.D., but it must have begun as early as 1495 A.D.

1 For information about these authors see S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1942.

The commentary *Lacana-rocanī* on *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* was composed by his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, son of his younger brother Vallabha (*alias* Anupama).[1] His *Mādhava-mahotsava* was composed in 1555 A.D. and his *Gopāla-campū* bears the dates 1589 and 1592 A.D.

Rūpa Gosvāmin also appears to have written a treatise on Dramaturgy called *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, which is quoted in the commentary on the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and in the *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī* on the *Bhāgavata*. At the commencement of this work, Rūpa Gosvāmin states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and *Rasa-sudhākara* (*Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla), and rejected generally (i. 2) the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. The topics dealt with in eight sections are: (1) general characteristics of a drama, (2) the hero (nāyaka), (3) the divisions of a Rūpaka (nāndī etc), (4) elements in the action (saṃdhi, patākā etc) and their classification, (5) arthopakṣepaka and its divisions (viṣkambhaka etc), (6) division of acts and scenes, (7) distribution of dialects (bhāṣā-vidhāna), (8) styles of dramatic composition (vṛtti) and their employment according to the Rasa intended. The work is not a small one, and the illustrations taken mostly from Vaiṣṇava works are fairly minute and numerous. In his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* Rūpa gives illustrative verses from most of his own poetical and dramatic productions, such as *Uddhava-dūta, Vidagdha-mādhava, Dānakeli-kaumudī* and other works[2]. A *Rasāmṛta-śeṣa* is also attributed to Rūpa.

1 On the question of date see S. K. De, *Padyāvalī* (ed. Dacca Univ. 1934) pp. li-liii. A list of Rūpa's works will be found on pp. xlix-l.

2 For a list of his works see also S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* pp. 113-118 ; also analysis of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* at pp. 126-167. This work may also be consulted for the novel application of the orthodox Rasa-theory to the doctrine of Bhakti and for an exposition of the erotic mysticism in these Vaiṣṇava works, which expresses religious longings in the language and imagery of earthly passion. The question is, therefore, not discussed here.

VIŚVANĀTHA CAKRAVARTIN

Viśvanātha Cakravartin, who wrote the commentary, called *Ānanda-candrikā* or *Ujjvala-nilamaṇī-kiraṇa*, lived at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century; for he composed a commentary called *Sārārtha-darśinī* on the *Bhāgavata* in Śaka 1626=1704 A.D., while his *Ānanda-candrikā* is also dated in Śaka 1618=1696 A.D. He also wrote, besides several Vaiṣṇava works, a commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra, mentioned below. He mentions a work called *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Nārayāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (ed. NSP, p. 25).

KAVIKARṆAPŪRA

Paramānanda-dāsa Sena Kavikarṇapūra described as the youngest son of Śivānanda Sena and pupil of Śrīnātha, wrote a work called *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*. The author was a well-known Vaiṣṇava of Bengal belonging to the Vaidya family, and wrote several Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava works, including a metrical life of Caitanya (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1884) and a drama on the same theme (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, ed. Bibl. Ind. 1854). His drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed in Śaka 1494 or 1501=1572 or 1579 A.D.[1], and his *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* was composed in 1576 A.D.[2] His father Śivānanda was an elder disciple of Caitanyadeva, who used to organise and lead the annual

1 The date is given in the verse: *śāke caturdaśa-śate ravi-vāji-yukte /, gauro harir dharaṇi-maṇḍala āvirāsīt / tasmin catur-navati-bhāji tadīya-līlā- / grantho'yam āvirabhavat katamasya vaktrāt*, which tells us that Gaurahari or Caitanya was born in Śaka 1407, and that the drama, which deals with him, was written in Śaka 1494 or 1501=1572 or 1579 A.D. See discussion about the date in *Vaiṣṇava Faith* mentioned above. Aufrecht is incorrect in stating that it was composed in 1543 A.D. (But see Sten Konow *Ind. Drama* p. 93, section 104). For the author and his works see S. K. De, *Padyāvalī* (ed. Dacca Univ. 1934), pp. 188-90 and *Vaiṣṇava Faith* and *Movement* pp. 32-34.

2 *HPS* ii p. 50, as well as *ALeip* 721, reads *śāke vasu-graha-mite* which gives 1576 or 1577 A.D. but *IOC* no. 2510 reads *śāke rasārasa-mite* which would give 1540 A.D.

exodus of Caitanya's followers to Puri from Bengal. Mitra in the introduction to his edition of the drama (p. vi) says that Kavikarṇapūra was born in 1524 A.D. at Kāñcanapallī (Kāñcḍāpāḍā) in Nadiya a few years before Caitanya's death. The *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* is composed in ten *kiraṇas*, as follow: 1 Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, 2 Śabdārtha, 3 Dhvani, 4 Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya, 5 Rasa-bhāva-tadbheda, 6 Guṇa, 7 Śabdālaṃkāra, 8 Arthālaṃkāra, 9 Rīti, 10 Doṣa[1]. It is thus a more comprehensive work than Rūpa Gosvāmin's and the Vaiṣṇavite proclivities are not so prominent; but most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and the subject-matter follows the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in treatment. The commentaries on this work are noticed below.

KAVICANDRA

Kavicandra describes himself[2] as a physician and as son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kauśalyā, grandson of Vidyāviśārada, and father of Kavibhūṣaṇa and Kavivallabha belonging to the Datta family of Dīrghāṅka-grāma. He wrote a *Cikitsā-ratnāvalī*[3] in Śaka 1583 (=1661 A.D.) where the same personal history is given. The date precludes his identification with the poet of the same name quoted in the anthology called *Padyāvalī*[4]. He wrote, among other works, a *Kāvya-candrikā* in 15 *prakāśas* dealing with (1) kāvya-lakṣaṇa, (2) śabda-śakti, (3) rasa, (4) bhāva, (5) rasa-bheda, (6) rasābhāsa, (7) kāvya-bheda, (8) pramāṇa-

1 For a detailed résumé of its contents see Mitra 1662.

2 *IOC*, iii, pp. 344-45; *ABod* pp. 211-12.

3 *IOC*, v, pp. 958-59. Aufrecht (ii. 166) mentions the date with a query, but the date appears to be correct.

4 See ed. S. K. De, Dacca Univ. 1934, nos. 162, 166, 188, 189, 190-191. See also *IOC* vii, p. 1534, at p. 1535. The verses quoted from Kavicandra's work in *ABod* 212a gives the same account of the author, and the colophon says: *iti dīrghāṅka-grāma-nivāsi-dattakulodbhava-vaidya-śrī-kavicandra-viracitāyām* etc. It is, therefore, not possible that Paramānanda Sena Kavikarṇapūra, author of the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, is identical with Kavikarṇapūra, father of Kavicandra.

nirūpaṇa, (9) rīti, (10) guṇa, (11) śabdālaṃkāra, (12) arthālaṃkāra, (13) doṣa, (14) kavitopāya, and (15) nāṭya[1]. He quotes, besides older authors, the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, *Rāmacandra-campū*, *Ratnāvalī-kāvya*, *Śānti-candrikā*, *Stavāvalī* and an author called Puruṣottama, as well as two of his own works called *Sāra-laharī* and *Dhātu-candrikā*. His date would be latter half of the 17th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi

Editions. (1) with Locana-rocanī of Jīva Gosvāmin, Murshidabad 1889, 1917 in Bengali characters (2) with the same and with the comm. *Ānanda-candrikā* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, ed. Kedarnath and V. L. Panshikar, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1913 (our references are to this edition).

Commentaries. (1) *Locana-rocanī* by Jīva Gosvāmin, the name often confused with that of Sanātana Gosvāmin in the Catalogues. Published with the text, as noted above. (2) *Ānanda-candrikā* (also °*Kiraṇa* which is a summary) by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i. 62a. Published in NSP ed. of the text, as noted above. The comm. °*Kiraṇa-leśa* in Mitra 580 (also in *SCC* vii. 5 ; Kathvate *Rep.* 1891-95, 318) is probably this commentary. (3) *Āgama-candrikā* and *Ātma-prabodhikā*. Aufrecht i. 62a. (4) An anonymous °*Ṭīkā* in *SCC* vii. 3.

Nāṭaka-candrikā

Edition. Rasavihari Samkhyatirtha, with a Bengali trans. (in Bengali characters), Kashimbazar 1907. MSS: Aufrecht i. 284b, ii. 61b, 207b. Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* 1061 and Mitra 3160 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12900.

Rasāmṛta-śeṣa

Aufrecht ii. 220b. Also called *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-śeṣa*. Ed.

1 Aufrecht's Bodleian MS contains eight *prakāśas* named after the first eight topics given here; but our enumeration follows the India Office MS. Cf. Regnaud p. 377.

Haridas Das, Haribole Kutir, Navadvipa 1941 in Bengali characters.

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha

Editions. With the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Murshidabad 1899, in Bengali characters. Also ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, with an anonymous comm. and a gloss, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, vol. i (ch. i-v), 1923 in Devanāgarī characters.

Commentaries. (1) *Sāra-bodhinī* by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht iii. 7b. Published with the text, as noted above. (2) *Ṭippaṇī* by Sārvabhauma, pupil of Cakravartin, Dacca Univ. MS nos. 2363, 2394, 3471. (3) °*Dīdhiti prakāśikā* by Vṛndāvanacandra Tarkālaṃkāra Cakravartin, son of Rādhācaraṇa Kavīndra Cakravartin. *IOC* iii, 1195/240, p. 344. (4) °*Ṭīkā* by Lokanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i. 31b. This is printed anonymously in the Varendra Research Soc. ed. mentioned above as an 'old commentary'.

Kāvya-candrikā

MSS: Aufrecht i. 101a ; *KBod* 499. The Bodleian MS appears to contain 16 Prakāśas.

WRITERS ON KAVI-ŚIKṢĀ
ARISIṂHA, AMARACANDRA AND DEVEŚVARA

(1)

The Śvetāmbara Jainas, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, are notable in Sanskrit Poetics for a work on the composition of verses called the *Kavitā-rahasya* or *Kāvya-kalpalatā* and its commentary entitled *Kaviśikṣā-vṛtti*. This work was composed in part by Arisiṃha and completed by Amaracandra[1],

[1] *kiṃcic ca tad-racitam ātmakṛtaṃ ca kiṃcit / vyākhyāsyate tvarita-kāvya-kṛte'tra sūtram*, says the Vṛtti.

who also wrote the commentary[1]. Arisiṃha, described as son of Lāvaṇyasiṃha or Lavaṇasiṃha, wrote also a poem called *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana* (ed. Bhavnagar 1917) in honour of his patron Vastupāla (d. 1242 A.D.), the Jaina minister of the Dholkā Rāṇā Vīradhavala ; and he also lived in the time of Vīradhavala's son Vīsaladeva[2] (1243-66 A.D.). Amaracandra appears to be a more prolific writer, being also the author of the *Jinendra-carita* (otherwise called *Padmānanda-kāvya*)[3], the *Bāla-bhārata*[4] and a grammatical work called *Syādiśabda-samuccaya* (Aufrecht i. 180).[5] Rājaśekhara Sūri, the Jaina author of the *Prabandha-kośa* (p. 61, ed. Singhi Jaina Granthamālā), also attributes a *Sūktāvali* and a *Kalā-kalāpa.* In the Vṛtti to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* itself, three other works by Amaracandra are cited, viz. the *Chandoratnāvalī*, a work on Prosody (p. 6), *Kāvya-kalpalatā-parimala*[6] (pp. 19, 63), probably an epitome or continuation of the work of that name, and an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃkāra-prabodha* (p. 117).

Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta Sūri[7] of the Vāyaḍa-gaccha, who is identified with the author of the *Viveka-vilāsa* and who lived about the first half of the 13th century[8]. Amaracandra appears to have been a pupil or a

1 The colophon calls the Vṛtti *kavi-śikṣā-vṛtti*. Bühler thinks, from i. 1 and 2, that the original Kārikā-verses of Arisiṃha were called *Kavitā-rahasya*, while Amaracandra's Vṛtti was entitled *Kāvya-kalpalatā.*

2 See the question discussed in detail in Bühler, *Das Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana des Arisiṃha*, Wien 1889, pp. 5f, 38 ; also *IA*, vi 210-12. Amaracandra is said to have added a postscript or Sargānta-śloka to the *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana.* It is a Kāvya in 11 cantos (ed. Jaina Ātmananda Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1917). See *IA*, xxxi, pp. 477-95.

3 Ed. H. R. Kapadia, GOS, Baroda 1932.

4 Ed. in Kāvyamālā 45, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1894 ; also ed. in the *Pandit* iv-vi, (1869-72).

5 Ed. Chandraprabha Press, Benares 1915.

6 Cf. *IOC* 848, which has a reference to *Kāvya-kalpalatā-mañjarī.*

7 See the concluding verse of the *Bāla-bhārata* and the colophon to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā.*

8 See Peterson i, p. 58-59 ; but Peterson's conjecture about Jinadatta

fellow-student of Arisiṃha[1] and lived, according to the account given in Jaina Rājaśekhara's work[2], in time of Vīradhavala and his minister Vastupāla, as well as in that of Vīsaladeva, before the latter's accession to the throne of Aṇhilvāḍ, i.e. about the second quarter or the middle of the 13th century.

The *Kāvya-kalpalatā* consists of four Pratānas, namely, I. Chandaḥ-siddhi, II. Śabda-siddhi, III. Śleṣa-siddhi, and IV. Artha-siddhi. For a full account see Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.* no. 497 and *IOC* iii, no 1183/848, pp. 340-41.

(2)

The date of Deveśvara, author of the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, can be approximately settled from the internal evidence supplied by the work itself; for it closely follows, in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra's work; and it is not difficult to show that he also copies wholesale from the text of his predecessors. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and even repeats the illustrative stanzas. Thus, Deveśvara pp. 157-60 (*veṇyāḥ sarpāsi°*) and pp. 36-7 (*ratnādi yatra*)=Arisiṃha pp. 135-37 and pp. 30-1; the definition of *adbhuta-vidhi* in Arisiṃha p. 93=Deveśvara p. 130. This copying is not sporadic but systematic, and is found practically throughout the work, so that it is highly probable that Deveśvara had the text of the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* before him, when he composed

is not right; see also Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, p. 258; Peterson iv, pp. viii, xxxvi and App. 115; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 6, 156; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 25, 48. Jinadatta Sūri's *Viveka-vilāsa* is dated 1220 A.D.

1 Rājaśekhara Sūri says that Amara was a pupil of Arisiṃha. Cf. Sridhar Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1904-6. pp. 23-24; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 5-6.: *contra* Bhandarkar.—One of the sketches of Rājaśekhara's *Prabandha-kośa* deals with Amaracandra.

2 His work is dated in 1348 A.D. See introd. to Amara's *Bāla-bhārata*, ed. Kāvyamālā. Rājaśekhara Sūri was a pupil of Tilaka Sūri of Koṭika Gaṇa (Peterson iv, p. cv).

his own work on the same subject. This gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 13th century.

The other terminus is given by the fact that a verse of Deveśvara's (*nāga-viśeṣe śeṣe* p. 155) is quoted under his name in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (545, *deveśvarasya*). As this anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., we get the middle of the 14th century as the other terminus. Allowing half a century to elapse between Deveśvara and Arisiṃha, on the one hand, and a similar period of time between Deveśvara and the compiler of the *Paddhati*, on the other, we may roughly fix the beginning of the 14th century as his approximate date.

Deveśvara describes himself as son of Vāgbhaṭa, who was a *mahāmātya* to some prince of Mālava (?) ; and in one of the *samasyā-ślokas*, there is a panegyric of Hammīra-mahīmahendra, who is apparently the Cauhan prince of that name who reigned about 1283-1301 A.D.[1]

(3)

Two other Kavi-śikṣā works by Jaina authors are known, namely, by Ācārya Vinayacandra (about 1250 A.D.) and by Jaymaṅgala who wrote in the times of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. D.). A large part of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* is concerned with similar topics. There is another work on *Kavi-śikṣa* by Gaṅgādāsa, the well-known author of *Chandomañjarī*. It appears to be an elementary treatise on miscellaneous topics, such as Chandaḥ-kathana, Sāmānya-

1 See S. K. De in *JRAS* 1922, pp. 577f on the date of Deveśvara. In the footnote there, omit the words "from the author's own comment on the word." Deveśvara also refers to another work of his, called *Candra-kalāpa* (*matkṛta-candrakalāpe'mala-matibhis tad budhair jñeyam*, *SgŚ* ii, p. 225 ; also in Bibl. Ind. ed.). The variant in the Calcutta edition (1900) reads (p. 42) instead *matkṛta-kavikalpalatā-parimalatas°*, while an alternative reading noticed in the Bibl. Indica ed. (p. 52) is *matkṛta-kavi-kalpalatāyām amala-matibhiḥ*.

śabda, Rasa, Guṇa, Śabdālaṃkāra, Kāvya-doṣa and Samasyā-pūraṇa (see *IHQ* xxiv, p. 315-16). The *Kavi-śikṣā* of Jaya-maṅgala and *Kavi-kalpalatā* of Rāghava-caitanya will be noticed below in the chapter on Minor Writers.

All these manuals are directed to the practical object of Kavi-śikṣā or instruction of poets in the composition of their works. They have little direct relation to Poetics proper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kāvya-kalpalatā and its Vṛtti *Kavi-śikṣā*

Editions. (1) Rama Sastri, Benares 1886. (2) Vamana Sastri, Bombay 1891. (3) ed. Jagannath Sastri Hoshing, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1931 (our references are to this ed.).

Commentary. °*Makaranda* by Śubhavijaya Gaṇi, pupil of Hīravijaya Sūri of Tapā-gaccha who lived in the reign of 'Akabbar Śāhi'. Aufrecht i. 101a, iii. 22b ; *KBod* 497. Our author lived in the reign of Salem or Jahangir (*śrīmat-salem-śāhi-rājye*) and wrote the commentary in Saṃvat 1665=1608-9 A.D. at the request of Vijayadeva Sūri (Peterson vi, p. 25f).

Kavi-kalpalatā

Editions. (1) with Comm. by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma, in the *Hindu Commentator*, vols. 1-3, Benares 1867-70. (2) with Comm. by Ramgopal Kaviratna 1900 (our references are to this edition). (3) together with his own comm. by Saraccandra Sastri, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1913. (4) in *Pratna-krama-nandinī*, Benares nos. 1-31. The work is divided into four Stabakas.

Commentaries. (1) *Bāla-bodhikā* by Sūrya Kavi, also known as Sūrya-dāsa or Sūrya Sūri. His genealogy is given thus: Rāma of Pārthapura (under Rāma, king of Devagiri)→ Viṣṇu→ Nīlkaṇṭha→ Nāganātha→ Nṛsiṃha→ Nāganātha →Jñānarāja (author of *Siddhānta-sundara*)→ Sūrya (Weber i, p. 231). He was a versatile author (for his works see

Aufrecht i. 731b, ii. 175b). His *Līlāvatī-ṭīkā* was composed in 1542, while *Sūrya-prakāśa* on Bhāskara's *Bīja-gaṇita* is dated in 1539 A.D. He also wrote an artificial poem called *Rāma-kṛṣṇa-viloma-kāvya* (ed. in Haeberlin's Kāvya-saṃgraha, and Kāvyamālā Gucchaka xi, p. 147f), which praises in alternate verses Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and gives the same text to be read forward or backward respectively. He also wrote a *Nṛsiṃha-campū* in five Ucchvāsas (*IOC* vii, p. 1548 ; see also *ibid*, p. 1478). He belonged to the Bharadvāja-gotra and lived in Pārthapura near the confluence of the Godāvarī and Vidarbhā. Aufrecht i. 87a ; iii. 19a.

(2) Comm. by Vecārāma. Probably the same work as printed in the Benares ed. Aufrecht ii. 16b ; the name is given as Vecārāma Sārvabhauma in Jammu MS no. 3482 (*Jammu Cat*. p. 59). See under Minor Writers below.

(3) anonymous °*Ṭīkā* in *SCC* vii. 8.

(4) *Padārtha-dyotanikā* by Mahādeva, son of Paṭṭavardhana Mudgala. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, MSS no. 4,99/10004, 4800/8999, pp. 393-94.

CHAPTER X

MINOR WRITERS ON ALAṂKĀRA

(1)

We propose in this chapter to deal with the minor writers on Alaṃkāra, other than the commentators as well as less known authors already mentioned in the preceding chapters, arranging them alphabetically, and giving the names of their works and such details as can be collected about them[1].

1. AKABARA ŚĀHA, *alias* Baḍe Śāheb

Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī

(Ed. V. Raghavan, Hyderabad Arch. Dept. 1951)

The author is described as son of Shaha Raja, and Guru of Sultan Abul Hasan Qutb Shah of Golconda (1672-87 A.D.), who was captured by Aurangzeb in 1687 and who died in 1704 A.D. Akbar was born about 1646 and died between 1672 and 1675 A.D. The Sanskrit work mentioned is said to be a translation of a Telugu original by Akbar Shah himself. Possibly at the instance of Akbar some Telugu scholar wrote the original *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* in Telugu, and a Sanskrit scholar translated it (V. Raghavan, introd. p. 7). The work is based on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*, and is concerned mainly with the theme of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, topically dealing with Śṛṅgāra-rasa. Total number of verses 312.

2. ACYUTA ŚARMAN or ACYUTARĀYA MOḌAKA

Sāhitya-sāra and its commentary *Sarasāmoda*

(Ed. in litho MS form, Bombay 1860; ed. W. L. Panshikar, NSP, Bombay 1906)

The work is dated in Śaka 1753=1831 A.D. The author describes himself as pupil of Ṣaṣṭi Nārāyaṇa. He was son of

1 Doubtful names to be found in some catalogues, as well as those about which there is no reliable information, have been omitted in this list; and care has been taken to avoid useless or trifling entries.

Nārāyaṇa and Annapūrṇā and lived at Pañcavatī near Nasik. He appears to be identical with Acyutarāya who wrote the *Praṇaya-prakāśa* commentary on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa*; for in it he refers to the *Sāhitya-sāra* as his own (ed. N. S. P. 1894, p. 1), citing the verses i. 14-15 from the latter. In his *Sāhitya-sāra*, again, he refers to the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* at p. 7.

The work consists of twelve chapters called *Ratnas*, the metaphor being that these precious doctrines are churned by the author from the ocean of Alaṃkara-śāstra. The chapters are accordingly named: 1. Dhanvantari-ratna (the general characteristics of *kāvya*), 2. Airāvata-ratna (function of *śabda* and *artha*), 3. Indirā-ratna (the *vyaṅgya* and its occasions), 4. Dakṣiṇāvarta-kambu-ratna (divisions of *dhvani*, including *rasa-dhvani*), 5. Aśvavara-ratna (other inferior divisions of *dhvani*), 6. Viṣa-ratna (*doṣa*), 7. Guṇa-ratna (*guṇa*), 8. Kaustubha-ratna (*arthālaṃkāras*), 9. Kāmadhenu-ratna (*śabdālaṃkāras*), 10. Rambhā-ratna (*nāyikā*), 11. Candra-ratna (*nāyaka*) and 12. Amṛta-ratna (conclusion). Quite a recent writer, who holds some novel views which are neither historically nor theoretically sound. He is identical with Acyuta, author of the *Bhāgīrathī-champū* (written in the 1814 A.D.), who is described by Aufrecht (i. 770b) as son of Nārāyaṇa. This work is divided into seven chapters called *manorathas*. For the author and his other works, some of which are dated, see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 59-60.

3. AJITASENĀCĀRYA or AJITASENA-DEVA YATĪŚVARA

a. *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi*
(Ed. by Padmaraja Pandit in the *Kāvyāmbudhi* 1893-94; see *Ind. Office Printed Bks.*, 1938, p. 72)

b. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī*
(*ŚgŚ* ii, pp. 83, 231 extract; *Madras Cat.* xxii 12956-57)

The author was a Digambara Jaina priest of Cāmuṇḍarāya, minister of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla, and flourished in

the latter part of the 10th century. He was a teacher of Nāgavarman, a Kanarese poet, who lived under the protection of Rakkasa Gaṅga, younger brother of Rācamalla. His works were written in the Śāntīśvara temple at Baṅgavāḍipura. He wrote the *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi* in five chapters. Ajitasena also wrote *Cintāmaṇi-prakāśikā* on Yakṣavarman's *Cintāmaṇi*, which is itself a commentary on Śākaṭāyana's *Śabdānuśāsana*. See Rice p. 308. The Ajitasena who was the author of the Kālidāsa apocrypha *Śruta-bodha* on Metrics is probably a different person.

There is another Ajitasena of the Senagaṇa who wrote the *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* at the instance of a Jaina Ālūpa prince of the lunar race[1], named Rāya or Kāmirāya, son of Viṭṭhala-devī, for his instruction. It consists of three chapters and 128 stanzas, dealing with (1) *pada-doṣa* (viz. *alakṣaṇa*, *śruti-kaṭu*, *vyāghātārtha*, *anarthaka*, *aprasiddha*, *neyārtha*, *grāmya*, and *asaṃmata*), which ends with a discussion of the Vṛttis, (2) the ten *guṇas* of Vāmana and (3) *arthālaṃkāras* (viz. *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *jāti*, *bhrāntimat*, *hetu*, *saṃśaya*. *prativastūpamā*, *ākṣepa*, *dṛṣṭānta* and *tulyayogitā*). On the two Ajitasenas see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 69 which, however, distinguishes all the known Ajitasenas.

The entry of *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi* as a work of Śāntarāja is some MS Catalogue is a mistake, for Śāntarāja was the scribe and not the author of the work.

4. AṆURATNAMAṆḌANA or RATNAMAṆḌANA GAṆI

a. *Jalpa-kalpalatā*

(Weber 1722, long extract given ii, pp. 278-80)

This Jaina author was a pupil of Ratnaśekhara Sūri[2] of Tapā-gaccha, who died in Saṃvat 1517=1460-61 A.D.[3]

1 Among the Ālūpa princes matriarchy prevailed. Baṅgavāḍi was the capital perhaps of a branch of the Ālūpas.

2 For Ratnaśekhara, see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156-7: Peterson iv, p. cii f ; *IA* xi, p. 256.

3 Ratnaśekhara Sūri composed his *Kriyā-ratna-samuccaya* (ed. Jaina Yośovijaya Granthamālā Series) in Saṃvat 1466=1410 A.D.

Aṇuratna, therefore, belonged roughly to the middle of the 15th century. The work, in three *stabakas*, gives practical instruction on poetical composition (*kavi-śikṣā*).

b. *Mugdha-medhākara Alaṃkāra-vṛtti*

(Peterson vi, p. xv, extract given at p. 31 ; also *BORI Cat.* xii, p. 222-23)

A manual on poetic figures and kindred topics.

5. ANANTA

Sāhitya-kalpavallī (*Madras Trm. Cat.* no. 5483)

The author was of Tirumala family and Śaṭhamarṣaṇa-gotra and son of Tocamāmbā. He was a protégé of the Orissa king Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva. The work is fully called *Gajapati-Puruṣottamadeva-Sāhityakalpavallī*

6. ANANTĀRYA or ANANTĀCĀRYA (Anantālvan)

Kavi-samaya-kallola (*Madras Cat.* xxii 12808, extract)

This recent South Indian writer of the Śeṣācārya family was son of Śiṅgarācārya. His family was resident at Yādavagiri or Melkote in Mysore. The work cites from Dharmasūri, Narasiṃha's *Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, and *Pratāparudrīya*. He flourished in the court of Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar III. His dates are 1822-62 A.D. He refers to a Kāvya by himself, called *Kṛṣṇarāja-yaśo-ḍiṇḍima*. He was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin and wrote a large number of Vādas which have been published in *Vedanta-vādavalī*, Bangalore 1898 etc. (See *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 143).

7. AMṚTĀNANDA YOGIN

Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha

(ed. Calcutta 1887 with Engl. trans. ; ed. also in the Adyar Library Series, and by the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. MS in *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12794, extract)

The work consists of five chapters dealing with (1) *varṇa-gaṇa*, (2) *śabdārtha*, (3) *rasa-bhāva*, (4) *nāyaka-bheda*, and (5)

alaṃkāra. The author says that he wrote this work at the request of Manvasamudra, son of Bhakti-bhūmipati, who was a devotee of Śiva. It appears from the introductory verse that the author also intended to deal with *guṇa, doṣa* and *daśa-rūpaka.* He is not identical with the Tāntrika Amṛtānandanātha (pupil of Puṇyānanda) who is said to have corrected (Weber p. 361) the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda ; but in the introd. to his *Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā* (ed. Sarasvati Bhavan Text, no. 7) it is said that this Amṛtānanda could not have done so because Kṛṣṇānanda was much later in date.

8. ARUṆAGIRI KAVI

Godavarma yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(Printed in *Journal of Travancore Univ. MS Library*, vol. i)

The work is on Arthālaṃkāras only. The author is described as belonging to the Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of Śeṣādri and pupil of Veṅkaṭādri. He was patronised by Godavarma, king of Vadakkumkūr. *Circa* 1550-1650 A.D.

9. ALLARĀJA or MALLARĀJA

Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā

(Ed. R. N. Dandekar, Bharatiya Vidya Series 8, Bombay 1945 ; the work called is *Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā*)

A work called *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā* is cited by Bhānudatta in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (=Allarāja v. 57), and by Ratnakaṇṭha on Mammaṭa (Peterson ii, p. 17). See above p. 242, fn 4. The work is called *Rasa-ratna-pradīpa* by Allarāja in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533. The author was son of Hammīra, the Cauhan king of Ranathambor who conquered Koṅkaṇa and whose regnal period was 1283-1301 A.D.[1] The work is a manual of six chapters (called Paricchedas) which deals in prose and verse exclusively with the topic of Rasa and Bhāva.

1 The question of Allarāja's date is discussed by the editor of the text. In honour of this Hammīra Nayacandra Sūri wrote his *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* in 1486 (ed. N. J. Kirtane, Bombay 1879).

It borrows *verbatim* extensively from Bharata and the *Daśa-rūpaka*. There is hardly any originality either in subject-matter or treatment.

10. ĀŚĀDHARA

Kovidānanda (Aufrecht ii. 25a)

Triveṇikā (ed. Batuknath Sarma and J. S. Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1925).

We have already mentioned above (p. 228) Āśādhara as the author of the *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* commentary on *Kuvalayā-nanda*. He was son of Rāmajī and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara, and should be distinguished from the much earlier Jaina Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and commentator on Rudraṭa (see p. 93). The *Kovidānanda*, with its commentary called *Kādambinī*, is concerned (as the author himself states) with Śabda-vyāpāra-nirṇaya. His (*Śabda-*) *Triveṇikā* 'having three streams' also deals with the same theme of the three Vṛttis, namely, Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā and refers frequently to his *Kovidānanda*. As Āśādhara comments on Appayya's work and quotes Bhaṭṭojī's *Siddhānta-kaumudī* he must be later than the first half of the 17th century. A MS of his *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* is dated in Śaka 1775 (=1850 A.D.), while a MS of his *Kovidānanda* appears to have been copied in Śaka 1783 (=1861 A.D.)[1] In all probability Āśādhara flourished in the middle and latter half of the 18th century.

11. INDRAJIT

Rasika-priyā in 16 Pravāhas (Peterson vi, no. 379)

A MS of this work in *BORI MS Cat.* xii, p. 293 is dated Saṃvat 1729 (=1672-73 A.D.). In two of the BORI MSS the author is called Mahārāja-kumāra in the colophon. This is *not* a Sanskrit but an old Hindi work. The author also wrote a *Bāla-bodha* commentary on the *Vairāgya-śataka*

1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *List of Skt. MSS*, pt. i, Bombay 1893, p. 68.

(Aufrecht iii. 13b). Bühler mentions (*ZDMG*, xliii. p. 543) a work on Alaṃkāra called *Rāmacandra-candrikā* by Indrajila (*sic*), the date of which is given as 1712 A.D.

12. KACCHAPEŚVARA DĪKṢITA

Rāmacandra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12950, extract)

The author was son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Kālahastīśvara who was a native of Brahmadeśa, a village in the North Arcot district. He wrote also a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*. His grandfather had two other sons, named Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, his father being the second son. The work consists of three chapters dealing with the Rasas, viz. (1) *Śṛṅgāra*, (2) the other 8 *Rasas*, (3) *Bhāva-nirūpaṇa*. The illustrations are in praise of the valour of Bommarāja (probably of the Karvetnagar zamindary in North Arcot).

13. KANDĀLAYĀRYA

Alaṃkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa

(Hultzsch i no, 371, extract at p. 75 ; *Madras Trm A* 168)

The author was son of Rāmānujārya of the Kauśika-gotra and grandson of Keśavārya of the Rāyalūri family. He tells us that he lived in the court of Veṅkaṭa-bhūpati, son of Soma-bhūpati (and Giryambā), who was son of Nallareḍḍi of Muṣṭipallī (also called Pākanāḍu) family and of Miṭilla-gotra. He resided in Naḍigaḍḍa country which lies between the Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā. But see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 297a. It seems that he probably lived at the court of either Veṅkaṭa I or II of the third Vijayanagar dynasty[1], and was thus a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita. The work is in ten Ullāsas as follow: (i) Upodghāta (ii) Kāvya-lakṣaṇa (iii) Dhvani-prakaraṇa (iv) Rasa-prakaraṇa (v) Doṣa-praka-

1 Hultzsch *ibid*, p. viii. But see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 297a.

raṇa (vi) Guṇa-prakaraṇa (vii-ix) Kāvyaviśeṣa-prakaraṇa (x) Nāyaka-prakaraṇa.

14. KALYĀṆA-SUBRAHMAṆYA SŪRI

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha with commentary

(*ŚgŚ* ii, pp. 80, 220 extract ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12790)

The author was son of Subrahmaṇya and grandson of Gopāla of the Perūru or Perur family. The work invokes and sings the praise throughout of Padmanābha, the god of the temple of Anantaśayana (Travancore), and of the Vañji-pāla (Bāla-) Rāma Varma Kulaśekhara, king of Travancore (1758-98). It deals with Arthālaṃkāras only, gives the characteristics of those figures that are dealt with in the *Candrāloka*, and illustrates them with examples composed by the author himself in praise of his patron and his deity.[1]

15. KĀŚĪ or KASHĪKARA LAKSMAṆA KAVI

Alaṃkāra-grantha (Burnell 54a).

This work was probably written at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century, as the examples are all in praise of the Tanjore prince Śāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). It is also called *Śāharājīya*. See *Tanjore Descriptive Cat.* ix, nos. 5304-05. Also see V. Raghavan's ed. of *Sāhendra-vilāsa*, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series (p. 23).

16. KĀŚĪŚVARA MIŚRA

Rasa-mīmāṃsā

This work is mentioned and cited by Viśveśvara Kavi-candra (*q.v.*) in his *Camatkāra-candrikā*, ch. v: *tathā coktam*

1 On this author see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Contribution of Kerala to Skt. Lit.* (Madras 1958), p. 175. Bāla Rāma Varman appears also to be eulogised in the illustrative verses of *Bālarāma-varma-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Sadāśiva Dīkṣita which includes (as some Yaśobhuṣaṇa works do) a play in five Acts, called *Vasu-lakṣmī-kalyāṇa*, of which the king is the hero. See *Cat. Trivandrum Palace Lib.* vi, p. 2354.

samad-ācāryaiḥ kāśīśvara-miśraiḥ rasa-mīmāṃsāyām. As Viśveśvara's teacher his date would be about 1300 A.D. See V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35), p. 139-40.

17. KUMĀRAGIRI

Vasanta-rājīya Nāṭya-śāstra

The author is quoted by Kāṭayavema as his patron[1]. The work is cited by Kumārasvāmin as *vasanta-rājīya* p. 178, by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* ii, 8 and by Sarvānanda on *Amara-kośa*[2]. These citations make it clear that this metrical work on Dramaturgy can not be later than the 14th century. This *Nāṭya-śāstra*, probably an Āndhra work, is also mentioned in a commentary on the Southern recension of the *Śakuntalā* by Kāṭayavema who is described as a minister of king Vasanta-rāja Kumāragiri. This commentary proposes to follow the exposition of Vasantarāja's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (*IOC* vii, p. 157-76). The author's genealogy is given in a MS of the work[3], which states that Vasantarāja Kumāragiri was son of Anapota and grandson of Vema Reḍḍi. Kāṭayavema was son of Kāṭaya-bhūpati by his wife Woḍḍāmbā, who was the daughter of Vema Reḍḍi. The Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri ruled in the Telugu country in the second half of the 14th century[4]. As his work is lost, we know nothing about its scope and extent, but later citations show that it dealt chiefly with Dramaturgy and incidentally with Rasa.

18. KUMBHA or KUMBHAKARṆA, Śrīrājādhirāja

Rasa-ratna-kośa (Aufrecht i. 495b)

A MS of this work in Devanāgarī characters in the Paris

1 Burnell 173a. 2 *ŚgS* ii, p. 30.

3 In *Madras Trm* I A 295 (6), but the stanzas are missing in Burnell and *IOC* MSS.

4 For a discussion of genealogy and time of this Reḍḍi king (2nd half of the 14th century) see Introd, to Vānivilasa Press ed. (1906) of *Pārvatī-pariṇaya* ; N. Venkata Rao, Vasantarājīya in *Pathak Comm. Vol.*, Poona 1934, pp. 401f.

Biblioth. Nationale (no. 243) is described by Regnaud p. 379. It is a treatise on Rasa and kindred topics in eleven chapters[1], dealing with (1) 1-4 *rasas,* (2) 5-6 *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, (3) 7 *abhinaya*, (4) 8-9 *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, (5) 10-11 *rasa* and *bhāva*. The treatment and subject-matter correspond to those of the 3rd chapter of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* and Bhānudatta's two works on Rasa. The author is probably king Kumbha of Mewad (1428-1459 A.D.) who wrote, besides some treatises on Saṃgīta, a commentary entitled *Rasika-priyā* (ed. NSP. 1917) on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, and flourished in the first half of the 15th century.

19. KURAVIRĀMA

Daśarūpaka-paddhati

See above pp. 127, 229 for information about this author.

20. KṚṢṆA

Sāhitya-taraṅgiṇī (Aufrecht ii 171a)

21. KṚṢṆA DĪKṢITA or KṚṢṆA YAJVAN

Raghunātha-bhūpālīya

(Aufrecht i. 446a ; *Madras Trm C* 656d ; Adyar II, p. 336)

The work was written in honour of the author's patron, whose name it bears in its title, after the manner of the *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānatha who is referred to as Vidyāpati in the introductory part. Raghunātha, son of Acyuta, distinguished himself as one of the Nāyaka rulers of Tanjore (17th century A.D.) and patron of literature. His mistress Rudrāmbā wrote the semi-historical poem, *Raghunāthābhyudaya*,[2] to celebrate in twelve cantos the greatness of her

1 The work appears from citations in his *Rasika-priyā* to be a part of the author's voluminous *Saṃgīta-rāja* ; see V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xiv, 1933, pp. 258-62. Kumbha also wrote a comm. on the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva.

2 Ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras Univ. 1934.

lover. Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita's work consists of eight Vilāsas dealing with (i) Nāyaka-guṇa (ii) Kāvya-svarūpa (iii) Saṃlakṣya-krama-vyaṅgya (iv) Asaṃlakṣya-krama-vyaṅgya (v) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (vi) Śabdālaṃkāra (vii) Arthālaṃkāra and (viii) Guṇa. Kṛṣṇa Yajvan also appears to have written an *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī*. A commentary called *Sāhitya-sāmrājya* by Sumatīndra Yati, pupil of Sudhīndra-pūjyapāda, is mentioned in Rice 288.—Another work of this type which praises Shahaji of Tanjore (1648-1710) is *Śāharājīya* of Lakṣmaṇa Kavi ; see above p. 270, no. 15.

22. KṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA or JAYAKṚṢṆA MAUNIN

Vṛtti-dīpikā (Aufrecht i. 598a)

The author was a grammarian, and the work probably dealt with the grammatico-rhetorical question of the Vṛttis of words. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 198a. He is described as son of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhana Bhaṭṭa.

23. KṚṢṆA ŚARMAN or KṚṢṆĀVADHŪTA

a. *Mandāra-maranda-campū*
(ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press Bombay 1895, with *Mādhurya-rañjanī* commentary)
b. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*
c. *Sārasvatālaṃkāra*, Sūtra and Bhāṣya

The first-named work is a so-called Campū dealing in reality with Prosody, Dramaturgy and Poetics, as well as practical Kavi-śikṣā. The work consists of eleven chapters called *bindus*, dealing with (1) chandas (2) nāyaka-varṇana (3) śleṣa (4) yamaka and citra (5) the different bandhas (6) enigmatology (7) dramaturgy (8) nāyaka-lakṣaṇa (9) bhāva and rasa (10) alaṃkāra with dhvani-nirūpaṇa etc. and (11) doṣa, which however includes sections on śabdārtha, the three vṛttis etc., pāka, kāvya-bheda, and a section of practical hints for

descriptive poetry. The work appears to be ill-arranged and ill-digested, having no fixed theory but forming a cyclopaedic compilation from various sources, meant to serve as a complete handbook for the poet. The author, who is described as an inhabitant of Guhapura and a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīśvara, gives us no clue to his date ; but his work belongs to quite recent times. He copies, for instance, many definitions and illustrations from Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, and even appropriates the whole section on Pāka from Vidyānātha. Some of the new poetic figures, which appear to be first adduced and illustrated by Appayya, find a place in this comprehensive compilation. For the author and his work see *Karnatak Univ. Journal* (Humanities), 1957, pp. 127f. His date is given as 1835-1909 A.D. He also wrote a commentary *Rasa-prakāśa* on Mammaṭa (see p. 173).

24. KṚṢṆA SUDHĪ

Kāvya-kalānidhi

The author was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upadeṣṭṛ-paṇḍita Nārāyaṇa. He was a native of Uttamerūr in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam on the banks of the Ceyyār near Kāñcī. He wrote the *Kavya-kalānidhi* in 1845 A.D. under the patronage of Ravivarman, rājā of Kolaṭṭanāḍ. The work is in ten sections in which the illustrations are all in praise of the poet's patron.[1]

25. KṚṢṆA SŪRI

Alaṃkāra-mīmāṃsā (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 2700)

The author was son of Gopālācarya, who was son of Kṛṣṇārya of the Śāntalūri family. There is one Kṛṣṇa Sūri who wrote a commentary called *Ratna-śobhākara* on the *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* of Ramasudhī, son of Nṛsiṃha (ed. in Telugu script, Vizagapatam 1897-98).

1 See K. Kunjunni Rāja, *Contribution of Kerala to Skt. Lit.* pp. 62, 244.

26. KEŚAVA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-saṃjīvanī

(Aufrecht i. 127b, 497b ; *Br. Mus.* no. 424, extract)

The work, dealing with Rasa is in three *vilāsas*. The author, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, is claimed as a Vaiṣṇava disciple of Viṭṭhaleśvara, who is apparently the son of the reformer Vallabhācārya. Hence our author probably belongs to the second half of the 16th century. He is not the same as Keśava Bhaṭṭa Kāśmīrī, son of Śrīmaṅgala and a veteran champion of the Nimbārka school[1]. The first Vilāsa (11 *śl.* only) of the work is mainly introductory ; the second deals with *nāyikās*, and the third with *māna*, *praṇaya*, *rāga*, *śṛṅgāra* etc.

27. KOLLŪRI RĀJAŚEKHARA

Alaṃkāra-makaranda (*Madras Trm* 2285)

The author belonged to a family of Drāviḍas of Perūru in Andhra. The work quotes *Catmatkāra-candrikā* (see below under Viśveśvara Kavicandra) and praises a chief called Rāmeśvara of Aṇipiṇḍivaṃśa, son of Viśveśvara and Kāmakṣī, and described as Ammaṇṇa Mahī-mahendra of Mukteśvara (near Godāvarī). This Rājaśekhara is said to have been also patronised by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-72 A.D.).

28. GAṄGĀDHARA MIŚRA

Catura-cīntāmaṇi

(H. P. Sāstri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, 4934/8162, p..485-86)

This is a work on the nine Rasas, but chiefly on Śṛṅgāra Rasa, in eighteen Prakāsas. The author is described as son of Miśra Saṃdoha.

1 See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, 1942, p. 55 fn.

29. GAṄGĀNANDA MAITHILA

Karṇa-bhūṣaṇa

(ed. Bhavadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1902)

Kāvya-ḍākinī

(ed. P. Jagannath Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1924)

The first is a work on the Rasas in five chapters, dealing with (1) vibhāvas (2) anubhāvas (3) vyabhicāri-bhāvas (4) sthāyi-bhāvas and (5) rasa. It was written, as the author himself says, at the command of king Śrīkarṇa of Bikaner (*bikāneri-purī*), who appears to be the same as Lūṇakarṇajī who ruled at Bikaner from 1505 to 1526 A.D. The *Kāvya-ḍākinī* deals in five chapters (called *Dṛṣṭis*) with Doṣas.

30. GAṄGĀRĀMA JAḌI or JAḌIN

Rasa-mīmāṃsā

(ed. with his own *Chāyā*, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1885)

It is a small work of 114 verses on the poetic sentiments. For details about the author and his commentary on Bhānudatta's work, see above p. 250. He belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century.

31. GADĀDHARA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-jīvana (Aufrecht i. 497b, ii. 116b).

This work on Rasa, which bears the character of an anthology rather than a work on Poetics, is in ten *prabandhas* and contains 1562 verses comprising selection from no less than 122 authors. The author is the son of Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa and Umā, and grandson of Dāmodara. Regnaud (p. 379) gives an account of the Paris Biblioth. Nationale MS of this work. The work quotes Jagannātha's *Rasa-*

gaṅgādhara, and hence it must be later than the middle of the 17th century.[1]

32. GIRIDHARA

Kalyāṇa-kallola

(H. P Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, 4932/ 8312, p. 482)

This is a work on the nine Rasas (including Śānta) composed under the patronage of Kalyāṇa Dāsa, son of Toḍara Malla.

33. GOKULANĀTHA MAITHILA

Rasa-mahārṇava

The author is the celebrated Maithili Smārta and Naiyāyika Gokulanātha, son of Pītāmbara and Umādevī of Phaṇadaha family in Maṅgraunī, who lived and wrote in Benares at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. The work is referred to by himself in his *Pada-vākya-ratnākara*.[2] He is probably the same as wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa, see above p. 173. His drama *Amṛtodaya* (written about 1693 A.D.) has been published in Kāvyamālā 59, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897[3].

34. GAURANĀRYA

Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā

Prabandha-dīpikā or *Padārtha-dīpikā* (*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12951, extract)

The first work, which breaks off with the sixth *prakāśa*, deals with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *paribhāṣā* (3) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa-*

1 P. K. Gode in *ABORI* xii, pp. 296-99 and Hara Dutt Sarma in *Jha Comm. Volume* pp. 359-65. For list of authors quoted see *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 247, at p. 288-90.

2 *ABod* 246a.

3 See *HPS* i p. 17f.

bheda (4) *kalikotkalikādi* (5) *udāharṇa-bheda* and (6) *nāyikā*. The other work *Padārtha-dīpikā* covers common ground. The author is described as son of Āyamaprabhu and brother of Mitarāja, who was minister of Śiṅgaya Mādhava of Recarla family. The work cites *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* (of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla?). Another work in four *paricchedas*, also called *Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā* (consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti), is attributed in the same Catalogue (no. 12952, extract) to Gauranārya ; but the author is here described as son of Ayyalu-mantrin, brother of *amātya* Potama. They may be identical. The latter work cites the *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*, *Camatkāra-candrikā*, *Sāhitya-candrodaya* and *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (of Dharma Sūri?). The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāsa*, of which two MSS (without the name of the author) are noticed in *Madras Cat.* xii 12802-03, is a treatise (said to be based on some work of Piṅgala's) on the characteristics of a poet's personal appearance and qualities, on the effect of the initial words of a poem, on the auspicious day for beginning a composition and so forth.

35. GHĀSI or GHĀSĪ RĀMA PAṆḌITA

a. *Rasa-candra*

(*IOC* iii, 1210/295, pp. 351-53 ; extract)

b. *Rasa-kaumudī*

(*Madras Cat.* xii 12921, extract ; *BORI MSS Cat.* xxii, no. 197, p. 223)

The first work was composed in 1696 A.D. The second work describes the nine Rasas. The anonymous *Rasa-kaumudī* in Peterson v. 414 refers apparently to this work.[1] The *Rasa-candra* is in four chapters, dealing with: 1. *nāyikā-gaṇa-bheda* (198 *śl.*), 2. *nāyaka-saṃgha* (85 *śl.*), 3. *anubhāvādi gaṇa*

1 P. K. Gode (*Cal. Orient. Journal* iii, pp. 35-37) gives the latter half of the 18th century A.D. as the probable date of this anonymous work.

(150 *śl.*), 4. *rasa-daśaka* (162 *śl.*). Is this Ghāsīrāma of Gautama-vaṃśa identical with Ghāsīrāma Bhaṭṭa, father Śrīnātha who wrote the medical work *Jagat-prakāśa* (Stein pp. 193, 348)? He, however, appears to be the same as wrote the *Padya-muktāvalī* (erotic verses).

36. CAṆḌĪDĀSA

Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha

The work is referred to by himself in his commentary on Mammaṭa. See above p. 160.

37. CANDRACŪḌA

Prastāva-cintāmaṇi (Ulwar 1064, extract 223; Weber 826)

It is a work in five Ucchvāsas on the art of writing poetic descriptions. The author is described as son of Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa. For citations in this work, see Weber *loc. cit.* It cites Candraśekara-campū-prabandha which, Regnaud thinks, is a campū by Candraśekhara, father of Viśvanātha (*q. v.*).

38. CIRAÑJĪVA or RĀMADEVA (VĀMADEVA) CIRAÑJĪVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

a. *Kāvya-vilāsa*

(Ed. Batuk Nath Sarma and Jagannath Sastri Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1925. See *IOC*, iii no. 1191, pp. 343-44 for a detailed summary of contents.

b. *Śṛṅgāra-taṭinī* (Aufrecht i. 660b).

The author was son of Rāghavendra (described as *ācārya-śatāvadhāna*) and grandson of Kāśīnātha of Rādhāpura in Gauḍa country. He is the author of the *Vidvanmoda-taraṅgiṇī* (a campū)[1] and also of *Vṛtta-ratnāvalī*, a work on

[1] Ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912; also ed. Satyavrata Samasrami in the *Hindu Commentator* iv, nos. 1-4, 1871; and ed. Kalikrishna Deb, Serampore Press 1832 (text and trs.), 2nd ed. 1834. The author's genealogy as above is given by himself in this work.

prosody. The India Office MS, as well as the printed text, of the *Kāvya-vilāsa* consists of two chapters (called Bhaṅgī), dealing with Rasa and Alaṃkāra respectively. We are told that the definitions in this work are taken from old standard writers, while the illustrative stanzas are the author's own. The section on *śabdālaṃkāra* from this work has been printed and inadvertantly included in the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, published by N. S. P. (ed. Vāsudeva L. Panshikar Bombay, 1909) with Āśādhara's commentary[1]. See above p. 223 fn 3. The illustrative verses of his *Vṛtta-ratnāvalī*[2] panegyrise Yaśovanta Siṃha, Nayeb-dewan of Dacca under Sujau-d-daulah of Bengal, about Śaka 1653 = 1731 A.D. His *Kāvya-vilāsa* was composed in 1703 A.D. He belongs, there fore, to the last quarter of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. Cirañjīva also wrote *Mādhava-campū* (ed. Satyavrata Samasrami, in the *Hindu Commentator* iv, no. 4-7, Calcutta 1871), as well as *Kalpa-latā* and *Śiva-stotra* mentioned in his *Kāvya-vilāsa*.

39. JAYAMAṄGALA

Kavi-śikṣā (Peterson i, no. 120, extract)

This work is apparently cited by Ratnakaṇṭha on *Stuti-kusumāñjali* i. 1. The author was a Jaina who wrote at the time of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and was thus a contemporary of Hemacandra[3].

40. JINAVALLABHA SŪRI

Praśnottara (*Br. Mus. MS* no. 426, extract)

This is a collection of riddles and verbal puzzles. On the author (about 1110 A.D.), see Klatt p. 36 and Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 48, where other works of his are mentioned. It is accompanied by an *avacūri* by Kamalamandira.

1 See pp. 97-100 of this edition.

2 *HPS* iii, no. 280.

3 Peterson, *Detailed Report* 1883, p. 68

41, JĪVANĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-śekhara (Oudh iii. 12)

42. TIRUMALA or TRIMALLA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-mañjarī (extract in *ALeip* 851)

This South Indian author was son of Vallabhabhaṭṭa, and his name is also given as Trimmala or Tirmala, and sometimes incorrectly as Nirmala. The work, written in Benares in 43 verses, deals only with *arthālaṃkāras*[1]. The *Arthālaṃkāra-mañjarī* entered under this author's name in Bühler's *Catalogue* (1871-73) is probably this work[2]. The author appears to be identical with Trimalla Kavi, son of Vallabha and grandson of Śiṅghaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote some works on medicine (see *ALeip* 1182-85). His date[3] is fixed between 1383-1499 A D.

43. TRILOCANĀDITYA

Nāṭya-locana (Aufrecht i. 284b, iii. 61a)

This work (without the author's name) is extensively cited, e.g. by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* ed. NSP, 1886, p. 7, by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī*, by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* i. 1, by Dinakara and Cāritravardhana on *Raghu*. As Dinakara's date is 1385 A D.[4], this work cannot be placed later than the middle or third quarter of the 14th century. A commentary called, °*Locana-vyākhyāñjana*, by the author himself, is mentioned in Oppert 2695.

44. TRYAMBAKA

Nāṭaka-dīpa (Aufrecht i. 284b)

Three commentaries on the work are entered by Aufrecht

1 The list of 38 figures dealt with is given at the outset; the passage in quoted in *ALeip*, MS no. 851, p. 273.

2 *New Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 295 enters them separately. Most of the MSS contain Arthālaṃkāra only.

3 See *Cat. R.A.S* (Bombay Branch) vol. i, no. 126, p. 42.

4 Nandargikar's ed. of *Raghu*, 1897, Pref. p. 17.

loc. cit. One of the Deccan College MSS of the work contains a Prakrit commentary[1].

45. DĀMODARA BHAṬṬA HARṢE

Alaṃkāra-krama-mālā (Aufrecht i. 32a)

46. DĪNA KṚṢṆADĀSA

Rasa-kallola

The work was written about 1480 A.D. when Gajapati Puruṣottama was reigning[2].

47. DEVANĀTHA

Rasika-prakāśa (Aufrecht i. 497b)

The author is probably the same as Devanātha Tarkapañcānana who wrote a commentary named *Kāvya-kaumudī*, on Mammaṭa (see above p. 174). A Devanātha is cited by Bharatamallika (18th century) on Bhaṭṭi x. 73.

48. DEVAŚAṂKARA, surnamed Purohita

Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā

(Ed, S. L. Katre, Scindia Orient. Ser. Ujjain 1940. See Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91 p. lxiiif, extract)

The author, a Gujarat Brahman, was son of Nāhanābhāi and a native of Rāner (Rānder near Surat), and lived at Uraḥpattana (probably Olpāḍ in the same district). The work deals with poetic figures alone, and the illustrations sing the glory of the Peshwas Mādhava Rāo I of Poona and Nārāyaṇa Rāo. and their uncle Raghunātha Rāo who flourished between 1761 and 1772 A.D. The author, there-

1 *Deccan Coll. Catalogue* p. 417 no. 38.—The comm. by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paṇḍita on *Nāṭaka-dīpa* is not a comm. on this work, but (as Aufrecht points out, i. 791a) a comm. on the Nāṭaka-dīpa in the *Pañcadaśī*. Correct this error in Schuyler's *Bibliography* p. 18 and in Harichand Sastri, p. 35, no. 361,

2 See *IA* i, p. 215.

fore, belonged to the third and fourth quarters of the 18th century.[1] The work deals almost exclusively with poetic figures, which are enumerated as 115 and classified into Arthālaṃkāras (102), Pramāṇālaṃkāras (103-6), Dhvanyālaṃkāras (107-13) and Miśrālaṃkāras (114-15). The Kārikās, as well as prose explanations, are generally based on the corresponding passages of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*. In spite of its editor's eulogy, the work does not seem to be a striking or original contribution to the subject. Devaśaṃkara also wrote a commentary on the *Amaru-śataka* (Mitra x, pp. 81-82).

49. DHARMADĀSA SŪRI

Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana, with *vṛtti*

(Ed. Haeberlin in Kāvyasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1847, p. 269f. Also in *Kāvya-kalāpa* (pub. Haridas Hirachand) Bombay 1865 Printed many times in India; but ed. N.S.P., Bombay 1914, is useful. MSS: Aufrecht i. 572b, ii. 135b, 225a, iii. 121a).

The work of Dharmadāsa is in four *paricchedas*, dealing with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya, and at the same time describes the feeling of separation from a lover. The concluding verse in the Bombay edition of the text (wanting in Br. Mus. MS, Bendall no. 427), as well as the first verse (which invokes Śauddhodani) and the colophon to Jinaprabha's commentary, makes the author a Buddhist ascetic. The known dates of Jinaprabha put the limit of Dharmadāsa's date earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century. This work is also cited by name by Kumārasvāmin (p. 122=iv. 1), by Rāyamukuṭa on Amara[2], and quoted in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara. These citations themselves would put the date of our author earlier than the 14th century.

Commentaries on this work are numerous:

(1) By Jinaprabha Sūri, pupil of Jinasiṃha Sūri (Weber

1 See *ABORI* xv, pp. 92-96 and xxi p. 152-54.

2 Composed 1431 A.D. ; see Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 63.

1728). For this Jaina writer, whose known dates are 1293 and 1309 A. D. see Peterson iv, p. xxxvii and Klatt's Onomasticon. His Guru Jinasiṃha founded the Laghu-kharatara-gaccha in 1275 A.D. The date of our commentator, therefore, will be the last quarter of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. (2) Commentary by Ātmārāma. Aufrecht i. 573a. The full name of this writer appears to be Svātmārāma Yogīndra. (3) *Vidvan-manoramā* by Tārācandra Kāyastha. Aufrecht i. 573a, ii. 135b, iii. 121a. For his other works, see *ibid* i. 229a. (4) *Śravaṇa-bhūṣaṇa* by Narahari Bhaṭṭa, Aufrecht i. 573a. (5) *Subodhinī* by Trilocana. Aufrecht ii. 135b (extract in Stein p. 274). (6) Commentary by Śivacandra. Aufrecht iii 121a. Its date is 1613 A.D.[1] (7) °*Ṭīkā* by Durgādāsa, son of Vāsudeva and pupil of Bhaṭṭa Devacandra. Aufrecht ii. 135b, iii. 121a ; extract in Peterson iv p. 36.

50. DHARMA SUDHĪ or DHARMA SŪRI

Sāhitya-ratnākara

(ed. Tiruvenkatacharya with commentary, Madras 1871 ; ed. Nellore 1885. MSS: Aufrecht i. 716a, ii. 171a, iii. 148a ; *BORI MSS Cat.* xxii, no. 301, pp. 366-70 (extract) ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12970-75 ; *HPS* ii, no. 246, extract).

The author's name is given variously as Dharma-siṃha or Dharma-paṇḍita. Son of Parvatanātha and Allamāmba, he belonged to a Benares family distinguished for the high proficiency of its members in philosophical studies, and his genealogy is thus given (Hultzsch i. p. 70): Tripurāri→Dharma→Parvatanātha or Parvateśa→Dharma Sūri. He was also the author of two plays, called *Naraka-dhvaṃsa* or *Narakā-suravijyaya*[1] (a *vyāyoga*) and *Kaṃsa-vadha* (a *nāṭaka*), and of

1 P. K. Gode in *Journal of the Univ. Bombay*, 1954, pp. 126-29.

1 Ed. Madras 1885 (in Telugu characters) ; Hultzch 323, Aufrecht i. 277a.

some Kāvyas and Stotras. The author is cited by Anantārya (*q. v.*) in his *Kavi-samaya-kallola*. A commentary on this *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, called °*Naukā*, by Veṅkaṭa Sūri is mentioned in *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12974-75 (ed. Madhusudan Mishra, Bomra 1901). Veṅkaṭa Sūri was son of Lakṣmaṇa Sūri and Suramāmbā, and grandson of Brahmāntara-vāṇi and disciple of Veṅkaṭācārya. There is another commentary called *Mandara* by Mallāḍi Lakṣaṇa-sūri (ed. Madras 1891 in Telugu characters). The *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (*c.* 1425 A.D.) is in ten *taraṅgas*, dealing with the conventional topics of Poetics as follow: (i) Granthārambha (ii) Vācaka-śabdārtha-vṛtti (iii) Lakṣaṇā-śabdārtha-vṛtti (v) Guṇa (vi) Śabdālaṃkāra (vii) Arthālaṃkāra (viii) Doṣa (ix) Dhvani-bheda (x) Rasa. Most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Rāma as a deity (*śrīmat-raghu-tilaka-yaśoghanasāra-surabhita*). Dharma Sūri must have been later than Vidyānātha; for in one of his verses he anonymously ridicules Vidyānātha's method of praising his patron (*alaṃkriyāḥ pūrvataraiḥ praṇītāḥ / prayogitāḥ kāścana nāyakena / kaiścit tu kukṣimbharibhir nibaddhāḥ / kṣodīyasā kāścana nāyakeṇa*). His date is roughly the first half of the 15th century.[1]

51. NARASIṂHA

Guṇa-ratnākara (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5207, p. 4028)

This work deals with a hundred poetic figures. It was written under Serfoji of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D.)

52. NARASIṂHA or NṚSIṂHA KAVI

Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(Ed. E. Krishnamacharya, Gaekwad Orient. Ser. Baroda 1930)

The author, son of Śivarāma-sudhī-maṇi and disciple of an ascetic Yogānanda, belonged to the Sanagara class of Brah-

1 See E.M.V. Raghavacharya in *Proc. A-I.O.C* ix, Trivandrum 1940, pp. 503-17 ; also *NIA* ii, 1939, pp. 428-441 for Dharma Sūri's date and works. The date of the work is given as c. 1425 A.D.

mans, and was patronised by Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of his work and whose glory it sings in the illustrative verses. Nañjarāja was Sarvādhikaraṇa (revenue minister) of Chikka Krishnaraja of Mysore from 1739 to 1759 A.D., after which came Nañjarāja's downfall terminating with his miserable death in Hyder Ali's imprisonment in 1773. Narasiṃha's work must have been written during the twenty years of his patron's flourishing period. The work is divided into seven chapters called Vilāsas; and it deals with all topics of Poetics including Dramaturgy. The seven Ullāsas deal with (1) Nāyaka (2) Kāvya-svarūpa (3) Dhvani (4-5) Doṣa-Guṇa (6) Nāṭya, including Candrakalā-kalyāṇa (a short typical drama) (7) Alaṃkāra. It is obviously modelled on the *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha and freely appropriates much of its subject-matter *verbatim*. He inserts, after Vidyānātha, a model five-act drama called *Candrakalā-kalyāṇa* to illustrate his treatment of Dramaturgy in ch. vi. The author had the grandiose title Abhinava-Kālidāsa; and he describes himself as the friend of Abhinava Bhavabhūti (*alias* Ālūra Tirumala-kavi).

53. NARASIṂHĀCĀRYA or VEṄKAṬA NṚSIṂHA KAVI

Alaṃkārendu-śekhara

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12978, extract; contains the first *prakaraṇa* only)

This South Indian author was son of Dāsamācārya of Śrīśaila family and wrote a commentary on a work on music, called *Śānta-vilāsa*, composed by Subrahmaṇya Sudhī (*alias* Hariśāba Kavīndra) son of Harirāya and grandson of Kṛṣṇarāya of Cariṣṇusāla village. He refers to a *Gīta-mañjarī* by this Hariśāba Kavīndra, and to a Campū of his own called *Jānakī-pariṇaya*, and quotes *Sāhitya-ratnākara* of Dharma Sūri. The manual on Alaṃkāra mentioned above deals in five Prakaraṇas with (1) *nāyaka lakṣaṇa* (2) *kāvya svarūpa* (3) *rasa-lakṣaṇa*, especially *śṛṅgāra* (4) *doṣa* and *guṇa*, and

(5) *alaṃkāra*. It is based generally upon the *Pratāparudrīya*. Our author also wrote a commentary, also called *Alaṃkārendu-śekhara*, on some Kārikās on Poetics entitled *Lakṣaṇa-mālikā*[1].

54. NARAHARI SŪRI

Rasa-nirūpaṇa

This work and the author are mentioned by Kumārasvāmin at p. 224.

55. NARENDRAPRABHA SŪRI (Maladhāri)

Alaṃkāra-mahodadhi
(Ed. L. B. Gandhi, Gaekwad Orient. Series, Baroda 1942)

The author was a pupil of Naracandra of Harṣapurīya-gaccha. The work was composed at the request of Vastupāla (d. 1242 A.D.) in whose honour he wrote three Praśastis. It consists of eight chapters and deals with (i) Kāvya-phalādi (ii) Śabda-vaicitrya (iii) Dhvani including Rasa (iv) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (v) Doṣa (vi) Guṇa (viii) Śabdālaṃkāra and (viii) Arthālaṃkāra. The work is stated to have been composed in Saṃvat 1282 (=1225-26 A.D.).[2]

1 See *Madras Cat.* xxii 12955, extract ; *ŚgS* i, 98-99 extract, also p. 11. V. Raghavan (*New Cat. Cat.* i p. 300) thinks that probably "the basic text of the *Lakṣaṇa-mālikā* is also by Nṛsiṃha himself."

2 The *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Nārāyaṇa Deva referred to by himself in his *Saṃgīta-nārāyaṇa* (*ABod* 201) is not a work on Rhetoric but deals with the subject of musical Alaṃkāras. The author, also called Gajapati Vīranārāyaṇa-deva, was son of Padmanābha and disciple of Puruṣottama Miśra. Similarly, the *Kāma-samūha* of Ananta, son of Maṇḍana and grandson of Nārāyaṇa (composed in 1457 A.D.), is really an anthology of erotic verses ; see P. K. Gode in *JOR*, Madras, xiv, pp. 74-81. The *Śṛṅgārālāpa* of Rāma, of which a MS is dated 1556 A.D., is a similar work (see P. K. Gode in *Journal of Bom. Univ.* xv (N.S.), pt. 2, 1946, pp. 81-88.

56. NĀRĀYAṆA

Kāvya-vṛtti-ratnāvalī (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5173)

The work is in nine Prakaraṇas. Its avowed object is to deal with Kavi-svarūpa, Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, Rasa-svarūpa and general principles of poetry.

57. NĀRĀYAṆA

Śabda-bheda-nirūpaṇa

The work deals with the three Vṛttis of word (Abhidhā etc). The author refers to Śāha Mahārāja whose protégé he was (=Shahaji, king of Tanjore 1686-1710). There is another work of Lakṣaṇa-kavi, called *Śāharājīya* (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5304), the illustrations of which eulogise this prince. See above p. 270, no. 15. Several works called *Śaba-bheda-nirūpaṇa* are found in *Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5301-3.

58. PADMASUNDARA

(*Akabara-śāhī*) *Śṛṅgāra-darpaṇa*

(Ed. Anup Skt. Series, Bikaner 1943)

The author was a Jaina monk of Akbar's time. The work is in four Ullāsas, but it is a rehashing of Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka.* The illustrative verses are addressed to the Mughal emperor Akbar. MS (Bikaner 9356) is dated 1569 A.D. See paper on the work by V. Raghavan in *C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol.*

59. PUÑJARĀJA

a. *Dhvani-pradīpa* (Aufrecht i. 273b)

b. *Kāvyālaṃkāra-śiśu-prabodha* or *Śiśu-prabodhālaṃkāra* (Aufrecht i. 103a)

The author was son of Jīvana (or Jivānanda) and Makū, of the Śrīmāla family of Malabar (*mālabhāra*), and his genealogy is given thus: Sādhu-sadepāla→Kora(ā?)→Pāma(ā?) →Govā→Yāmpaca→Jīvana. Jīvana's brother Megha and him-

self were ministers of Khalaci Śāhi Gayāsa ; and Jīvana had two sons Puñja and Muñja. Puñja became king, but abandoning his kingdom to his younger brother, devoted himself to study, and wrote some works[1]. The colophon [2] to Puñjarāja's *Sārasvata-ṭīkā* on *Sārasvata-prakriyā* says: *śrīmāla-kula-śrīmālabhāraśrī-puñjarāja°*, on which Bhandarkar remarks that Puñjarāja was the ornament of the Mālava circle[3]. Aufrecht thinks that the patron of Puñja's father and uncle was Ghiyas Shah Khalji of Mālava (about 1475 A.D.) and that Puñjarāja must have lived between 1475 and 1520 A. D. or at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century.

60. PUṆḌARĪKA

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa (Aufrecht i. 284b ; *SCB* 308)

61. PUṆḌARĪKA (or PAUṆḌARĪKA) RĀMEŚVARA

Rasa-sindhu (Aufrecht iii. 106a)

The work consists of fourteen chapters called Ratnas. It quotes *Darpaṇa* (of Viśvanātha) and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta ; hence later than 1500 A.D. For its date see P. K. Gode in *Calcutta Orient. Journal* ii, pp. 30-32, dating the work at about the beginning of the 15th century.

62. PURUṢOTTAMA SUDHĪNDRA

Kavitāvatāra (Aufrecht i. 87a)

The work, in ten chapters (called Vihāras), is dedicated to one Nāgabhūpāla, whom its illustrative verses panegyrise. A Puruṣottama is cited by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, see above p. 214, fn 6.

1 Peterson *Report* v, pp. xliii, 166-69.

2 Peterson *Report* v, p. 169 ; *AFl* 181.

3 *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 12 ; cf also the colophon to his *Śiśu-prabodha* quoted in *op. cit* p. 199. See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Literary Criticism*, i, pp. 68-72 on Puñjarāja's date.

63. PRAKĀŚVARṢA

Rasārṇavālaṃkāra

The text in Roman transliteration was published by V. Venkataram Sarma with an account of the work in *IHQ* v, 1929, pp. 173f. The Madras MS gives the work in five chapters, the first four of which deal with Doṣa, Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, the last (incomplete) with Rasa. It is possible that the whole of ch. v (now lost) dealt with Ubhayālaṃkāras and the major part of ch. vi (now recovered incomplete) with Rasa. See the question discussed by S. K. De in *IHQ* v, 770-780 and by V. Raghavan in *JOR* viii, 1934, pp. 267-276. The work is later than Bhoja whose works are extensively utilised. See also on this work S. P. Bhattacharya in *JOI*, Baroda, vii, 1957, nos. 1-2 and ix, 1959, pp. 5-16.

64. PRABHĀKARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Rasa-pradīpa*

(Ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Sarasvati Bhavana Text, Benares 1925. MSS: Weber 823 ; *SCC* vii 42, extract in both)

b. *Alaṃkāra-rahasya*, cited in his *Rasa-pradīpa*, pp. 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 20, 37, 38, 39, 40, 51.

The author was son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, and younger brother of Raghunātha and Viśvanātha, the last of whom he calls his 'vidyā-guru'. The *Rasa-pradīpa* was composed in Saṃvat 1640=1583 A.D. at the age of nineteen (Weber *loc. cit.*)[1]. Prabhākara was thus born in 1564 A. D. His *Laghu-saptaśatika-stotra*, an epitome of the *Devī-māhātmya* was written in 1629 A.D. He belongs, therefore, to the last quarter of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century. The *Rasa-pradīpa* consists of three chapters (called *ālokas*) dealing with (1) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa* (2)

1 The date given in *SCC* vii, no. 42 is Saṃvat 1170=1114 A.D ; but this must be a mistake.

rasa-viveka (3) *vyañjanā-nirūpaṇa*. The author cites Śrīharṣa Miśra, Miśra Rucinātha, Dharmadatta, Locanakāra (Abhinavapguta), Pradīpakṛt, Sāhityadarpaṇa-kāra. The Dharmadatta may be the same as quoted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Ananta in his commentary on *Āryā-saptaśatī* quotes a Rucinātha Miśra as a writer on Poetics. For Prabhākara's other works, see Aufrecht i. 353b. On citations in *Rasapradīpa* see S. K. De in *IHQ* viii, 1932, p. 358.

65. BALADEVA

Śṛṅgāra-hāra

(Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81, p. 71=*BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 295, p. 351)

The author is described as son of Keśava. MS is dated in Saṃvat 1845 (=1789-90 A.D.).

66. BALADEVA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA

Kāvya-kaustubha

(Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvip, Bengal, 1957)

This work consists of nine *prabhās* and deals respectively with (1) Kāvya-phalādi (2) Śabdārtha-vṛtti (3) Rasa (4) Guṇa (5) Rīti (6) Doṣa (7) Dhvani-bheda (8) Madhyama-kāvya and (9) Śabdārthālaṃkāra. See above pp. 171-72 under commentators on Mammaṭa.

67. BĀLAKṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-sāra (Aufrecht i. 32b)

The work consists of ten chapters. Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, styled Tighara, was son of Govardhana Bhaṭṭa and belonged to the Vallabha Sampradāya. A work of this name is cited by Jayaratha (pp. 88, 97, 171, 172, 184); also in Bühler's *Catalogue* 1871-73. The *Alaṃkāra-sāra* quotes *Kuvalayānanda* and *Citra-mīmāṃsā*; and the Deccan College MS of the work (no. 23 of 1881-82) appears to have been copied in Saṃvat

1758 (=1702 A.D.). We can, therefore, assign it to a period between 1625 and 1700 A.D.

The ten Ullāsas of the work have the following topics respectively: (i) Kāvya-prayojana-kāraṇa-svarūpa (ii) Śabda-nirṇaya (iii) Artha-nirṇaya (iv) Dhvani-nirṇaya (v) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya-nirṇaya (vi) Śabdārtha-nirṇaya (vii) Doṣa (viii) Guṇa (ix) Śabdālaṃkāra and (x) Arthālaṃkāra.

68. BHĀVA MIŚRA or MIŚRA BHĀVA

Śṛṅgāra-sarasī

(*SCC* vii 43, extract)

The author of this treatise on amorous sentiments is described as son of Miśra Bhaṭaka.

69. BHĀṢYKĀRĀCĀRYA (or ? BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA)

Sāhitya-kallolinī

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12964, extract)

The author is described as a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvatsa-gotra, and a resident of Bhūtapurī or Śrīperumbūdūr. The verses are taken copiously from several well-known rhetorical works, e.g. Mammaṭa, the *Bhāva-prakāśa* etc. The author states his indebtedness to the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla ; hence he sould be placed later than the middle of the 14th century. The topics dealt with are *prabandha-bheda, nāṭya-nṛtta-nṛtya, vastu, saṃdhi nāyaka-lakṣaṇa, rūpaka, uparūpaka* and *kāvya-lakṣaṇa*.

70. BHĪMASENA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-sāroddhāra*

b. *Alaṃkāra-sāra-sthiti* or *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana*, see above p. 225 under Appayya Dīkṣita.

He refers to both these works in his *Sudhā-sāgara* commentary on Mammaṭa (see p. 171). Date between 1650-1725 A.D.

71. BHĪMEŚVARA BHAṬṬA

Rasa-sarvasva (Burnell 57a)

The author was son of Raṅga Bhaṭṭa.

72. BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA

Rasa-vilāsa

(Ed. Prem Lata Sarma, Poona 1952)

The author, son of Śukadeva of Jambusara in Gujarat, flourished between 1660 and 1720 A.D.[1] For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 414b and introd. to above ed. p. xii. The India Office MS of the present work (no. 1209/2526b) contains only three *stabakas* and the beginning of a fourth. Our author is the same as Bhūdeva Śukla who wrote the drama *Dharma-vijaya*[2] in five Acts.

The *Rasa-vilāsa* consists of seven chapters, called Stabakas. The topics dealt with are as follow, according to chapters: 1-2 Rasa, counted as nine including Śānta. 3 Bhava. 4 Guṇa. 5-6 Doṣa. 7 Vṛtti (Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā). As its editor rightly says it is a mediocre manual on Rasa and allied topics, which derives its material chiefly from Mammaṭa and Jagannātha and shows little originality.

73. MĀNASIṂHA

Sāhitya-sāra (Aufrecht i. 716a)

74. MOHANADĀSA

Rasodadhi

The work is cited by himself in his commentary on the

1 P. K. Gode, however, in *ABORI* xiii, p. 183, thinks that the *Rasa-vilāsa* was composed about 1550 A.D. As the *Rasa-vilāsa* refers to the definition of poetry given by *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, it could not have been composed earlier than 1660 A.D.

2 Ed. Granthamālā iii, 1889; also ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, Benares 1930. See Mitra i, p. 37; Weber 1561; *IOC* vii, p. 1596.

Mahānāṭaka (*ABod* 143a). The author was son of Kamalāpati.

75. YAJÑANĀRĀYAṆA DĪKṢITA

Alaṃkāra-ratnākara (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5131)

Sāhitya-ratnākara (ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras 1932)

The author was son of Govinda Dīkṣita, minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore who ruled between 1614 and 1633 A.D. Almost all the verses of the first work eulogise Raghunātha. The second work is really a Kāvya in sixteen cantos, dealing with the exploits of the same prince. Both the works form a companion to the author's *Raghunāthābhyudaya*. K. Kunjunni Raja (*Contribution of Kerala*, p. 134) is not correct in identifying him with Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita mentioned below.[1]

76. YAJÑEŚVARA DĪKṢITA

Alaṃkāra-rāghava (*Tanjore Cat*, 5132-33)

Alaṃkāra-sūryodaya (*Tanjore Cat.* 5140-41)

The author was son of Cerukūri Koṇḍubhaṭṭa and brother of Tirumala Yajvan.[2] The first work quotes *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla and *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* (apparently of Vīranārāyaṇa, *q.v.*) ; hence later than the 15th century (*c.* 1600 A.D.). The work is so called from the circumstance that the illustrative verses refer to Rāma. The author may be identical with Yajñeśvara already mentioned as a commentator on Mammaṭa (see p. 175). He may have been related to Lakṣmīdhara (*q.v.*) who also came from Cerukūri.

1 So also in *Tanjore* ix, 1933, no. 5132. The *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* ascribed Yajñanārāyaṇa (no. 5131), also eulogises Raghunātha Nāyaka, the poet's patron. Yajñeśvara and Yajñanārāyaṇa appear to be different persons.

2 See *ŚgŚ* ii, p. 65.

77. YAŚASVIN KAVI

Sāhitya-kautūhala and its commentary *Ujjvala-padā* (Aufrecht i. 715b, ii. 171a)

The author is described as son of Gopāla and Kāśī. The India Office MS (*Cat.* iii, p. 337) was copied in 1730 A.D.; it contains only the first chapter which deals with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya. There is another *Sāhitya-kutūhala* of Raghunātha, a protégé of queen Dīpābai of Tanjore (between 1675-1712 A.D.), also on Citra-kāvya (see *Journal Bomb. Univ.* x, p. 132f).

78. RATNABHŪṢAṆA

Kāvya-kaumudī (*HPS* ii, no. 35, extract)

This work in ten *paricchedas* is apparently a very modern composition by a Vaidya Pandit of East Bengal. It deals with (1) nāma. (2) liṅgādi. (3) dhātu-pratyaya. (4) kāvya-lakṣaṇa. (5) dhvani. (6) guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya. (7) guṇa. (8) and (9) alaṃkāra. and (10) doṣa, the first three chapters being devoted to grammar. The date Śaka 1781 (=1859 A.D.) may be the date of its composition (*HPS ibid*, preface p. viii).

79. RAGHUNĀTHA MANOHARA

Kavi-kaustubha

P. K. Gode (*Poona Orientalist* vii, 1943, pp. 157-64) places this work between 1675 and 1700 A.D.

80. RĀGHAVA-CAITANYA

Kavi-kalpalatā (Aufrecht i. 87a)

Possibly the poet of the same name cited in the *Paddhati* as Rāghavacaitanya Śrīcaraṇa (71, 168, 877, 1557-8), which title apparently indicates that he was a well-known Vaiṣṇava. In the colophon to the codex containing Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* in *SCC* vii, no. 7 (cf. *ABod* 211b), the reading is *māgha-caitanya-viracita-kavi-kalpalatāyāḥ* etc. This may be

a corruption of or mistake for the name Rāghavacaitanya, whose work may have got mixed up with that of Deveśvara himself.

81. RĀJACŪḌĀMAṆI DĪKṢITA

a. *Kāvya darpaṇa*

(Ed. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam (no date). MSS: *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12809-814, with the commentary of Ravi-paṇḍita)

b. *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi*

Mentioned in his *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (*Madras Cat*, xxii. 12809) or *Alaṃkāra-śiromaṇi* (Hultzsch i. extract p. 86)

The author, who is a well-known and prolific South Indian author, was son of Satyamaṅgala Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and Kāmākṣī, and step-brother of Keśava Dīkṣita and Śeṣādriśekhara Dīkṣita. He was grandson of Bhāvasvāmin and Lakṣmī and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Dīkṣita, and pupil of Ardhanārīśvara Dīkṣita who was his brother (Hultzsch ii, p. x). The date of composition of his *Tantra-śikhāmaṇi*, a work on Mīmāṃsā, is stated to be 1636 A.D. He was, thus, a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, whose *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* Campū was also composed in 1636 A.D., and belonged to the first half of the 17th century. In his poem *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa* (in ten cantos) he states that he composed it when Raghunātha, son of Acyuta, was ruling at Tanjore; and his two dramas *Ānanda-rāghava* and *Kamalinī-kalahaṃsa* were staged in the court of the same prince. His genealogy and a long list of his other works are given in the concluding verses of his *Kāvya-darpaṇa*[1] and in his drama *Ānanda-rāghava*[2]. The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* in ten *ullāsas* covers generally all the topics of Poetics, while his other work deals specially with the poetic figures. The ten Ullāsas of the *Kāvya-darpaṇa*

1 Extract in *Madras Cat.* xxii no. 12809 and Hultzsch i, pp. 85-6.

2 *Madras Cat.* xiii, no. 12495. The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* mentions 26 works of the author.

deal with (i) Kāvya-svarūpa (ii) Śabdārtha (iii) Vyaṅgārtha (iv-vi) Kāvya-bheda (vii) Doṣa (viii) Guṇa (ix) Śabdālaṃkāra and (x) Arthālaṃkāra. The family to which Rājacūḍamaṇi belonged was known as *atirātra-yājin*. Śrīnivāsa Atirātrayājin in Aufrecht i. 672a is identical with Rājacūḍāmaṇi's father. He lived in Surasamudra in Toṇḍīra (i.e. in the region of Kāñcī). Cf Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 94. For a list of his other works see Hultzsch i, pp. ix-x, and introd, to the Vanivilasa Press ed. of *Kamalinī-kalahaṃsa*. His *Śaṃkarābhyudaya* has also been published by Vanivilasa Press, Srirangam.

82. RĀMACANDRA and GUṆACANDRA

Nāṭya dārpaṇa

(Ed. G. K. Srigondekar and L. B. Gandhi in 2 vols. Gaekwad Oriental Ser. Baroda vol. i 1929. Ed. based on a single MS ; Peterson v, p. 188)

A work of this name, but probably not identical, is cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* and Bharatamallika on Bhaṭṭi. The present work is in four *vivekas*, dealing with Dramaturgy, and mentions twelve varieties of Rūpaka and a number of Uparūpakas. The author Rāmacandra was the one-eyed pupil of Jaina Hemacandra[1] of whom Guṇacandra was also a pupil. He thus flourished between 1100 and 1175 A.D. He also wrote two dramatic works respectivly called *Raghu-vilāsa*[2] or *Raghu-vilāpa*[3] where he mentions four other works by himself, as well as *Satya-hariścandra* (ed. B. R. Arte, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1898) which gives a curious Jaina version of the Hariścandra legend. Rāmacandra is said to have been the author of a hundred works (*prabandha-śata-kāra*) ; and no less

1 Peterson, *Report* iv, pp. 16-7 ; Bühler's *Hemacandra* p. 44. The present work was first brought to notice by Sylvain Lévi in *JA*, cciii, 1923. P. K. Gode (*Studies*, i, pp. 36-42) places the work at 1150-1170 A.D.

2 Peterson *Report* v. 145.

3 Bühler *Kashmir Rep.* p. xlix.

than eleven of his dramatic works are quoted in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa.*

83. RĀMACANDRA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA

Kāvya-candrikā or *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* (Aufrecht i. 101a, 778b), with commentary called *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā*

(ed. Comilla 1885 ; ed. Dacca 1886 with commentary of Jagabandhu Tarkavagisa ; ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912, with commentary *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā* by Rāmacandra Śarman who may be the author himself)

A Bengal writer described as son of Vidyānidhi. Is he identical with Nyāyavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, author of the *Kāvya-mañjarī* commentary on the *Kuvalayānanda* (see above p. 229)?

84. RĀMA ŚARMAN or RĀMA KAVI

Nāyikā-varṇana in 42 stanzas (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12901).

85. RĀMA SUBRAHMAṆYA

Alaṃkāra-śāstra-saṃgraha (Hultzsch 1562) or *Alaṃkāra-śāstra-vilāsa* (*Madras Trm* II C 1802, 1805 ; extract)

The author, also called Rāmasubbā, belonged to Tiruvisalore. He seems to be a very recent author, who appears to have also written some philosophical works noticed in the Catalogues cited above.

86. RĀMA SUDHĪ or SUDHĪŚVARA

Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī

(Ed. with *Ratna-śobhākara* comm. of Kṛṣṇa Sūri in Telugu script, Vizagapatam 1897-98)

The author was son of Nṛsiṃha.

87. LAKṢMĪDHARA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* (Aufrecht i. 32a)[1]

b. *Rasa-mañjarī*, cited by himself in his commentary on the *Gīta-govinda*

c. *Bharata-śāstra-grantha* (BORI MS no. 40 1916-18)[2]

The author was son of Yajñeśvara and Sarvāmbikā (or Ambikāmbā), grandson of Timmaya Somayājin, and brother and pupil of Koṇḍubhaṭṭa, He belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra and bore the surname of Dakṣiṇāmūrti-kiṃkara. His family came from Cerukūri on the Kṛṣṇā river (in Andhra country) which place Hultzsch thinks to be identical with modern Peddacerukūru near Bāpaṭla. He is identical with Lakṣmīdhara, author of the Prakrit grammar *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā*. He also wrote commentaries on the *Anargha-rāghava, Prasanna-rāghava* and *Gīta-govinda*. In the first of these commentaries it is said that after having led the life of a householder for a long time, he travelled to different countries and conquered all literary opponents, and then having renounced the cares of the world he became a *saṃnyāsin* or *yati* with the name Rāmānanda or Rāmānandāśrama, under a Guru called Kṛṣṇāśrama. Lakṣmīdhara (who is also sometimes called Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa or Lakṣmaṇa Sūri) was patronised by Tirumalarāja, probably Tirumala I of the third Vijayanagar dynasty[3], to whom his *Śruti-rañjanī* commentary on Jayadeva's

1 V. Raghavan (*New Catalogus Cat.* i, p. 296) queries whether this work is really the *Alaṃk. muktāvalī* of Viśveśvara (*q.v.*), son of Lakṣmīdhara, and refers to *ABORI*, xviii, 1937, p. 200.

2 See P. K. Gode *ABORI* xv, 1953, p. 240-42. Mentions *Bharatārṇava* and *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*. The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa* (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12802), said to be based on some work of Pingala's, gives miscellaneous information about a poet's personal appearance, qualities etc. (cf. Rājaśekhara, *Kav. Mīm.* ch. x) ; the name of the author is not known. See above under Gauranārya, p. 278.

3 *EI* iii p. 238 Table. He died in 1572 A.D.

Gīta-govinda is sometimes attributed[1]. As the prince flourished in the middle of the 16th century, Lakṣmīdhara's date would be the same[2].

88. VALLABHA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-kaumudī (ed. Granthamālā ii, 1889)

A short treatise of very recent times, dealing with poetic figures, the illustrations being in praise of Rāma,

89. VIṬṬHALEŚVARA or VIṬṬHALA DĪKṢITA

Rīti-vṛtti-lakṣaṇa (Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104)

The author, also called Agnikumāra, was the second son of Vallabhācārya the famous religious reformer, and brother of Gopīnātha, and father of seven sons, Giridhara, Raghunātha and others. He was born in 1515 A.D. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 572ab, 135a, 225a, iii. 121a. His *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana* (ed. Mulchand Tulsidas Telivala, with a Gujarati trs. Bombay 1919) in ten Ullāsas is not a work on Śṛṅgāra Rasa, but an erotico-religious poem on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa modelled obviously on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* and introducing songs in rhythmic rhymed metres.

90. VIDYĀRĀMA

Rasa-dīrghikā

(Peterson iii. no. 336 ; for a description of this work and extracts see *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 210, p. 240. MS incomplete)

Nothing is known of the author, but the work in five Sopānas was composed in Saṃvat 1706 =1649-50 A. D.). It names *Kavi-kalpalatā* as one of the sources.

1 See Hultzsch 2112 ; *SgS* ii, pp. 203-5. See also *SgŚ* ii, pp. 63-5, 67 ; Hultzsch iii, pp. viii-ix.

2 See K. P. Trivedi, introd. to his ed. of the *Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-candrikā* (Bombay Skt. Ser. 1916) pp. 14-17. P. K. Gode (*ABORI*, xv, pp. 240-42) would place him in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

91. VIŚVANĀTHA

Sāhitya-sudhā-sindhu (*Ulwar Catalogue*, extract 235 ; also *Jammu Cat.* no. 1254)

This South Indian author, who wrote in Benares, was son of Trimala or Trimalla Deva and grandson of Ananta of Dhārāsura city on the Godāvarī. Stein's Kashmirian MS[1] is dated in 1602 A.D.[2] He quotes at the beginning of his work from Mammaṭa and Bhoja, and elsewhere cites Caṇḍīdāsa (probably the same as the commentator on Mammaṭa) and Mahimabhaṭṭa. The work is in eight *taraṅgas*. Viśvanātha also wrote a drama called *Mṛgāṅka-lekhā*[3], a MS of which is dated Saṃvat 1664 (=1608 A.D.).

92. VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYA-(or SIDDHĀNTA-) PAÑCĀNANA

Alaṃkāra-pariṣkāra

This work is mentioned under Viśvanātha Nyāya-pañcānana in S. C. Vidyabhushana's *Indian Logic* p. 479 (also p. 392). The author was son of Vidyānivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya and a brother of Rudra Vācaspati. He composed his well known Vaiśeṣika treatise *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* in 1634 A.D. and also wrote a *Piṅgala-prakāśikā*. He was a native of Navadvipa (Bengal) and an adherent of the Navya Nyāya school of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. See H. P. Sastri in *JASB* vi, 1910, p. 313.

1 *Jammu Cat.* p. xxix.

2 Stein speaks of a MS "transcribed from an autograph copy of the author. In the colophon referring to this original copy, which is added by another hand at the end of the Jammu MS, the date *saṃvat* 1659 (=A.D. 1602) can be made out with difficulty."

3 Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 113. The work has been published in the Sarasvati Bhavana Text Series, Benares.

93. VIŚVEŚVARA KAVICANDRA

Camatkāra-candrikā
(*IOC* vii, p. 1507 ; *Madras Trm Cat.* 1916-19, 1918-19, R 2679)

The author, a protégé of Śiṅga-bhūpāla (1330 A. D.) wrote this work in eight Vilāsas or chapters on principles of rhetoric, the illustrative verses being in praise of the author's patron (*siṃhabhūpāla-kīrti-sudhā-sāra-śitalā*). He gives seven elements of Camatkāra in poetry, and the names of the chapters will sufficiently illustrate its scope. They are as follow: (i) Varṇa, Pada and Pada-doṣas (ii) Vākya and Vākya-doṣas (iii) Artha and Artha-doṣas ; varieties of composition (iv) Guṇas ; Rīti, Vṛtti, Pāka and Śayyā (v) Rasa (vi) Śabdālaṃkāras (vii) Arthālaṃkāras and (viii) Ubhayālaṃkāras. The work is noteworthy as one of the few Alaṃkāra-treatises which generally follow Bhoja ; but the author does not do so in respect of the treatment of Rasa, eight of which he accepts, dismissing Śānta. Four Rītis are recognised, and called Asamāsā, Madhyama-samāsā, Atidīrgha-samāsā and Miśrā. He anticipates later writers in describing Rasa as Lokottarāhlāda, Anubhavaika-vedya and Vigalita-vedyāntara. It is perhaps the first work which makes an approach through Camatkāra, on the basis of which poetry is classified into three groups: Camatkāri (Śabda-citra), °kāritara (Artha-citra and Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya) and °kāritama (Vyaṅgya-pradhāna). For detailed information and estimate of the work see V. Raghavan, *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35), pp. 131-39.

94. VIŚVEŚVARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*
(with his own gloss, ed. Sivadatta and K.P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1898)

b. *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1927)

c. *Alaṃkāra-(kula)-pradīpa* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1923)

d. *Kavīndra-karṇābharaṇa* (ed. in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka viii, 1891)

e. *Rasa-candrikā* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1926)

The author was son of Lakṣmīdhara. He was born in Ālmoḍa ; hence he is called Pārvatīya. He flourished in the first half of the 18th century and died about its middle[1] at the age of 34. In the first work, the author refers to two dramas called *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* (*saṭṭaka*)[2] p. 347 and *Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya* pp. 381, 387 by himself ; and the latest writers that he quotes appear to be Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha (both cited extensively). He cites also Mallinātha (p. 69) as a commentator on Daṇḍin (see above p. 71), Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 125, 166), Maheśvara (p. 49, 111) who is probably the commentator on Mammaṭa, cited as Nyāyālaṃkāra (p. 82), as well as a work (p. 157) called *Kāvya-ḍākinī* [3]. The Nyāyapañcānana, so extensively (eleven times) quoted, is probably Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (*q.v.*), another commentator on Mammaṭa. He gives the name of his elder brother as Umāpati (p. 357). In this work he deals with 61 poetic figures. The second work of our author, as he himself says, was written as an easier and briefer manual for beginners, after his first more extensive work. The third work *Alaṃkāra-pradīpa* deals entirely with poetic figures, enumerated as 119 and defined with illustrations. The fourth work deals in four chapters with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya (58 varieties). The fifth work deals with the different classes of heroes and heroines, and their characteristics. Viśveśvara was a scholiast of considerable activity and wrote a commentary called *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* or *Samañjasārthā* on Bhānudatta's

1 See Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka viii, pp. 51-52 fn.

2 Also quoted in his *Rasa-candrikā* p. 90.

3 See above p. 276.

Rasa-mañjarī (see above p. 249). For his other works, see Aufrecht ii. 139b. The Kāvyamālā editors (Gucchaka viii, p. 52) mention two other works *Kāvya-tilaka* and *Kāvya-ratna* by Viśveśvara.

95. VIṢṆUDĀSA

a. *Śiśu-prabodha Alaṃkāra* (*AFl* 469)

b. *Kavi-kautuka* cited by himself in chapter vii of the above work

The author was son of Mādhava. The Florentine MS, referred to above, contains only chapters 6 and 7, which deal with *artha-guṇa* and *śabdālaṃkāra* respectively.

96. VĪRA NĀRĀYAṆA

Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi with a commentary (*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12265-68, extract)

According to the colophon, Vīra Nārāyaṇa is the author ; but in the work itself he is in the vocative case and praised, as in the *Pratāparudra*. Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa[1] is the real author of the work which bears the name of his patron. The alleged author seems to be the same as the Reḍḍi prince Vema of Koṇḍavīḍu (end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century), the hero of the prose *Vemabhūpāla-carita* or *Vīranārāyaṇa-carita* of Vāmana (or Abhinava) Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (ed. R. V. Krishnamachariar, Srivani-vilasa Press 1910). There is also a reference to Pedakomaṭi Vema-bhūpāla who is the same person. A commentary called *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* on the *Amaru-śataka* is attributed to Vīranārāyaṇa (Aufrecht ii. 141b) or Vema-bhūpāla (*ibid* i. 609b). The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* (also called °*cūḍāmaṇi*) consists of seven chapters[2] which deal

1 For Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, see introd to the Vani Vilas ed. of his drama *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*.

2 In the *Tanjore Catalogue*, ix, no. 5308, p. 4100 the work is described as having thirteen chapters.

with (1) *dhvani* (2) *śabdārtha* (3) *dhvani-bheda* (4) *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* (5) *doṣa* (6) *guṇa* and (7) *alaṃkāra*. Possibly this is the work cited under the name *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇī* by Kumāra-svāmin (p. 97) and in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* (p. 4).

97. VĪREŚVARA PAṆḌITA (BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA)

surnamed Śrīvara

Rasa-ratnāvalī (*IOC* iii, 1233/12576, p. 359)

This Vīreśvara is the son of Lakṣmaṇa and father of Veṇīdatta, the last of whom, besides being the author of the *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya*, wrote a commentary on Bhānu's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (see above p. 250). The present work quotes Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, and is limited chiefly to Śṛṅgāra-rasa and treatment of the Nāyikās.

98. VECĀRĀMA NYĀYĀLAṂKĀRA

Kāvya-ratnākara

The author was a Bengal writer, son of Rājārāma. He mentions this work in his *Ānanda-taraṅgiṇī*, which describes an itinerary from Chandernagar to Benares (Mitra 305). He also wrote a work on Jyotiṣa, and is probably identical with Vecārāma, who wrote a commentary on Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* (see above p. 262).

99. VEṄKAPAYYA PRADHĀNA

Alaṃkāra-maṇi-darpaṇa (Rice 280)

The author is known as Pradhāni Veṅkayāmātya of Mysore, *ca.* 1763-80 A.D.

100. VEṄKAṬA NĀRĀYAṆA DĪKṢITA

Śṛṅgāra-sāra (*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12958-9, extract)

The author, son of Kāmeśvara Vaidika of the Godavarti family and Lakṣmī, refers in this work to his larger *Śṛṅgāra-*

sārāvalī for fuller treatment. The present work consists of six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *nāyaka-nāyikā-lakṣaṇa-vibhāga* (3) *nāyakādi-sahāya-nirūpaṇa* (4) *rasa-bhāva-svarūpa* (5) *caturvidha-śṛṅgāra* (6) *daśarūpaka-svarūpa*. The author is said to have composed works in eight languages.

101. VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA (also called Kirīṭi Veṅkaṭācārya) surnamed Tarkālaṃkāra Vāgīśvara

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha

(*New Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 292-93)

This writer, son of Aṇṇayārya Dīkṣita of Surapuram and of the Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭaṇam Śrīśaila family, should be distinguished from the poet Veṅkṭācārya (author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*) who was son of Raghunātha and grandson of Appayya. Our author was patronised by Veṅkaṭa, son of Pāmi Nāyaka (died in 1802 A.D.). See *Journal of Andhra Hist. Res. Society* xiii, i, pp. 17 and 20-22.

102. VEṆĪDATTA ŚARMAN, TARKAVĀGĪŚA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, surnamed Śrīvara

Alaṃkāra-candrodaya (*IOC* iii, 1198/235)

This author, son of Vīreśvara Śrīvara, also wrote a commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (*q.v.*). His genealogy is given thus: Mahīdhara (a māntrika of Kāśīpati)→Kalyāṇa→Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara. He had the surname Śrīvara and belonged to *nāgacchatra-dhara-dvijottama-kula*. The *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya* is in six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) kāvya-svarūpa (2) kāvya-vibhāga (3) doṣa (4) guṇa (5) alaṃkāra and (6) upamā.

103. ŚAṄKHA, ŚAṄKHADHARA or ŚAṄKHACŪḌA (sometimes called ŚAṂKARA), surnamed Kavirāja

Kavi-karpaṭī or *Kavi-karpaṭika-racanā*

(*Jammu Cat.* no. 1135 (p, 267) extract; *BORI MS Cat.* xii, nos. 42-46 ; extracts. Printed at Durbhanga 1892)

The word *kavi-karpaṭī* means "the ragged cloth of a poet," and the work is a strange effort at supplying a profuse stock of expressions which may be of use in poetic compositions for ideas of frequent occurrence. Various ways of expressing one and the same thought are indicated to suit various metres. The author, who also wrote the *Laṭakamelaka-prahasana* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1889), was court-poet of *mahāmāṇḍalikādhirāja* Govinda-nṛpati, king of Kānyakubja, and wrote in the first half of the 12th century (about 1113-1143 A.D.). His verses are quoted in the anthologies of Śārṅgadhara (nos. 155, 3632) and Jahlaṇa, and in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iii. 219 p. 176, *guror giraḥ pañca*, anonymously). The verse cited under Kārpaṭika in Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl.* 15) is attributed to Mātṛgupta by Kahlaṇa (iii. 181) and in the *Subhāṣitāvali*[1] (3181).

104. ŚAMBHUNĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-lakṣaṇa

(Peterson v. 407 ; *BORI Cat.* xii, no. 19, p. 18)

105. ŚĀTAKARṆI

Cited as a writer on Dramaturgy (on Sūtra-dhāra) by Śaṃkara in his commentary on *Śakuntalā*[2], and by Sāgara Nandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa* (on Sūtradhāra).

1 See Peterson's paper on *Aucitya-vicāra*, 1885, p. 21. There is a *Kavi-karpaṭikā* of Vādīndra noticed in *Tanjore Cat.* vi, no. 3753-56 (pp. 2711-14) ; one of these MSS belonged king Serfoji who acquired it during his pilgrimage to Benares.

2 *ABod* 135a. Mention is also made of an anonymous work *Kavi-kaṇṭha-hāra*.

106. ŚIVARĀMA TRIPĀṬHIN

a. *Rasa-ratna-hāra* and its commentary *Lakṣmī-vihāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 6, 1890, pp. 118-140; *Jammu Cat.* p. 273 (extract)

b. *Alaṃkāra-samudgaka*, cited at the end of his *Rāvaṇa-puravadha*, where he gives a list of his own 34 works. Stein p. 292.

For the author, son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokacandra, and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Keśavarāma, see *JAOS* xxiv 57-63. He appears to be a comparatively recent writer, quoting *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*, which alone will suffice to place him in the beginning of the 18th century. He is identical with the commentator on the *Vāsavadattā* (see Fitzedward Hall, Bibl. Ind. ed. 1859); for in this commentary he refers to his *Rasa-ratna-hāra* pp. 4, 9, 193, 206, 207. The present work, in 100 stanzas, deals with the characteristics of *rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*, and quotes extensively Bhānudatta and *Daśa-rūpaka*. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 652b, ii. 155b; also Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 292. He also appears to have written a commentary (*Viṣama-padī*) on Mammaṭa (see above, p. 176) and a work on metrics called *Kāvya-lakṣmī-prakāśa* or °*vihāra*, as well as a commentary on the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, called *Vidyā-vilāsa*[1],

107. ŚOBHĀKARAMITRA

Alaṃkāra-ratnākara

(Ed. C. R. Devadhar, Poona 1942)

The author belonging to Kashmir was son of Trayīśvaramitra. The work is written in the form of Sūtra (107 in number), Vṛtti and illustrations. The poet Yaśaskara of Kashmir extracted the Sūtras from this work and wrote his *Devī-stotra* for the purpose of illustrating them (Peterson i, pp. 77-78; extract p. 81). Ratnakaṇṭha (*q.v.*) appears to have commented

1 See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Lit. Hist.* ii, p. 237-41.

upon both the Sūtras and the Stotra. The date of Śobhākara is not known, but from the definitions and number of Alaṃkāras given, he appears to be a comparatively recent writer, considerably later than Ruyyaka whom he criticises. But as he is quoted by Jagannātha (p. 202=*sūtra* 11)[1] and by Appayya (*Vṛtti-vārttika*, p. 20), he is earlier than the end of the 16th century. It appears, however, that Jayaratha in his *Vimarśinī* commentary defends Ruyyaka against Śobhākara's attacks. Coming after Ruyyaka and preceding Jayaratha Śobhākara probably belonged to the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. The work deals entirely with poetic figures, the number of which is 109.

108. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA

Rasa-kaumudī

(Aufrecht i. 494a=BORI MS no. 303 of 1880-81 ; *Cat.* xii, no. 347, p. 463f. Also H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, no. 4931/8383, p. 481 ; the MS was copied in Saṃvat 1652=1596 A.D.

The work combines Sāhitya and Saṃgīta in ten chapters divided into two Khaṇḍas, Pūrva and Uttara. It was composed in 1575 A.D. The author was patronised by Śatrughna or Śatruśalya Jāma (Jam. Sattarsal) of Navanagar (1569 to 1608 A.D.).[2]

109. ŚRĪKARA MIŚRA

Alaṃkāra-tilaka (Aufrecht i. 32a)

110. ŚRĪNIVĀSA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (Aufrecht i. 31b)

b. *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (Rice 282)

1 See above p. 235 (under Jagannātha).

2 P. K. Gode in *ABORI* xii, 1931, p. 202-4 ; also xiv, 1933, p. 329 see *MSS Cat. BORI*, xii, pp. 463-66.

c. *Kāvya-sāra-saṃgraha* (Aufrecht i. 102b ; *SCC* vii 19)

d. *Sāhitya-sūkṣma-saraṇi* (Rice 244)

This author may be identical with Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa, father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita (*q.v.*). If this were so, then the *Kāvya-darpaṇa* above is the work of his son bearing the same title (see above p. 296), mistakenly entered here in most catalogues. As the first verse of the third work shows, it is three parts: (1) kāvya-lakṣaṇa-saṃgraha (2) varṇa-saṃgraha and (2) subhāṣita-saṃgraha. It quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. About 1800 A.D.

111. SĀGARA NANDIN

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa

(Ed. Myles Dillon, Oxford Univ. Press 1937)

The work is published from Devanāgarī transcript of a unique MS discovered by Sylvain Lévi in Nepal.[1] As its name signifies, the work brings together a number of views of different notable writers on important dramaturgic topics. Its date[2] is uncertain ; but as it cites from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 44, *vilāsa-vinyāsa-kramo*) it cannot be earlier than the first quarter of the 10th century. On the other hand, it is known to Rāyamukuṭa (1431 A.D.), Viśvanātha (between 1300 and 1350) and Bahurūpa Miśra (later than 1250 A.D.). The topics dealt with are: 1. Rūpaka and its ten varieties. 2-5. Five Avasthās, dialects to be employed, five Artha-prakṛtis. 6-10. Five Upakṣepakas, five Saṃdhis, 21 Pradeśas of Saṃdhi, four Patākāsthāna, Vṛttis and their division. 11. Excellences of the Nāyaka. 12-13. Thirty-six Nāṭya-lakṣaṇas, ten Guṇas,

1 S. Lévi in *JA*, xciii, 1923, p. 210f.

2 For a discussion of date see P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xix, 1938, pp. 280-88 (*Studies*, i, pp. 48-56) ; M. Ramkrishna Kavi in *NIA* ii, p. 412-19. For textual study see V. Raghavan in *Journal of the Univ. of Gauhatī* iii, 1952, pp. 17-33 and *Annals of Orient. Research*, Madras Univ., xvi, 1958-59.

thirty-four Nāṭyālaṃkāras. 14-16. Rasas and Bhāvas. 17. Types of Nāyikā and their excellences. 18. Minor forms of Rūpaka. The work is important not only for its collection of various views on these topics, but also for its citation of a large number of dramatic and dramaturgic works.[1]

112. SĀMARĀJA DĪKṢITA

Śṛṅgārāmṛta-laharī

(ed. Kāvyamāla Gucchaka xiv. MSS: *Jammu Cat.* no. 1243 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12961)

The author, also called Śyāmarāja, was son of Narahari Bindupurandara, and wrote also *Tripura-sundarī-mānasa-pūjana-stotra* (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka ix) and other poems. He lived in Mathurā at the latter part of the 17th century. His son Kāmarāja, whose *Śṛṅgāra-kalikā-kāvya* is published in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka xiv, as well as a Prahasana named *Dhūrta-nartaka*[2] was also a poet; while his grandson Vrajarāja and his great-grandson Jīvarāja wrote commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī* and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta respectively (*q.v.*). The present work deals with Rasa, especially Śṛṅgāra, after Bhānudatta. Our author wrote his drama *Śrīdāma-carita* in 1681 A.D. for the Bundela-prince Ānandarāya. His son Kāmarāja also appears to have written a *Kāvyendu-prakāśa* in 15 Ullāsas (Kalās), which is apparently the same work as entered anonymously in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, no. 601 and in *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, no. 142, pp. 158-60, which see for information about this work.

Sāmarāja, who wrote *Rati-kallolinī* in 1719 A.D. but who does not give his parentage, is probably a different person.[3]

1 For an index of authors and titles, see ed. as above pp. 145-47 and P. K. Gode as cited above p. 485 fn. As authors on *Nāṭya-śāstra* are mentioned Aśmakuṭṭa (lines 83, 437, 2766, 2775), Cārāyaṇa (l. 392 ; also mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* i. 1.12 ; i. 5. 22), and Bādara.

2 Wilson ii. 407 ; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 262-63.

3 See P. K. Gode in *ABORI* x, pp. 158-59.

113. SĀYAṆA

Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi

Cited by Appayya Dīkṣita and Kumārasvāmin ; see above p. 225 fn 3.

114. SUKHADEVA MIŚRA

Śṛṅgāra-latā (Aufrecht i. 661a)

A *bhāṣā*-work, called *Rasārṇarva*, by Sukhadeva is mentioned in Peterson iv, no. 770 (App. p. 29).

115. SUKHALĀLA

Alaṃkāra-mañjarī (*AFl* 213)

The author, pupil of Gaṅgeśa Miśra and his son Hariprasāda (*q.v.*), professes to follow the Kārikās of Jayadeva. Aufrecht thinks that he must have flourished about 1740 A.D. The work begins with *upamā* and takes up *rūpaka*, *pariṇāma*, *smṛtimat*, *bhrāntimat*, *saṃdeha*, *utprekṣā*, where the MS breaks off. A Kāvya called *Śṛṅgāra-mālā*, composed in Saṃvat 1801=1745 A.D. by Sukhalāla, son of Bābūrāya Miśra, is entered in Stein 75 and *Ulwar Cat.* no. 1083 (extract 230).

116. SUDHĀKARA PUṆḌARĪKA YĀJIN

Śṛṅgāra-sārodadhi (Aufrecht iii. 137b)

117. SUDHĪNDRA YOGIN or YATI

Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa
(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12976, extract)

Alaṃkāra mañjarī with commentary, *Madhu-dhāra* by Sumatīndra
(*Tanjore Cat.* ix, 5129-30)

The *Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa* is a short work on Arthālaṃkāra. The colophon gives the author's name as above ; but in the work it is said that the author, following the views of ancient and

modern authorities on the subject, deals with and illustrates the Arthālaṃkāras by means of examples eulogising the virtues of Sudhīndra Yati himself who is made out to be a follower of the Mādhva sect. He is probably the same as Sudhīndra Yati, disciple and successor of Vijayīndra Yati (d. 1623 A. D.). The *Alaṃkāra-nikarṣa* by Sudhendra in Oppert 4797 is probably this work. The *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī* appears to be separate work by Sudhīndra Yati in which the illustrative verses are in praise of the teacher Vijayīndra. Most of the MSS contain the Śabdālaṃkāras only. There is a commentary on this work called *Madhu-dhārā* by Sumatīndra, a successor of Sudhīndra. We are told that Sudhīndra was living in the Tanjore district in the 17th century. A drama called *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* is attributed to Sudhīndra Yati in *Madras Cat.* xxi no. 12729 and a drama called *Subhadrā-dhanañjaya* to Vijayīndra Yati in *ibid* no. 12728.

118. SUNDARA MIŚRA AUJĀGARI

Nāṭya-pradīpa (Aufrecht i. 284b, 791a)

The work is dated in 1613 A.D. It is cited by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (ed. N.S.P. 1886, p. 6). This work repeats *verbatim* a large portion of the *Daśa-rūpaka* (see pref. to Hall's ed.). In the work itself the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is referred to. The author is the same as Sundara Miśra who wrote the *Abhirāmamaṇi-nāṭaka* in seven acts in 1599 A. D. which is mentioned as his own (*ABod* 137b-138a ; Kielhorn *Central Prov.* p. 68 ; Wilson ii p. 395). See *IOC* iii, pp. 347-48, no. 1199/1148d (extract).

119. SOMANĀRYA

Nāṭya-cūḍāmaṇi

(*Madras Cat.* xxii 12998, with a Telugu commentary)

This is a very recent work on dancing and music[1]. The

1 See V. Raghavan on Later Saṃgīta Literature in the *Journal of Madras Music Acad.* iv.

author is described as one famous for *aṣṭāvadhāna* (attention to eight things at a time).

120. HARIDĀSA

Prastāva-ratnākara

(Weber 827 ; Aufrecht i 360a, ii 212a iii 77a)

The author was son of Puruṣottama of the Karaṇa family, and the work is a metrical compilation dealing with *kūṭa*, *samasyā* and enigmatic composition in general, as well as with miscellaneous subjects including Nīti, Jyotiṣa etc. It was compiled in 1557 A.D.

121. HARIPRASĀDA MĀTHURA

a. *Kāvyārtha-gumpha*
(Aufrecht ii. 20b ; *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 131, p. 145, the MS is dated Saṃvat 1775)

b. *Kāvyāloka*
(Aufrechti. 103a, extract in Peterson iii p. 356-7)

The second work in seven *prakāśas* is dated in Saṃvat 1734=1728 A.D. A MS of the first work bears the date 1775 which is possibly the date also of its composition. Hariprasāda is also author of a work on *ācāra* (*māsādi-nirūpaṇa*), see Peterson iv, p. cxxxvii. A *Kāvyāloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* ; but this must have been an earlier work. The *Kāvyāloka* cited by Kumārasvāmin p. 73 refers the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 221), and is not, as supposed by Harichand Sastri (p. 27, no. 234) a reference to the present work. The author was son of Māthura Miśra Gaṅgeśa (see above under Sukhalāl).

122. HARIHARA

a. *Śṛṅgāra-bheda-pradīpa* (Burnell 59a)

b. *Bindvalaṃkāra*, cited in *Ekāvalī* p. 242 (on Dīpaka)

One Harihara is referred to in the *Ekāvalī* p. 19 as having received amazing wealth from king Arjuna, who is supposed

by Bhandarkar and Trivedi (see above p. 206) to be identical with Arjunavarman of Mālava, whose earliest and latest known dates are 1211 and 1216 A.D. If this Harihara be our author, then his date will be the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Śṛṅgāra-bheda*° deals, among other topics, with the ten Avasthās of Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra, as we know from a passage which is quoted by Viśveśvara in his *Rasa-candrikā* (p. 55).

123. HALADHARA RATHA

Kāvya-tattva-vicāra

(H. P. Sastri's *Report*, 1895-1900, p. 16).

ANONYMOUS WORKS

We give below a list of some minor works on Alaṃkāra, of which the names of the authors are unkown or uncertain:

1. *Alaṃkāra-kārikā.* Aufrecht i. 31b.

2. *Alaṃkāra-kaumudī-vyākhyā. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12784. Neither the name of the author of the original treatise nor that of the commentary is given. It treats of poetic figures.

3. *Alaṃkāra-candrikā.* Rice 284 (Aufrecht i. 32).

4. *Alaṃkāra-darpaṇa* in Prakrit, consisting of 134 Ślokas devoted to the treatment of poetic figures. *Monatsber. Berl. Akad.* 1874, 282.

5. *Alaṃkāra-prakaraṇa. ŚgŚ* i, no. 52.

6. *Alaṃkāra-prakāśikā. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12791. It deals with poetic figures and quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa.*

7. *Alaṃkāra-mayūkha.* Oppert 1754 (Aufrecht i. 32).

8. *Alaṃkāra-vādārtha.* Śabda-bheda discussion, starting with the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa. HPS* i, 12.

9. *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12795. It enumerates and classifies the various poetic figures.

10. *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12798 (MS. incomplete). The author says that his teacher composed a work on Alaṃkāra in praise of king Gopāladeva. It is a treatise on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, but the MS is incomplete, breaking off with the Guṇa-prakaraṇa. It appears to be a recast of *Pratāparudrīya.* For the uncertain name of the author see V. Raghavan, *New Cat. Cat.* i, 2976 ; *Number of Rasas* p. 50, also note in Addendum.

11. *Alaṃkārānukramaṇikā.* Oppert 5489 (Aufrecht i. 32b).

12. *Alaṃkāreśvara*, cited by Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā* p. 4.

13. *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa.* See above p. 278. 299 fn. *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12802-03.

14. *Kavi-kalpalatikā.* Burnell 54a.

15. *Kavi-saraṇa-dīpikā.* A work on poetic composition by one Ratneśvara. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS.* vi. no. 4915A/8069, pp. 471-73.

16. *Kāvya-kalāpa.* Aufrecht i. 100b.

17. *Kāvya-kaustubha.* Oppert ii. 3616 (Aufrecht i. 101a).

18. *Kāvya-dīpikā,* Oppert 541, 636 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12815. A compilation for beginners. Probably the same as Kānticandra's *Kāvya-dīpikā* (see below).

19. *Kāvya-pariccheda,* Oppert ii. 8727.

20. *Kāvya-ratna.* Oppert ii. 6237. See above p. 220.

21. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12829. It is based on the Kārikās of *Kāvya-prakāśa,* but adds a section on dramaturgy (cf. Oppert i. 1793 and ii. 6238).

22. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-vicāra. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12979. A comparatively modern work on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, citing the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara.*

23. *Kāvyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī.* See above p. 177.

24. *Kāvyopadeśa,* cited by Hemādri on *Raghu* (Aufrecht i. 103a).

25. *Daśarūpaka-vivaraṇa. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12892. This work is not a commentary on the *Daśa-rūpaka,* but a short treatise, mostly in the nature of a compilation, explaining the characteristics of dramatic composition. It may have formed the Nāṭaka-section of some comprehensive work on Poetics. It refers to *Daśa-rūpaka* by name.

26. *Nāṭaka-ratna-kośa,* cited by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānujī. *ABod* 182b. This may be the Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratnakośa of Sāgara Nandin, see above p. 310.

27. *Nāṭakāvatāra,* mentioned by Mohanadāsa (*q.v.*). *ABod* 142a.

28. *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* (ed. N.S.P. 1914, p. 7) and Bharatamallika on Bhaṭṭi xiv. 3. See p. 297, no. 82 above.

29. *Nāṭya-sarvasva-dīpikā*. *BORI MS* no. 41 of 1916-18 (*Cat.* xii, no. 344, p. 453). Purports to be a comm. on the so-called *Ādibharata* in 5 Skandhas, 32 Adhyāyas and 221 Prakaraṇas, of which a fragment is found in a Mysore MS named *Ādibharata*. For an account of this MS and the work see S. K. De. The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 156-76.

30. *Rasa-kalikā*, cited by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī* (Aufrecht i 494a). For a *Rasa-kalikā* by Rudrabhaṭṭa see V. Raghavan *Number of Rasas*, p. 53f. This work is found in two MSS in the Govt. Orient. Library, Madras (nos. R. 2241 and 3274). It is identical with the work cited by Vāsudeva, for all the six verses quoted by him are found in it.

31. *Rasa-kaumudī*. Peterson v, no. 414. P. K. Gode (*Cal. Oriental Journal* iii, pp. 35-37) gives the latter half of the 18th century A. D. as the probable date of this anonymous work.

32. *Rasa-gandha*. Rice 286 (Aufrecht i. 494b).

33. *Rasa-gāndhāra*. Aufrecht i. 494b (may be a mistake for *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha).

34. *Rasa-ratnākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* ix. 71 and on *Meghadūta* (ed. Nandargikar, 1894, pp. 64, 67. 85, 91). Aufrecht, i. 496a (commentary by Hṛdayarāma Miśra).

35. *Rasa-ratna-kośa*, anonymous, is mentioned in Aufrecht i. 495b ; but it may be Kumbha's work of the same name (see p. 271-72).

36. *Rasa-bindu* and *Rasāmṛta-sindhu*, Kathvate no. 703 and 707 ; *BORI MS Cat* xii, no. 212, pp. 245-46.

37. *Rasa-viveka*. *Madras*. *Trm C* 589. (Cf Oppert 5144).

38. *Rasa-samuccaya*. Aufrecht i. 496b.

39. *Rasa-sāgara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* xv. 89.

40. *Rasa-sudhākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Raghu* vi. 12.

It is *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla which Mallinātha cites in his com. on *Kumāra.* For this work see above p. 239.

41. *Rasākara,* cited by Mallinātha on *Megha-dūta* (ed. *ibid,* p. 87, 97).

42. *Rasika-sarvasva,* cited by Nārāyaṇa on *Gīta-govinda* v. 2 ; also by Rucipati in his comm. on *Anargha-rāghava* (NSP ed.) p. 13.

43. *Rahasya,* probably an abbreviation of some more definite title, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii. 60, xiv. 40, on *Śiśu* xiii. 10.

44. *Śṛṅgāra-kaustubha.* Rice 288 (Aufrecht i. 660b).

45. *Śṛṅgāra-candrodaya,* cited in *Prastāva-cintāmaṇi.* Weber i, p. 229.

46. *Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī.* Oppert 2465 ; Rice 288 (= Aufrecht i. 660b).

47. *Śṛṅgāra-pavana.* Oppert 5766 (Aufrecht i. 661a).

48. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī.* Aufrecht i. 661a.

49. *Śṛṅgāra-vidhi.* Oppert 5680 (Aufrecht i. 661a).

50. *Śṛṅgāra-ratnākara.* Aufrecht ii. 158a.

It is not always clear, from the citations or descriptions in the catalogues, whether some of the works on Rasa and Śṛṅgāra noted here are really works on Poetics or partake of the nature of erotic Kāvya. But care has been taken to exclude the latter wherever possible.

Among recent publications (in Sanskrit) on Poetics, produced late in the 19th century, may be mentioned:

(1) *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* by Candrakānta Tarkālaṃkāra, a Bengal Pandit who lived within living memory. (Publ. Calcutta 1899).

(2) *Yaśovanta-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* by Pandit Rāmakarṇa in praise of a native prince of Rajaputana of that name. (Publ. Godhapur 1897).

(3) *Alaṃkāra-maṇi-hāra* by Śrīkṛṣṇa Brahmacārin, published in Mysore Govt. Oriental Series in 4 vols. nos. 51, 85, 68, 72. The author is called Kṛṣṇabrahmatantra Parakāla-

svāmin, a recent pontiff of the Parakāla Śrīvaiṣṇava Math in Mysore.

(4) *Kāvya-dīpikā* of Kānticandra Mukhopādhyāya Vidyāratna (ed. Calcutta 1870, 1886, with a comm. by Jivananda Vidyasagar 1919 ; ed. Haridatta Sastri, Lahore 1939, with Skt. and Hindi commentary). It is a compilation for beginners from Mammaṭa and other authors by a modern writer belonging to the 19th century.

(5) *Alaṃkāra-sāra-mañjarī* with Skt. text and Hindi comm. by Narayan Sastri Khiste, ed. Narahari Sastri Thatte, Chowkhamba Skt. Series 1933.

CONCLUSION

(1)

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages not only to indicate the diversity as well as immensity of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature, but also to settle its relative chronology as a workable basis for an historical treatment. If we leave aside its unknown beginnings and Bharata, the historic period of its growth covers broadly a thousand years from 800 to 1800 A.D. It is marked by a speculative activity, surprising alike for its magnitude and its minuteness. This activity in its early stage centres in Kashmir, to which place belong most of the famous and original writers on Poetics. We do not indeed know the place of origin of the two earliest writers, Bharata and Bhāmaha, but immediately after them we find Vāmana, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Ānandavardhana, Lollaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Kuntaka, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka flourishing in Kashmir. The only important exception is found in Daṇḍin who was probably a South Indian writer. Coming to later times we find the study extending itself to Central India, Gujarat, the Dekkan and Bengal. In South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original, writers ; but these contributions of later times, though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness, never supersede the volume of original work done in Kashmir, which may be fittingly regarded as the home-land, if not the birthplace, of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra. The writers of Central India, Gujarat, the Dekkan and Bengal only carry on the tradition, as well as acknowledge the authority, of the Kashmirian originators of the discipline.

(2)

Although our history covers a period of more than a thousand years, it is yet marked by several well-defined stages.

With the date of Ānandavardhana, we arrive for the first time at a distinct landmark in its chronology as well as its history ; and we may take it as the central point from which we may proceed backward and forward, although the system of Ānandavardhana itself was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the classical work of Mammaṭa. The mutual relation of this system to the other systems flourishing before and after Ānandavardhana furnishes the best and safest criterion for the orientation of the divergent streams of thoughts and tendencies, which gather together in one clear, dominant and finally authoritative doctrine in Mammaṭa. Indeed, one of the obvious objects of Ānandavardhana's work was not only to fix the new principle of Dhvani in poetry, but also to work up and rationalise into a synthetic and comprehensive system the already accumulated ideas, elaborated by previous thinkers but flowing through different channels in the respective systems of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and the post-Bharata dramaturgic Rasa-writers ; while Mammaṭa gathered the results up and uttered them in the convenient and concise form of a systematic text-book.

(3)

Although in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, the earliest known work on Poetics, we meet for the first time with a more or less systematic scheme of Poetics, there is enough evidence to show that it must have been preceded by a period, covering perhaps several centuries, of unknown beginnings. All that we know of this period consists of glimpses of rhetorical speculations, such as we find in Bharata, in the recorded opinions of (or stray references to) pre-Bhāmaha writers like Medhāvin, or in such treatises on Alaṃkāra as was presumably utilised by the Kāvya-poets in general and by Bhaṭṭi in particular. This period begins with the enumeration and definition of only four poetic figures, ten Guṇas and ten Doṣas, but ends with the elaborate characterisation of thirty-eight independent figures in Bhaṭṭi. But what is important to note

in this period is Bharata's more or less elaborate exposition of Dramaturgy, and incidentally of Rasa, which element, however, is considered not in relation to Poetry and Poetics, but in connexion with Drama and Dramaturgy.

This is followed by a comparatively brief but important period of extraordinary fertility and creative genius, beginning with Bhāmaha and ending with Ānandavardhana, in which we find most of the fundamental problems of Sanskrit Poetics discussed and settled in their general outlines. We have, on the one hand, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, devoting themselves to the consideration of those decorative devices of poetic expression which are known as Alaṃkāras (poetic figures), and confining themselves chiefly to an external art or theory of adornment, from which the discipline itself takes its name and its original tradition. Daṇḍin and Vāmana, on the other hand, emphasise in poetry the objective beauty of representation realised by means of what they call Mārga or Rīti (roughly 'diction') and its constituent excellences, the ten Guṇas. Both these systems, which emphasise respectively the elements of Alaṃkāra and Rīti in poetry, content themselves with the working out of the outward forms of expression, the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry. They point out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and describe the poetical embellishments which should enhance its beauty, insomuch so that the whole discipline came to receive the significant designation of Alaṃkāra-śāstra or the Science of Poetical Embellishment.

Side by side with these early writers, however, we have the commentators on Bharata (like Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others) who were bringing into prominence the aesthetic importance of Rasa, the consideration of the moods, sentiments and feelings, which we find reacting upon and influencing even the theorists of rival persuasion (e.g. Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Rudraṭa) who betray themselves more and more alive to the significance of this element in poetry.

But the discussion of Rasa appears to have been, so far, confined chiefly to the sphere of the dramatic art, and its bearings on poetry were not fully realised until the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana had come into the field.

These new theorists, headed by Ānandavardhana, maintain that no system of Poetics, like no system of Dramaturgy, can entirely ignore the moods, feelings and sentiments as essential factors in poetry, and must therefore find an important place for Rasa in its scheme. What was thus already established in the drama was taken over and applied to poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of the Kāvya. The Rasa came to be considered as the "essence" (*ātman*) of poetry ; and in order to harmonise it in poetic theory, the new school evolved a theory of "suggestion" (*dhvani*) as the means of its expression. Not satisfied, however, with working up the concept of Rasa into their system, the new theorists devoted themselves to the examination of the already accumulated ideas of Alaṃkāra and Rīti (with its constituent Guṇa and Doṣa), with a view to correlate them to the new idea of Dhvani (and Rasa), and thus by synthesis evolve a comprehensive theory of Poetics.

The interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa was taken up in settling precisely the details of the new system, which was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the final text-book of Mammaṭa. Its success was so complete that the new concept of Dhvani was unquestionably accepted by most later writers, and the systems which emerged after Mammaṭa could no longer be strictly regarded as entirely independent systems.

(4)

But a new theory, however systematic or comprehensive, is never accepted without some opposition. Ānanda-vardhana's system, no doubt, absorbed and overshadowed in course of time all the earlier systems ; but in the interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, while it was still

striving for supremacy, we find a few vigorous but short-lived reactionary movements which refused to accept Ānandavardhana's new interpretation. Thus, we have Kuntaka who strove to make Bhāmaha's concept of Vakrokti elaborate and comprehensive enough to include the new ideas; Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who raised his voice on behalf of the Rasa-systems against their acceptance; and Mahimabhaṭṭa who attempted to settle the new concept of Dhvani with the technical process of logical inference. All these writers, however, do not deny the newly established doctrine of Dhvani, but they try to explain it in terms of already recognised ideas. In spite of these nonconformist schools, however, whose feeble opposition languished for want of support even in the time of Mammaṭa, the system of Poetics, as finally outlined by Ānandavardhana and worked out in detail by Mammaṭa and his followers, was established without question in almost all writings from the 12th century downwards. Here and there we have some surviving exponents of some old tradition, like the Vāgbhaṭas or the followers of Bhoja, as well as specialised departments which stood apart like the group of Kavi-śikṣā-writers or the erotic Rasa-writers; but in the main, the creative days of the science were over, and no new theory forthcoming, the system of Ānandavardhana, as represented by Mammaṭa, reigned supreme, even influencing, to an obvious extent, the writers who would pretend to stand apart.

(5)

These considerations, which will become clearer as we proceed in our study of details in the next volume of this work will enable us to fix the rough outlines of the history of Sanskrit Poetics and divide it, for convenience of treatment, into several periods in conformity to chronology and the stages of development through which its doctrines passed. The dim beginnings of the discipline, like the beginnings of most other departments of Indian speculation, are hidden from us, until it issues forth in the works of Bharata and

Bhāmaha in a more or less self-conscious form. Then starts a period, ending with Ānandavardhana, which may be characterised as the most creative stage in its history, a stage in which the dogmas and doctrines of the different systems were formulated and settled in their general outlines, giving us at least four different systems which emphasise respectively the theories of Rasa, of Alaṃkāra, of Rīti and of Dhvani in poetry. To this period belong Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, the commentators on Bharata (Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others), the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni-purāṇa*, and lastly, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. Between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, we have a third definitive period which ends with the ultimate standardisation of a complete scheme of Poetics, with the Dhvani-theory in its centre, in which the divergent gleams of earlier speculations are harmonised into a focus, and which finds itself finally set forth in a well-defined and precise form in the text-book of Mammaṭa. To this period also belong reactionary theorists, like Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as Bhoja who carries on the same tradition as that of the *Agni-purāṇa*, and Dhanañjaya who writes on Dramaturgy. The period which follows this is necessarily a scholastic period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth in a systematic form (generally after Mammaṭa) the results of the final speculations, and also in indulging in fine distinctions and hair-splitting refinements on minute questions. This stage, therefore, is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius ; but at the same time it denotes a progressive deterioration of the study itself. The branching-off of some specialised and practical groups of writers from the main stem is to be explained as due rather to this degenerate spirit of the times than to any real split in the domain of poetic theory or to any desire for independent thinking. It is also the age of numberless commentators, and of commentators on commentators, who busied themselves with the

hardly inspiring task of explanation, of expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also now a number of popular writers who wanted to simplify the study for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to the manuals and school-books of quite recent times.

(6)

We may, therefore, conclude here by broadly indicating the bearings of the chronological results of this volume on our enquiry in general, in the light of which (as well as in the light of what follows in the next volume) we may tentatively put forward a rough division of the different periods of our history, noting the different groups of writers comprised in them, with a view to facilitate the study of the problems which will confront us in the next volume:

I. From unknown Beginnings to Bhāmaha. (Formative Stage).

II. From Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana. *Circa* middle of the 7th to the middle of the 9th century. (Creative Stage).

  (1) Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa (*alaṃkāra*-theory).
  (2) Daṇḍin and Vāmana (*rīti*-theory).
  (3) Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others (*rasa*-theory).
  (4) The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni-purāṇa*.
  (5) The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana (*dhvani*-theory).

III. From Ānandavardhana to Mammaṭa. *Circa* middle of the 9th to the middle of the 11th century. (Definitive Stage).

  (1) Abhinavagupta
  (2) Kuntaka
  (3) Rudrabhaṭṭa
  (4) Dhanañjaya and Dhanika

(5) Bhoja
(6) Mahimabhaṭṭa

IV. From Mammaṭa to Jagannātha. *Circa* middle of the 11th to the 18th century. (Scholastic Stage),
(1) Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha (including Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Jayadeva, Appayya and others).
(2) The Vāgbhaṭas and Keśava Miśra.
(3) The writers on Rasa, especially Śṛṅgāra : Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla, Bhānudatta, Rūpa Gosvāmin and others.
(4) The writers on Kavi-śikṣā: Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, Deveśvara and others.
(5) Jagannātha.

(7)

Looking at the question from another point of view, we may classify the systems of Poetics broadly into (1) Pre-dhvani (2) Dhvani and (3) post-Dhvani systems, taking Dhvani-theory as the central landmark. In the Pre-dhvani group, we include all writers (flourishing before Ānandavardhana), mentioned in Groups I and II above, with the exception of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, with whose names the Dhvani-system is associated. In the Post-dhvani systems may be comprised the followers of the Dhvani-system from Mammaṭa to Jagannātha, together with reactionary or unorthodox authors like Kuntaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as the writers on Śṛṅgāra and on Kavi-śikṣā. On the other hand, the systems of Poetics have been grouped, on the basis of the particular theory emphasised by a particular group of writers, into (1) the Rasa School (2) the Alaṃkāra School (3) the Rīti School and (4) the Dhvani School. The convenience of this classification is obvious, but it is doubtful whether we may safely apply the term "school" to indicate affiliation to a particular

system of opinion,[1] when we consider that one has to admit a great deal of mutual and (to a certain extent) inevitable contamination of the different "schools", which makes the existence of any particular school *by itself* almost impossible. Thus, the "Dhvani School" admits Rasa and Alaṃkāra as important factors of poetry, which are thus not exclusively monopolised by the so-called Alaṃkāra and Rasa Schools. It is doubtful, again, if a Rasa School, properly so-called was at all founded by Bharata, who is taken as its original exponent, or a similar Alaṃkāra School by Bhāmaha. All that we can say is that Bharata and Bhāmaha laid stress on the elements of Rasa and Alaṃkāra which became in course of

1 Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 387f. Reliance has been placed on Ruyyaka's review of previous opinions and Samudrabandha's classification. But Ruyyaka only takes the concept of *dhvani* or *pratīyamāna artha* as the starting point and considers how far it was accepted, explicitly or implicitly, by his predecessors. Samudrabandha, commenting on this passage, speaks of five *pakṣas* or theses, including the *dhvani*-theory (which he calls the last *pakṣa)* with which his author identifies himself. His classification is based upon the conventional theory that poetry consists of a "special" disposition of word and its sense (*viśiṣṭa śabda* and *artha*). This speciality, in his opinion, may be realised by putting emphasis on their (1) *dharma* (inherent characteristic) (2) *vyāpāra* (operation) and (3) *vyaṅgya* (suggestiveness). In the first case, the *dharma* may proceed from *alaṃkāra* and *guṇa* (i.e. *rīti*). In the second case, the *vyāpāra* may consist of *bhaṇiti-prakāra* or *bhogīkaraṇa*. Thus, we get five standpoints associated respectively with the names of Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Kuntaka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Ānandavardhana. This classification, though very significant, is obviously overlapping and historically incorrect. The *vyañjanā*, it may be objected, which is taken as one of the bases of differentiation, is admittedly as much a *vyāpāra* as *bhaṇiti* postulated by Kuntaka. Besides, Kuntaka, as a matter of fact, developes Bhāmaha's idea of *vakrokti* as *bhaṇiti-vaicitrya*. and therefore may be properly included among those who put emphasis on *alaṃkāra*. Similarly, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka describes *bhoga* as a peculiar function (*dharma*) or process by which Rasa is said to be realised ; and therefore he is in reality an exponent of the Rasa-theory as an interpreter of Bharata's dictum on Rasa.

time established ideas in the realm of Poetics. As a rule, each great writer who puts forward, consciously or unconsciously, a new theory, takes over from his predecessors those ideas which have stood the test of criticism and which he can combine in a self-consistent system of his own. In this way, really valuable ideas have been generally adopted, although sometimes other ideas, perhaps of the same author, have by common consent been rejected. This is illustrated by the case of the Vakrokti-jīvitakāra, whose theory of Vakrokti was universally rejected, although the main principle (analysis of an Alaṃkāra) for which he was contending is accepted by Ruyyaka and others. It is not maintained here that the history of Sanskrit Poetics consists of only *one* stream of development, and that within it we have mere currents and counter-currents. The latter were indeed very important, but they never succeeded in forming into separate rivers; and the different channels originating independently or breaking away from the main course ultimately merge into one dominant and clear stream.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI=Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Aufrecht=Th. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum i-iii. Leipzig 1891-1903.

ABod=Aufrecht's Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Oxonii 1864.

AFl=Aufrecht's Florentine Sanskrit MSS. Leipzig 1892.

ALeip=Aufrecht's Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. Leipzig 1901.

Bendall=C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum. London 1902.

Bhandarkar. R. G. Bhandarkar's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS are quoted with reference to the particular years of operations, as indicated on the respective title-page of the Reports. Other lists by him are cited as in Aufrecht. Sridhar Bhandarkar's Reports and Catalogues are separately referred to.

Bibl. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica Series of Sanskrit publication.

Bik. or Bikaner=Rajendralal Mitra's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner. Calcutta 1880.

BORI Cat. MSS=P. K. Gode's Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. Collections of MSS deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Volume xii deals with MSS of Alaṃkāra and Nāṭya.

BSOS or *BSOAS*=Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.

Br. Mus.=British Museum.

BSS=Bombay Sanskrit Series. Ben. S. S.=Benares Sanskrit Series.

Burnell or *Tanjore Catalogue*=Burnell's Classified Index to Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.

Also P. P. S. Sastri's revised Catalogue of the same collection, esp. vol. ix which deals with Alaṃkāra (1930). Srirangam 1928-31.

Comm.=Commentary.

Deccan Coll. Cat.=Sridhar Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS deposited in the Deccan College. Bombay 1888.

Ed.=edition or edited. *EI*=Epigraphia Indica.

F or f=following. Fn=Footnote

GgA=Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN=Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Hall *Index*=Hall's Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems. Calcutta 1859.

HPS or H. P. Sastri=Haraprasad Sastri's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series. i-iv. Also his *Report* 1895-1900. Also his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi.

HSP=History of Sanskrit Poetics by P. V. Kane, prefixed to his ed. of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 3rd ed. Bombay 1951.

Hultzsch=E. Hultzsch's Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India. i, 1895 ; ii, 1896 ; iii, 1905. Madras 1895-1905.

IA=Indian Antiquary. *IHQ*=Indian Historical Quarterly.

IOC=J. Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library. Part iii deals with works on Alaṃkāra. London 1891.

JA=Journal Asiatique.

JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDL=Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.

JOI=Journal of Oriental Institue, Baroda.

JOR=Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Kashmir Rep.=G. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India (Extra no. *JBRAS* 1877). Bombay 1877. As regards Bühler's other Reports and Lists, the references are as in Aufrecht.

Kathavate=A. V. Kathavate's Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95. Bombay 1901.

Kāvyamālā=Kāvyamālā Series published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay.

KBod=A. B. Keith's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library, Appendix to vol. i. Oxford 1909.

Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81=F. Kielhorn's Report on the search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81. Bombay 1881.

Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.*=Kielhorn's Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Central Provinces. Nagpur 1874. Kielhorn's other reports and lists are cited as in Aufrecht.

KM=Kāvyamālā publications in 14 Gucchakas, also referred to as Kāvyamālā in parts.

Madras Cat.=A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by S. Kuppusvami Sastri. Vol. xxii (dealing with works on Alaṃkāra). Madras 1918.

Madras Trm A, B and *C*=A Triennial Catalogue of MSS, collected during the Triennium 1910-11 and 1912-13 for the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by M. Rangacarya and S. Kuppusvami Sastri, Vol i (A, B, C). Madras 1913. Also vol. iv 1928 ; vol. v 1932 etc.

Mitra=Rajendralal Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. i-x. Calcutta 1871-90.

NSP or N.S.P.=Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, and its edition of Sanskrit works.

Oppert=G. Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS in the Private

Libraries in Southern India. i, Madras 1880 ; ii, Madras 1885.

Our Heritage=Journal of the Postgraduate Research Dept. Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Peterson=P. Peterson's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS, as follow: i Detailed Report 1882-83 ; ii 1883-84 ; iii 1884-86; iv 1886-92 ; v 1892-95 ; vi 1895-97. Bombay 1883-99.

Rep.=Report.

Rice=L. Rice's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore 1884.

Raghavan, V=*The Number of Rasas* and *Some Concepts of the Alaṃkāra Śāstra.* Adyar Library, Madras 1940 and 1942.

Regnaud=Regnaud's *Rhêtorique Sanskrite.* Paris 1884.

Sb. der Preuss. Akad=Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sb. der Wiener Akad.=Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SCB=Lists of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi MSS deposited in the Benares Sanskrit College, comprising collections 1897-1901, 1904-05, 1909-10, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1914-15. Allahabad. Separately published 1902-15.

SCC=Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College by Hrisikesa Sastri and Sivacandra Guin. Vol vii (dealing with Alaṃkāra works). Calcutta 1904.

ŚgŚ=Sesagiri Sastri's Reports on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. Madras, i, 1898 ; ii, 1899.

Śl=Śloka.

Sten Konow=Sten Konow's Indische Drama (in the Grundriss Series), Berlin and Leipzig 1920.

Stein or *Jammu Cat.*=M. A. Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Raghunath Temple Library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Bombay 1894.

Ulwar=P. Peterson's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar. Bombay 1892.

WBod=Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library vol. ii, begun by M. Winternitz and completed by Keith. Oxford 1905.

Weber=A. Weber's Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. I, 1853 ; II, pt. i 1886, pt. ii 1888, pt. iii 1892. Berlin 1853-92.

WRAS=Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS in the Royal Asiatic Society. London 1902.

WZKM=Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Obvious abbreviations of texts referred to (e.g. *Kāv. prak.*= *Kāvya-prakāśa)* are not given in this list ; but the texts are often quoted only with the author's name, e.g. Daṇḍin= Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa.* Other Reports and Catalogues are cited as in Aufrecht.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 4. Footnote 1, line 2. Read *kanīyāṃsaṃ*.

P. 34. Footnote 1, lines 4 and 5. Read 151 (for 161) and 160 (for 16).

P. 44. Bibliography. Line 4. Read ch. 1 (for ch. i), and line 8 read du (for de). Next page, line 1 read *Sanskrite* (for *Sanscrit*).

P. 55. The last footnote should be numbered 4.

P. 93. Footnote, line 8. Add after the paragraph: The verse is missing in ASB MS no. 4801/5456 (H. P. Sastri, *Cat.* vi, p. 395).

P. 140. Line 2. Add: (6) *Laghu-ṭīkā* by Harihara Miśra (H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, no. 4808/4851, p. 399).

P. 189. Line 21. Read gloss (for glass).

P. 207. Line 7. Read *Keli-* (for *Kali-*).

P. 233. Footnote 1. Lines 4 and 9. Read i (for ii).

P. 259. Footnote 2. Add: Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri, author of the *Prabandha-kośa*, was a Śvetāmbara Jaina who became pontiff of the Harṣapurīya-gaccha about 1350-54 A.D.

P. 270. Paragraph 15. Read KĀŚĪ (for KASHĪ).

P. 274. Add after line 15: Kṛṣṇāvadhūta also wrote a drama called *Īhāmṛga* or *Sarva-vinoda* in four Acts dealing with Śṛṅgāra, Bībhatsa, Hāsya and Vairāgya.

INDEX

OF AUTHORS AND WORKS ON ALAṂKĀRA CITED IN VOL. I

(References are to pages ; asterisk indicates footnote)

AUTHORS

2. WORKS

N.B.—There are numerous passing references to some of these works and authors; but the figures in the index indicate the places where they are dealt with or cited substantially.

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

SUSHIL KUMAR DE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

CALCUTTA
1960

VOLUME II

SYSTEMS AND THEORIES

CHAPTER I

FROM BEGINNINGS TO BHĀMAHA

(1)

Of the unknown beginnings of Poetics as a discipline, our enquiry in the preceding volume[1] has indicated that we can only make a few surmises, by implication, from the oldest surviving works on the subject, from stray references in general literature, from the elaboration of similar ideas in other disciplines, and from the fully developed Kāvya-style which would warrant the pre-existence of some doctrines of Poetics regulating its art and usage.

Apart from such surmises, the sixteenth chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* gives us for the first time an outline of Poetics which is probably earlier in substance, if not in date, than the earliest existing Kāvya. In this chapter, one meets with a developed dogma, if not a theory, of Poetics which enumerates four poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*), ten excellences (*guṇas*), ten defects (*doṣas*), and thirty-six characteristics (*lakṣaṇas*) of poetic composition. These apparently constituted the principal contents of the discipline as it existed at a very early period ; and this may be taken, in the absence of other data, as the first known period in the history of Sanskrit Poetics.

It is proper to note in this connexion that in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Bharata is principally concerned with Dramaturgy and allied topics[2], and deals with Poetics in so far as it applies to the theme in hand. In later poetic theories, Dramaturgy is taken as a part of the discipline of Poetics, and the drama

1 See vol. i, pp. 1-17.

2 An outline of the different chapters of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* is given in Winternitz *GIL* iii, pp. 7f, and in Kane *HSP*, pp. vi-vii.

is accordingly considered to be a species of the Kāvya. But there are reasons to believe that in older times Dramaturgy and Poetics formed separate disciplines, the former being probably the earlier in point of time, as well as in substance. We have seen[3] that the existence of *naṭa-sūtras*, which were presumably works in the *sūtra*-style on the histrionic art, was known even in the time of Pāṇini ; but there is no reference, direct or indirect, to such *alaṃkāra-sūtras*, and indeed the term Alaṃkāra itself in the technical sense was unknown in early literature. The earliest surviving works on Poetics, on the other hand, do not include a treatment of the theme of Dramaturgy which, having been a study by itself, was possibly excluded from the sphere of Poetics proper. Both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, no doubt, speak of *nāṭaka* as a species of *kāvya*, but they refer to specialised treatises for its detailed treatment[4]. Vāmana, the next important writer on Poetics, shows indeed an unusual partiality towards the drama (1. 3. 30-32), but even he did not think it proper to devote any special attention to it. Among later writers, it is not until we come to the time of Hemacandra, Vidyānātha and Viśvanātha, when the study was already entering upon a period of critical elaboration and summing-up of results, that we find special chapters dealing with the topic of Dramaturgy. Of these late writers, Vidyānātha and Viśvanātha explicitly refer to and summarise the *Daśa-rūpaka*, a recognised work on the dramatic art ; while the encyclopaedic Hemacandra, who professes great admiration for Bharata and his commentator Abhinavagupta, deals with the subject rather summarily, referring the reader to the standard works of Bharata and Kohala.

It seems, therefore, that the school of Dramaturgy had an existence separate from the orthodox school of Poetics.

3 Vol. i, p. 16.

4 *Kāvyādarśa* i. 31, *Bhāmahālaṃkāra* i. 24. The word *anyatra* in Daṇḍin is interpreted by the cmmentators as referring to Bharata.

It is thus not surprising that Bharata should set apart, as he does, a chapter of his work for dealing with the ornaments of Poetry, so far they apply to the drama (*nāṭakāśraya*). In his discussion of the *guṇas* and *doṣas* in their application to the drama, he expressly designates them as *kāvya-guṇas* and *kāvya-doṣas* (xvi. 92, 84) respectively ; and with reference to the *alaṃkāras* he says *kāvyasyaite hyalaṃkārāḥ* (xvi. 41)[5], making it clear at the same time that he considers them only as embellishments of the dramatic speech.

Bharata opens this chapter on Poetics with the discussion of what he calls the *lakṣaṇas* (lit. characteristics), which appear to be partly formal and partly material elements of poetry[6]. Bharata mentions 36 of them and devotes a considerable part of this chapter to their definition ; and the whole discipline appears to have received from them the designation of Kāvya-lakṣaṇa referred to in xvi. 17[7]. From his treatment it appears that he considers Lakṣaṇas to be of greater importance

5 Ed. Kāvyamālā (N.S.P.), ed. GOS xvi. 41; but the Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. ed. xvii. 42 reads the line differently. Our references in the following pages are throughout to the Kāvyamālā ed.—Cf also verses 104, 110. Bharata uses the word *kāvya* many times here, as in other chapters, to signify the drama, but we must bear in mind that his conception of poetry is dramatic and justifies such employment of the term *kāvya*. But in this chapter he appears to imply a distinction between the *kāvya* and the *nāṭaka* as species of composition.

6 The part of the text dealing with Lakṣaṇas and Guṇas exists in two recensions, which we shall call here A and B. Both the recensions are known to Abhinavagupta; but he follows the text of A on Lakṣaṇas, as it had been handed down to him through his teachers (*asmad-upādhyāya-paramparāgataḥ*, p. 384). The editions of Kāvyamālā and Gaekwad's Series give this recension A, which consists of 39 verses starting with Upajāti and proceeding with Anuṣṭubh stanzas. The B recension, found in Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. ed. (which also gives A in the footnote), consists of 42 stanzas all in Anuṣṭubh. A is followed by the *Daśa-rūpaka*, but B is accepted by Śiṅga-bhūpāla and Viśvanātha. Bhoja appears to know both the recensions, but he makes out 64 Lakṣaṇas; he is followed by Śāradātanaya.

7 In Kāvyamālā and Gaekwad's ed.; ed. Chowkhamba p. 204, st. 16.

than Alaṃkāras which are mentioned as just a few in number.

It is not very clear, however, from Bharata's treatment as to what position these Lakṣaṇas should occupy in a formal scheme of Poetics ; but the function of most of these is assigned in later Poetics to Alaṃkāras or Guṇas. Daṇḍin mentions them summarily (ii. 366) under Alaṃkāras in the wider sense, along with *saṃdhyaṅga* and *vṛttyaṅga* which belong properly to the drama, and refers to *āgamāntara* (interpreted by Taruṇavācaspati as alluding to Bharata) for their treatment. So does Dhanañjaya (ed. N. S. P. iv. 84) ; while Viśvanātha (ed. Durgaprasad, vi. 171-211, pp. 316-332) takes them in connexion with the drama, calling some of them *nāṭyālaṃkāra* (dramatic embellishment), and is at the same time of opinion that although some of them are properly included under *guṇa, alaṃkāra, bhāva* and *saṃdhi*, they require a particular mention inasmuch as in the drama they are to be accomplished with some care (p. 332). In later literature the Lakṣaṇas, which linger conventionally in Dramaturgy, entirely disappear from Poetics proper, Jayadeva's *Candrāloka* being the only later work on Poetics which deals with them. This phenomenon would probably indicate not only that the Lakṣaṇas were regarded as strictly proper to the drama, but also the conclusion that what were, in the infancy of Poetics, considered so important as to deserve separate treatment and to be differentiated from the Guṇas and the Alaṃkāras, were with the growth of critical insight assigned to the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras themselves to whose sphere in ultimate analysis they were thought properly to belong[8].

V. Raghavan has already given[9] a detailed account of the

8 For instance, *āśīḥ* is one of the *lakṣaṇas* of Bharata, Bhāmaha mentioning it rather doubtfully as an *alaṃkāra* with the remark: *āśīr api ca keṣāṃcid alaṃkāratayā matā* (iii. 54). In Daṇḍin ii. 357 (as well as in Bhaṭṭi), it is already established as an Alaṃkāra. It is significant that Kuntaka finds fault with those who regard it as an Alaṃkāra.

9 *Some Concepts of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra*, Adyar Library 1942, pp. 1-47.

history of the concept of Lakṣaṇa ; but since the Lakṣaṇa-paddhati perished very early, or lingered as a superfluous relic in the history of Poetics and Dramaturgy, it is not necessary for us to make more than a passing reference. Abhinavagupta, while explaining Bharata's text, mentions as many as ten different views concerning Lakṣaṇa ; but it appears that Lakṣaṇa, otherwise called Bhūṣaṇa, is generally taken (on the analogy perhaps of Sāmudrika Lakṣaṇa), to be an innate beautifying element belonging to the body of poetry, or rather as constituting the body itself. Although similar in function to the Alaṃkāra in being a Kāvya-śobhākara Dharma, it is not a separate entity, but Apṛthak-siddha ; that is to say, it imparts beauty to poetry by itself, and is not added, as an Alaṃkāra is added, for extra beauty. It is obvious that the concept of Lakṣaṇa, even at its birth, had an overlapping of function with Alaṃkāra, which in course of time swallowed it up. Even as a Nāṭaka-dharma, connected with dramatic Saṃdhyaṅgas, it had little individuality, and the attitude of the *Daśa-rūpaka* in not considering it separately is significant. The main view, however, which takes Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṃkāra, as a beautifying characteristic, appears to have died out with Abhinavagupta's somewhat apologetic formulation.

From Lakṣaṇas Bharata goes on to the more interesting topic of *kāvyālaṃkāras* or poetic figures. It appears from his treatment that only four such poetic figures were known or recognised in his time, viz. *upamā* (simile), *rūpaka* (metaphor), *dīpaka* (lit. illuminator[10]) and *yamaka* (repetition

10 It is difficult to translate some of these terms, for there are no equivalents for them in European Rhetoric, and therefore attempts at such translation are as a general rule avoided here. The poetic figure *dīpaka* may be generally explained as a figure in which two or more objects, some relevant and some irrelevant, having the same attributes, are associated together; or in which several attributes, some relevant and some irrelevant, are predicated of the same object. It is called *dīpaka* or "illuminator" because it is like a lamp which, when employed for illuminating one object, illuminates others.

of words or syllables similar in sound). The Upamā is subdivided into four kinds, according as the object compared (*upameya*) or the standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is one or many[11], Bharata expressly making use of these technical terms. From another standpoint, five varieties of Upamā are distinguished and illustrated, viz. (1) *praśaṃsopamā* (2) *nindopamā* (3) *kalpitopamā* (4) *sadṛśī upamā* and (5) *kiṃcit-sadṛśī upamā*[12], according as these qualifications apply to the *upamāna*. Bharata is apparently unaware of the finer shades of distinction (grammatical or otherwise) introduced later on into the treatment of Upamā by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, or of its comprehensive definition given by Vāmana; but the very fact that the idea of comparison was even by this time analysed thus far shows a considerable amount of speculation on this point[13]. Bharata's first two kinds, however, are criticised by Bhāmaha (ii. 37), but accepted by Daṇḍin without question (ii. 30-31); while the name, if not the idea, of the third kind lingers in Vāmana iv. 2. 2. Of Rūpaka and Dīpaka[14] no subvarieties are mentioned, and possibly these were comparatively late inventions. Of Yamaka, on the other hand, ten subspecies are elaborately defined and illustrated[15], a number exceeding even that given by Bhāmaha. It would appear that in the earlier stages of Poetics, what in later authors is known as a *śabdālaṃkāra*

11 Viz. (i) *ekasya ekena* (ii) *ekasya anekena* (iii) *anekasya ekena* (iv) *bahūnāṃ bahubhiḥ*.

12 Abhinavagupta notices the reading *asadṛśī*.

13 This figure is certainly one of the most ancient, and the idea of it was not unknown to Yāska (see vol. i, pp. 3-6).

14 The arrangement of the text dealing with these two figures differ in the different editions. But the wordings agree with the exception of *saṃprakīrtitam* xiv. 55 (in Kāvyamālā ed.), which is obviously a misreading for *saṃpradīpakam* (as Abhinava's comm. shows), given correctly in other editions.

15 Most of the names of these varieties have survived in Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍin and other writers; but they are in most cases differently defined, See vol. i, p. 54 footnote 2.

(of which the artifices of Yamaka in particular seem to have found the greatest favour) received a more elaborate treatment[16], although the process repeats itself in comparatively modern decadent authors who delight in such external poetic devices. The later distinction between *śabdālaṃkāra* and *arthālaṃkāra* is not referred to by Bharata[17], as also by Bhāmaha ; but Bharata uses the word *śabdābhyāsa* with reference to Yamaka, which term might have suggested, as Abhinava's commentary on this point indicates, the later classification, which is implied for the first time by Daṇḍin's treatment.

After the Alaṃkāras, comes the treatment of ten *doṣas* (xvi. 84f) and ten *guṇas* (xvi. 92f), which seem to have constituted the orthodox number of faults and excellences of poetic composition. We shall have occasion to deal with the doctrine of Guṇa and Doṣa in connexion with the Rīti-theorists, who for the first time take it up seriously ; but it

16 As in Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among older authors. Bhāmaha gives only five varieties, and Udbhaṭa is the only old writer who altogether omits its treatment. This figure, as Bharata's elaborate treatment would show, must have been very early comprehended, e.g., in *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundarakāṇḍa v 15-17, in Rudradāman inscription of the 2nd century A. D. Possibly it was favoured as a not unlikely substitute for rhyme, which is nearly absent in earlier Sanskrit and which probably originated from *antyānuprāsa* in later literature. But Mammaṭa and later writers, following perhaps the dictum of Ānandavardhana (on ii. 16 f) that *yamaka*, in order to be really poetical, requires a special effort on the part of the poet, and is in no way accessory to *rasa*, allude to it but dismiss it in a few words. As critical insight into the aesthetic requirements of poetry grew, the number of such figures as depended for their appeal chiefly on clever verbal arrangement, as well as their treatment in Poetics, naturally dwindled, although *yamaka* itself (as well as *anuprāsa*) played a much larger part in later decadent poetry. Bhoja, with an inaccuracy characteristic of later writers, speaks of tricks like *muraja-bandha* as having been *bharata-kathita*!

17 Abhinava, however, reads into Bharata such a distinction, and in his °*Locana* p. 5 he says: *cirantanair hi bharata-muni-prabhṛtibhir yamakopame śabdārthālaṃkāratveneṣṭe.*

may be pointed out here that Bharata's enumeration and definition of individual Doṣas and Guṇas do not exactly correspond to those of his nearest successors. Except keeping to the conventional number of ten (although Bhāmaha introduces an eleventh fault from the standpoint of logical correctness[18] and a list of ten intrinsic poetic faults in a different context, as he also mentions only three poetic excellences), both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin do not appear to have accepted implicitly this part of Bharata's teaching.

The faults mentioned by Bharata (xvi. 84) are:[19]

i. *gūḍhārtha*=circumlocution or periphrase (*paryāya-śabdābhihitam*[20]),

ii. *arthāntara*=digression into irrelevant matter (*avarṇyasya varṇanam*[21]),

18 With the exception of the eleventh fault, Daṇḍin is not only in complete agreement with Bhāmaha but really follows the latter's enumeration and definitions almost literally. This point will be discussed later.

19 On Bharata's Doṣas see V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, pt. ii, pp. 229-233. In Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra the defects of the art of writing are: vyāghāta (contradiction), punarukta (repetition), apaśabda (grammatical incorrectness) and saṃplava (misarrangement of words).

20 This phrase in Bharata cannot mean "expression by means of a synonym", for it would then be difficult to differentiate this Doṣa from *ekārtha* given below. Possibly this is the fault which appears in later writers as the figure of speech known as *paryāyokta* (=roughly, circumlocution or periphrase as a poetic figure). It is apparently so explained by Abhinavagupta. It is possible that later rhetoricians perceived that periphrase might sometimes be an ornament of expression, and thus analysed it into a poetic figure; and this may be taken as an instance in point of the process by which poetic figures were multiplied in later speculation.

21 Abhinava takes it in the sense of description of matters which should not be described in words (*śabdenāvarṇanīyam api varṇitam*), and rejects the sense of *aprākṛta-varṇanaṃ*. We are, however, inclined to prefer the sense of *digression* rejected by Abhinava. The defect *vācyāvacana*, mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa (p. 100), would possibly be this Doṣa of Bharata. This seems to be the fault in Māgha i. 43. Abhinava regards the *sva-śabda-vācyatā-doṣa* of Rasa and Bhāva as

iii. *artha-hīna*=incoherence (*asaṃbaddha*), or multiplicity of meaning (*aśeṣārtha*),

iv. *bhinnārtha*=(a) rusticity or want of refinement (*asabhya* or *grāmya*), or (b) changing the desired sense by another sense (*vivakṣito'nya evārtho yatrānyārthena bhidyate*),

v. *ekārtha*=tautology (*ekārthasya abhidhānam*),

vi. *abhiplutārtha*=aggregation of complete lines without merging them into a complete sentence (*yat padena samasyate*[22]),

vii. *nyāyād apetam*=defective logic (*pramāṇa-varjitam*),

viii. *viṣama*=defective metre (*vṛtta-doṣa*),

ix. *visaṃdhi*=disjunction in which the words are not well knit[23],

x. *śabda-hīna*=use of ungrammatical words (*aśabdasya yojanam*[24]).

But the faults discussed by Bhāmaha are (ch. iv):

i. *apārtha*=absence of complete sense[25],

ii. *vyartha*=incongruity with the context,

iii. *ekārtha*=tautology (Bhāmaha noting that others call

included in Bharata's *arthāntara-doṣa*, although it is not clear whether Bharata himself regarded this *sva-śabda-vācyatā* to be a Doṣa at all.

22 Abhinava explains: *abhiplutārthaṃ yathā—sa rājā nīti-kuśalaḥ saraḥ kumuda-śobhitam / sarva-priyā vasanta-śrīḥ grīṣme mālatikā-gamaḥ/iti*; *atra pratipadam arthasya parisamāptavād abhiplutārtham, eka-vākyatvena nimajjanābhāvāt.*

23 The reading *anupratiṣṭhāśabdaṃ yat* is obviously incorrect. Abhinava's explanation is not clear; but he appears to read *anupārūḍha-śabdam*. By *saṃdhi* or *saṃdhāna* he appears to mean compactness, congruity or merging, i. e. where the words are well knit. The Gaekwad ed. reading *anupaśliṣṭa-śabdam* is more apposite, but perhaps it is not original.

24 *aśabda=apaśabda*, Abhinavagupta.

25 Both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin say *samudāyārtha-śūnyaṃ yat*, and this incompletion of the total sense arises, they explain, from the non-satisfaction of the natural expectancy of words in a sentence (*ākāṅkṣā*), a point already dealt with by grammarians and Mīmāṃsakas.

it *punarukta*, which well-known term is apparently unknown to Bharata),

iv. *sasaṃśaya*=ambiguity,

v. *apakrama*=violation of syntactical regularity,

vi. *śabda-hīna*=use of words not approved by correct usage (grammatical),

vii. *yati-bhraṣṭa*=deviation from the rules of metrical pause,

viii. *bhinna-vṛtta*=use of long or short syllables in the wrong place in a metre,

ix. *visaṃdhi*=disjunction of euphonic *liaison* when it is necessary,

x. *deśa-kāla-kalā-loka-nyāyāgama-virodhi*=inconsistency with regard to (a) place (b) time (c) the fine or mechanical arts (d) worldly usage (e) logic (f) *āgama* (=*dharma-śāstra*[26] i. e. codes of law or jurisprudence).

Bhāmaha also adds another fault to these ten, viz.. the Doṣa which arises from a faulty logical proposition (*pratijñā*), a faulty middle term (*hetu*), and a faulty logical illustration (*dṛṣṭānta*); but this blemish is treated in a separate chapter (ch. v), being interesting to Bhāmaha from the standpoint of the logic of poetry. In another context, while discussing the general characteristics of poetry (i. 37f), Bhāmaha mentions ten other defects which a poet should avoid, viz.:

i. *neyārtha*=farfetchedness, when the sense does not follow from the logical order of words but has to be guessed from the general intention,

ii. *kliṣṭa*=obstruction of the sense,

iii. *anyārtha*=disappearance of the sense,

iv. *avācaka*=inexpressiveness, when in the expressed words the sense does not appear to be openly dominant,

26 *āgamo dharma-śāstrāṇi, loka-sīmā ca tat-kṛtā / tad-virodhi tadācāra-vyatikramaṇato...//* says Bhāmaha himself in explanation (iv. 48).

v. *gūḍha-śabdābhidhāna*=use of difficult expressions,
vi. *ayuktimat*=impropriety, e.g. making clouds massengers in poetry,
vii. *śruti-duṣṭa*=expressly indecent[27],
viii. *artha-duṣṭa*=implicitly indecent (later writers calling it *aślīlatva*),
ix. *kalpanā-duṣṭa*=defective conception, where in the alliance of two words an undesirable sense is produced,
x. *śruti-kaṣṭa*=unmelodious or harsh in sound[28].

After giving these ten Doṣas Bhāmaha points out (i. 54-58) how these Doṣas may sometimes become Guṇas. As to how these two different series of ten faults are to be distinguished, Bhāmaha says nothing ; but it is conceivable from his treatment that the latter concerns the inner nature or essence of poetry, while the former refers to only such defects as are more or less external. A glance at these two lists of faults, given by Bharata and Bhāmaha respectively, will at once shew that while some of Bhāmaha's faults correspond generally to Bharata's in name or in substance, Bhāmaha in his elaborate treatment is certainly more advanced than his predecessor. It is also noteworthy that Bhāmaha lays down, in his discussion of the last-named fault of *śruti-kaṣṭa*, the general proposition (i. 54) that a particular combination or arrangement sometimes makes even defective expressions allowable; in other words, a fault sometimes is converted into an excellence. Bharata, on the other hand, regards, as we shall see, all Guṇas or excellences to be mere negations of Doṣas or faults.

After dealing with the Doṣas, Bharata speaks of the Guṇas or excellences of composition which are also enumerated as

27 Bhāmaha's text is obviously corrupt on this point. But the distinction between *śruti-duṣṭa* and *śruti-kaṣṭa* of earlier writers is explained by Abhinava in his °*Locana* p. 82 (on ii. 12).

28 The examples given of this fault are words like *ajihladat* (Bhāmaha), or *adhākṣīt*, *akṣautsīt*, *tṛṇeḍhi* (Abhinava, °*Locana* loc. cit.).

ten in number[29]. He states summarily at the outset (xvi. 91) that the Guṇas are negations of the Doṣas (*guṇā viparyayād eṣām*), an opinion which is indeed extraordinary in view of the fact that later writers like Vāmana (ii. 1. 1-3) rightly consider Guṇas in a theory of Poetics to be positive entities, of which the Doṣas are the negations known by implication. It appears, on the other hand, that Guṇas like *mādhurya* and *audārya*, mentioned by Bharata in xvi. 91 and 92, are not really, as defined by himself, negations of any particular defect discussed by him. Jacobi's explanation[30] is probably right that Bharata's description of the Guṇas as negations of the Doṣas is in conformity with the common-sense view of the matter, for it is not difficult for one to seize upon a fault instinctively, while an excellence cannot be conceived so lightly unless its essence is comprehended by differentiating it from a more easily understood fault. The Guṇas, according to Bharata (xvi. 92), are the following[31]:

i. *śleṣa*=coalescence of words, connected with one another through the aggregate meaning desired by the poet, and consisting of a subtlety which in appearence is clear but in reality difficult to comprehend[32].

ii. *prasāda*=clearness, where the unexpressed sense appears from the word used through the relation of the easily understood word and sense[33].

29 Abhinava reads *kāvyasya guṇāḥ* in xvi. 92 as in Gaekwad and Chowkhamba eds., and not *kāvyārtha-guṇāḥ* as in Kāvyamālā ed.

30 In *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, p. 223.

31 The alternative readings show that the text for some Guṇas also existed in two recensions. Abhinavagupta attempts throughout to approximate Bharata's Guṇas to those of Vāmana and strains to make Guṇas of Śabda and Artha out of each. Hence he is not a safe guide for this portion of the text. On the Guṇas of Bharata see V. Raghavan *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, pp. 271-81.

32 Hemacandra (p. 196) and Māṇikyacandra (p. 191) remark: *svabhāva-spaṣṭaṃ vicāra-gahanaṃ vacaḥ śliṣṭam iti bharataḥ.* Abhinava thinks that this excellence corresponds to Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa śleṣa.*

33 Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra explain: *vibhakta-vācya-*

iii. *samatā*=evenness, which is easy to understand and in which there is no redundance of expression nor excess of *cūrṇa-padas*[34].

iv. *samādhi*=superimposition (*samādhāna*) of something special or distinguishing in the sense[35].

vācakāyogād anuktayor api śabdārthayoḥ pratipattiḥ prasāda iti bharataḥ. Jacobi proposes (*ZDMG* lxiv, p. 138 contd. fn.) to read *mukhya* instead of *mukha* in the text, and thinks that Bharata's *prasāda* corresponds to Daṇḍin's *samādhi*. But Abhinava reads *sukha* and explains: *sukhayati, na prayatnam apekṣate yaḥ śabdārthaḥ*. Perhaps by this Guṇa, Bharata means to imply some kind of hint (*anukta artha*), transparent from the words used (such as we find, e. g., in the figure *mudrā* in *Candrāloka*, ed. Jivananda, v. 139, and *Kuvalayānanda*, ed. N.S.P., 1917, pp. 146-7), which may correspond partly to the metaphorical mode of expression included by Vāmana in his peculiar definition of *vakrokti* (iv. 3. 8.), or comprised by later writers under *lakṣaṇā* or *upacāra*. Referring to Vāmana's definition of *artha-guṇa prasāda* as *artha-vaimalya* (iii. 2. 3), Abhinava seems to support our suggestion when he says *so'rtho vaimalyāśrayo'pi vaimalyam upacārāt*, thus attempting to approximate Bharata's *prasāda* to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa* of that name.

34 The *cūrṇa-pada* is defined by Bharata himself in xviii. 50b, 51 Cf. Vāmana 1. 3. 22, 24 where *cūrṇa* is the name given to a kind of prose, which contains short compounds. Commenting on this passage in Vāmana, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla interprets the word as: *cūrṇa-padena upacārād vyasta-pada-samāhāro lakṣyate, tena vyasta-pada-bahulaṃ cūrṇam*. Vāmana himself in his Vṛtti gives two characteristics, viz., *adīrgha samāsa* and *anuddhata pada*, short compounds and soft vocables. Referring to Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa* of the same name in iii. 1. 12, and trying to approximate it to Bharata's *samatā*, Abhinavagupta remarks: *śabdānāṃ samatvāt samaḥ, cūrṇa-padair a-samāsa-racanā yatra sātiśayā na bhavati,.........dīrgha-samāso'pyatyanta-samāsaś ca viṣamatā, tad-viparyayeṇa samatā, upakrānta-mārgāparityāga-rūpety uktam.*

35 Abhinava explains: *yasyārthasya abhiyuktaiḥ pratibhānātiśaya-vadbhir viśeṣo'pūrvaḥ svollikhita upapadyate sa samāhita-manaḥ-saṃpādya-viśeṣatvād artho viśiṣṭaḥ samādhiḥ*. In the second line of the text Abhinava reads *parikīrtitaḥ* (and not *parikīrtyate*), and takes *arthena* as referring to the word *samādhi*: *samādhi-śabdasya yo'rthaḥ parihāra-lakṣaṇas tena parikīrtitaḥ paritaḥ samantād ākrāntyā uccāraṇe saṃpannaḥ*. This explanation of *saṃpanna* is probably given to make the definition correspond to that of Vāmana's *ārohāvaroha-kramaḥ samā-*

v. *mādhurya*=sweetness, where a sentence heard or repeated many times does not tire or disgust[36].

vi. *ojas*=strength, which consists in the use of varied and dignified compounded words, having letters agreeable to one another[37].

vii. *saukumārya*=smoothness, where an agreeable sense is realised by means of agreeably employed words and well-connected euphonic conjunctions[38].

viii. *artha-vyakti*=explicitness, which describes the nature of things, as they appear in the world. by means of well known predicates[39].

dhiḥ (iii. 1. 13); for Abhinava goes on explaining *ākrāntyoccāraṇe ārohāvaroha-krama eva*, the *āroha* and *avaroha* depending, as he discusses in detail, on *uccāraṇa*. Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra explain Bharata's definition simply as *arthasya guṇāntara-samādhānāt samādhir iti bharataḥ*.

36 Abhinava reads *śrutam* and *vākyam* instead of *kṛtam* and *kāvyam* in the printed text (Kāvyamālā ed.); and this is supported by what Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra say with regard to this excellence of Bharata. The other eds. give the words correctly.

37 Abhinava reads *bahubhiḥ* (instead of *vividhaiḥ*) and *sānurāgaiḥ* (instead of *sā tu svaraiḥ*), explaining the latter reading thus: *yatra varṇair varṇāntaram apekṣate tatra sānurāgatvam*. Hemacandra, however, attributes a different definition to Bharata, viz., *avagītasya hīnasya vā śabārtha-saṃpadā yad udāttatvaṃ niṣiñcati kāvayas tad oja iti bharataḥ*; and Māṇikyacandra says to the same effect (this follows the reading of Recension B): *avagīto'pi hīno'pi syād udāttāvabhāsakaḥ* // *yatra śabdārtha-saṃpattyā tad ojaḥ parikīrtitaḥ* /.

38 Abhinavagupta reads *sukha-prayojyaiś chandobhiḥ* (for *sukha-prayojyair yac chabdaiḥ*) in the text. Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra simply paraphrase: *śukha-śabdārthaṃ saukumāryam iti bharataḥ*.—The "agreeable sense" (*sukumāratha*), which corresponds to the *aniṣṭhurākṣara-prāyatā* of Daṇḍin's Guṇa of this name, or to the *ajaraṭhatva* or *apāruṣya* of Vāmana's twofold *saukumārya*, implies probably the avoidance of disagreeable or inauspicious (*amaṅgala*) statements: Thus instead of *mṛtaḥ*, one should say *kīrtiśeṣaṃ gataḥ*. It is on this ground that theorists after Mammaṭa object that this is no Guṇa but a negation of the *amaṅgala doṣa*, which some writers include in the fault known as *aślīlatva*.

39 The text is obviously corrupt. Abhinava reads *suprasiddhā-*

ix. *udāra*=exaltedness. where there are superhuman sentiments, varied feelings, and the Erotic and the Marvellous moods[40].

x. *kānti*=loveliness, which delights the ear and the mind, or which is realised by the meaning conveyed by graceful gestures (*līlādi*[41]).

It will be noticed from this enumeration that in some cases it is difficult to see what Bharata means exactly by a particular Guṇa, and that the classification is by no means exhaustive nor free from overlapping. On the other hand, some of the Guṇas can be taken (as Abhinavagupta takes them) as approximating roughly to the individual *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas* elaborated by Vāmana and other later theorists. The development of the Guṇa-doctrine is intimately connected

bhidhānā tu instead of *suprasiddhā dhātunā ca*, which phrase, however, may mean use of well known verbs. Read also *loka-dharma°* instead of *loka-karma°* Hemacandra explains: *yasminn anyathā-sthito'pi tathā-sthita evārthaḥ pratibhāti so'rthavyaktiḥ*. He also points out that this Guṇa of Bharata corresponds to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa arthavyakti* (defined as *vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatvam* iii. 2. 13), and would be equivalent to the poetic figure *jāti* or *svabhāvokti* of Daṇḍin and others. Cf. Mammaṭa p. 583: *abhidhāsyamāna-svabhāvoktyalaṃkāreṇa vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatva-rūpārthavyaktiḥ svīkṛtā*, but Viśvanātha would include it in *prasāda-guṇa*.

40 The implication of *adbhuta* Rasa in this excellence and the characteristic that it deals with *divya-bhāva* indicate a certain *utkarṣavān dharmaḥ*, causing wonder, such as Daṇḍin's *udāra* would contain. See the illustration of this Guṇa given by Hemacandra p. 199. The inclusion of the *śṛngāra* and *adbhuta* Rasas makes this Guṇa of Bharata correspond partly to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti*. But Daṇḍin adds: *ślāghyair viśeṣaṇair yuktam udāraṃ kaiścid iṣyate*. There is no reference in Bharata to such 'praiseworthy epithets', although Hemacandra says: *bahubhiḥ sūkṣmaiś ca viśeṣaiḥ sametam udāram iti bharataḥ*. In the *Agni-purāṇa* 346. 9, however, we read: *uttāna-padataudāryaṃ yutaṃ ślāghyair viśeṣaṇaiḥ*, which might be a direct echo of Daṇḍin.

41 *līlādi*=*līlādi-ceṣṭā*. Abhinavagupta. This would be comprehended by the *dīpta-rasatvam* of Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti*,—Kauṭilya (ii. 28) mentions the following characteristics of the art of writing: artha-krama (arrangement of subject-matter), saṃbandha (relevancy), paripūrṇatā (completeness), mādhurya (sweetness), audārya (dignity), and spaṣṭatva (clearness).

with the central theory of the Rīti-school and will be dealt with later ; but it may be pointed out here that although the definitions of the individual Guṇas, given by Bharata, do not correspond exactly to those of later writers, there can be no doubt that here we have for the first time a definite statement, if not a proper theoretic treatment, of the doctrine. The disagreement between different theorists with regard to the definitions of individual Guṇas is a well known fact in the history of Sanskrit Poetics, and one need not therefore be surprised that later authors give us definitions which do not agree with those of Bharata. To Bharata, again, the relation of the *guṇas* to *rīti*, as elaborated by Vāmana, or to *rasa*, as first clearly enunciated by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, was probably unknown. So was also Vāmana's distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa,* although Bharata's *guṇas* are mostly of the nature of *artha-guṇas*, and some of them can be interpreted (as done by Abhinavagupta) as constituting *śabda-guṇas* as well. But the number and nomenclature of the Guṇas, as well as the substance of some of them, as outlined by Bharata, are conventionally adhered to by all later writers, excepting Bhāmaha who, as we shall see, was a radical thinker in this respect, until we come to the Dhvanikāra and his followers who give a new interpretation to the Guṇa-doctrine. It is also important to note that Bharata takes the *guṇas,* as well as the *doṣas* and *alaṃkāras,* to be subservient to the purpose of awakening *rasa*, which is taken as the principal business of the drama. In this he anticipates and probably influences the view of the Dhvanikāra and his school who, as we shall see, borrow Bharata's idea of Rasa from the case of the drama and apply it to that of poetry.

(2)

It has been noted above that Bharata makes all these elements, *lakṣaṇa, guṇa, doṣa* and *alaṃkāra,* subordinate to the principal purpose of awakening *rasa* in the drama.

These elements constitute what he calls *vācika abhinaya* (defined in viii. 6, 9), which is dealt with in chapters xiv-xx and which forms an important factor, the *anubhāva* (vii. 5), in calling forth the Rasa. Hence Bharata expressly considers (xvi. 104 f) the question of their employment in relation to Rasa. It is necessary, therefore, to consider here briefly Bharata's teachings regarding Rasa[42], which is dealt with in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, chapters vi and vii[43].

It must be observed at the outset that Rasa does not appear to be Bharata's principal theme, and that it is discussed only in connexion with his exposition of dramatic representation with which he is principally concerned. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rājaśekhara, probably following some current tradition, should regard Bharata as an authority on Rūpaka (drama) rather than on Rasa, and mention one Nandikeśvara[44] as the original exponent of the Rasa-doctrine which, if Rājaśekhara is right, Bharata must have borrowed and worked up into his dramaturgic system. That the Rasa-doctrine was older than Bharata is apparent from Bharata's own citation of several verses in the Āryā and the Anuṣṭubh metres in support of or in supplement to his own statements ; and in one place, he appears to quote two Āryā-verses from an unknown work on Rasa[45].

The idea of Rasa, apart from any theory thereon, was

42 The question has been dealt with briefly in S. K. De, Theory of Rasa in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume,* Orientalia, vol. iii, 1922. reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics,* Calcutta 1959, pp. 177-235.

43 In some other chapters Bharata deals with the cognate topics of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā and their adjuncts and emotional states, which will be referred to in their proper place below (ch. viii).

44 See vol. 1 p. 1, 2, 19.

45 *atrārye rasa-vicāra-mukhe,* ed. Kāvyamālā p. 67. The line is wanting in Grosset's edition. Keśava Miśra, a comparatively recent writer of the 16th century. speaks of one *bhagavān* Śauddhodani who, according to him, was a *sūtra-kāra* on Rasa ; but the opinions of this otherwise unknown writer (see vol. 1, p. 219), as recorded by Keśava Miśra, do not deviate materially from the conventional views

naturally not unknown to old writers; and Bharata's treatment would indicate that some system of Rasa, however undeveloped, or even a Rasa school, particularly in connexion with the drama, must have been in existence in his time. But the bearings of this doctrine on poetry were seldom discussed, and the importance of Rasa as one of the essential factors of poetry was indeed naïvely understood but was not theoretically established.[46] As Dramaturgy was in the beginning a separate study, from which Poetics itself probably took its cue, the Rasa-doctrine, which sprang up chiefly in connexion with this study, confined its activity in the first stage of its development to the sphere of dramatic composition and exerted only a limited influence on poetic theories.[47] The importance of this dramaturgic Rasa-system must have been somewhat overshadowed by the early dominance, in Poetics

of those later writers of the new school who admit the essentiality of Rasa.

46 We get the first definite exposition, as we shall see, of the idea of Rasa and its relation to poetry in the works of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana : and its importance in poetry, as distinguished from the drama, was probably understood from that time. Māgha in some verses (see vol. i pp. 61, fn 3) shows himself conversant with some theory of Rasa; but it is to *nāṭya-rasa* (such as described by Bharata) rather than to *kāvya-rasa* that he appears to refer. It is not maintained that older Sanskrit Poetry was devoid of Rasa or that the earlier poets never possessed any idea of it; but it is suggested that the theory of Rasa was not critically set forth, nor its aesthetic importance in poetry properly understood until the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana came into the field. The presence of Rasa is such a familiar fact in Sanskrit Poetry as well as in comparatively modern Sanskrit writers on Poetics that one is apt to lose sight of this fact of historical importance.

47 That the doctrine of Rasa was originally associated with dramaturgy and later on applied to Poetics is clear from the tradition which survives even in very late writers, and makes them not only discuss the theory directly in connexion with the drama (e. g. Viśvanātha) but even borrow the illustrations mostly from dramatic poetry. Abhinava speaks of the Kāvya as *loka-nāṭya-dharmi-sthānīya,* and says : *nāṭya eva rasaḥ, kāvye ca nāṭyāyamāna eva rasaḥ kāvyārthaḥ.*

proper, of the Alaṃkāra and Rīti systems, whose traditions are carried on by the two earliest writers on Poetics, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, both of whom allow a very subsidiary place to Rasa in their scheme ; but at the same time the comparative antiquity of such a Rasa-system in connexion with the drama, going back to a time even earlier than Bharata, cannot be doubted.

The oldest known exponent of this system is Bharata, from whom spring all later systems and theories such as we know them, and whom even Ānandavardhana himself (p. 181), in applying the Rasa-theory to Poetics, names as his original authority. It is necessary for this reason to take into account Bharata's doctrine of *nāṭya-rasa* as the original source of the doctrine of *kāvya-rasa* elaborated in later Poetics. But long before the new interpretation of the relation of Rasa to poetry, given by the Dhvanikāra and authoritatively established by Mammaṭa, was dominant, Bharata's views on Rasa appear to have been discussed in some detail in dramaturgic systems with the result that divergent theories came to prevail under the names of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others, all of whom are supposed to have been commentators on Bharata's text[48], or at least to have taken Bharata as their starting point. With Bharata, therefore, we arrive at a distinctly definite landmark in respect of the Rasa-doctrine.

It is worth noticing, however, that although all theorists take Bharata as their starting point and build up their own theories round his authoritative, if somewhat meagre, text, Bharata himself, like all old masters, is tantalisingly simple in his statements ; for the subject does not appear to have yet been brought into the realm of scholastic speculation. Bharata's work is encyclopaedic in its scope, but its primary theme is the drama and its conception of poetry dramatic, a view which perhaps inspired Vāmana's partiality towards

48 See vol. i pp. 31f.

dramatic composition already alluded to, and which is concisely put by Abhinavagupta by saying *kāvyaṃ tāvad daśa-rūpātmakam eva.* In such a composition Rasa, according to Bharata, should be predominant, and there are numerous passages which clearly indicate that there can be no sense of poetry, in his view, without Rasa[49]. Although Bharata does not enter into technicalities, he seems to be of opinion that the *vibhāvas* and the *anubhāvas,* which later theory takes to be essential factors, call forth or evolve Rasa; but he is not clear as to what this process of evolution exactly is. He takes the *bhāva* as the basis of Rasa and explains it generally as that which brings into existence the sense of poetry through the three kinds of representation, viz., through words, gestures, and internal feelings (*vāg-aṅga-sattvopetān kāvyārthān bhāva-yantīti bhāvāḥ*). This Bhāva, which consists of an emotional state of the mind, reaches, when permanent and not transitory, the state of Rasa through the elements known as *vibhāva* and *anubhāva.* A *vibhāva* is explained thus: *vibhāvo nāma vijñānārthaḥ, vibhāvyante'nena vāg-aṅga-sattvābhinayā ity ato vibhāvaḥ.* The term *vibhāva,* therefore, is used to connote knowledge or cognition, and is explained generally as denoting that which makes the three kinds of representation capable of being sensed. In the same way, the *anubhāva* is explained as that which follows upon and makes the three kinds of representation actually sensed. The third element of Rasa, the *vyabhicāri-bhāva,* consists of accessory emotional facts which help and strengthen it, and is etymologically explained as: *vi abhi ity etāvupasargau, cara gatau dhātuḥ, vividham ābhimukhyena rasān carantīti vyabhicāriṇaḥ.* As to what relation these elements bear to Rasa and how this state of relish is brought about, Bharata simply lays down in a cryptic formula: *vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ,* a formula which, in spite of his own explanation, is so ambiguous with respect to the exact significance of the

49 e. g. *na hi rasād ṛte kaścid arthaḥ pravartate,* ed. Grosset p. 87=ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62. Cf. also vii. 7.

terms *saṃyoga* and *niṣpatti* that a great deal of controversy has centred round their interpretation, giving rise to a number of theories about Rasa. Bharata's own explanation, if it can be called an explanation, is that just as a beverage is accomplished through various seasoned articles and herbs, so the permanent mood (the *sthāyi-bhāva*), reinforced (*upagata*) by various *bhāvas*, attains the state of Rasa ; and it is so called because its essence consists in its taste or relish (*āsvādyatvāt*), this being the etymological meaning of the word *rasa*[50]. He also explains[51] that the *sthāyi-bhāva* is the basis of Rasa because it attains, as it were, mastery or sovereignty among forty-nine different *bhāvas* mentioned by himself[52], which naturally rest upon it as being presumably the principal theme or mood in the composition in question.

Nothing definite can be concluded from all this except that, in Bharata's opinion, the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the principal mood in a composition is the basis of Rasa, the essence of which consists in *āsvāda* or relish by the reader or spectator, while the *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and the *vyābhicāri-bhāva* awaken this state of emotional realisation or 'relish' in the reader's mind. But this explanation by its very ambiguity or vagueness taxed the ingenuity of theorists and commentators, its general trend anticipating theories like the *utpatti-vāda* of Lollaṭa and the *anumiti-vāda* of Śaṅkuka, and special terms in the passage in question like *vyañjita* and *sāmānya-guṇa-yoga* suggesting specialised doctrines like the *vyakti-vāda* of Abhinavagupta and the *bhukti-vāda* of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

The original outlines of the theory, however, are accepted as fixed by Bharata. It is practically admitted on all hands, on semi-psychological considerations of poetry, that the Rasa

50 ed. Grosset p. 87=ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62. It should be noticed that all the terms which describe the essence of Rasa such as *rasanā*, *carvaṇā*, or *āsvāda*, refer etymologically to the physical pleasure of taste ; this point will be dealt with below.

51 ed. Grosset p. 102, ll. 7-19=ed. Kāvyamālā p. 70, ll. 13-22.

52 viz., 8 *sthāyi-bhāvas*, 8 *sāttvika bhāvas* and 33 *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*.

is a state of relish in the reader of the principal sentiment in the composition, a subjective condition of his mind which is brought about when the principal or permanent mood (*sthāyi-bhāva*) is brought into a relishable condition through the three elements, the *vibhāva*, the *anubhāva* and the *vyabhicāri-bhāva*, exhibited in the drama. Of these elements, the first two are important, the *vyabhicārin* being only concomitant or accessory. Bharata's explanation of these terms is rendered with greater precision by his followers. By the *sthāyi-bhāva* in poetry and drama are meant certain more or less permanent mental states, such as Love, Grief, Anger or Fear. This permanent mood, constituting the principal theme of a composition and running through all other moods like the thread of a garland, cannot be overcome by those akin to it or those opposed to it, but can only be reinforced. Those elements which respectively excite, follow and strengthen (if we may use these expressions) the *sthāyi-bhāva* are in poetry and drama known as *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-* (also called *saṃcāri-*) *bhāva*[53], corresponding in ordinary life (as opposed to the extraordinary world of poetry) to the mundane causes and effects (*laukika kāraṇa* and *kārya*). Devoid of technicalities, a *vibhāva* may be taken as that which makes the permanent mood capable of being sensed, an *anubhāva* as that which makes it actually sensed, while a *vyabhicāri-bhāva* is that which acts as an auxiliary or gives a fresh impetus to it. In the case of Love as a permanent mood, the stock-examples given of a *vibhāva* are women and the seasons ; of *anubhāva*, glance and embrace ; of *vyabhicārin*, the transient subordinate feelings of joy or anxiety. Now Bharata says that the reader is enabled to realise or relish as Rasa the permanent mood of a composi-

53 Ballantyne renders these terms conveniently, if not adequately, as the Excitant, the Ensuant and the Accessory respectively, a nomenclature which is followed by Ganganatha Jha in his translation of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Jacobi, however, uses (*ZDMG*. 1902, pp. 394 f) the terms Factor, Effect and Concurrent.

tion through a certain correlation of these elements with the permanent mood, the correlation taking place apparently for the purpose of manifesting it and bringing it to a relishable condition. The question, therefore, arises, to which Bharata himself gives no definite solution, viz. what relation these elements bear to Rasa, or in other words, how do they bring about this subjective condition of relish in the reader's mind, the solution depending, as we have noted above, upon the explanation of the two much-discussed terms *saṃyoga* (lit. correlation) and *niṣpatti* (lit. consummation) in the original *sūtra* of Bharata. This is the central pivot round which all later theories move, and we shall take it up again in their connexion below (ch. iv).

Bharata mentions eight different moods or Rasas in the drama, of which a detailed account is given in *Nāṭya-śāstra* ch. vi, which is the authoritative source drawn upon by all later writers, although they sometimes differ, as we shall see, in the enumeration of the orthodox number of eight. Properly speaking, the primary Rasas, according to Bharata, are only four in number, viz., *śṛṅgāra* (the Erotic), *raudra* (the Furious), *vīra* (the Heroic) and *bībhatsa* (the Disgusting). The other four Rasas proceed from these, as follow: *hāsya* (the Comic) from *śṛṅgāra*, *karuṇa* (the Pathetic) from *raudra*, *adbhuta* (the Marvellous) from *vīra*, and *bhayānaka* (the Terrible) from *bībhatsa* (xvi. 39-40).

The eight *sthāyi-bhāvas* or permanent moods, corresponding to the eight Rasas, are given categorically as (i) *rati* (Love) (ii) *hāsa* (Mirth) (iii) *krodha* (Anger) (iv) *utsāha* (Courage) (v) *bhaya* (Fear) (vi) *jugupsā* (Aversion) (vii) *vismaya* (Wonder) and (viii) *śoka* (Sorrow), forming the basis respectively of *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *karuṇa*. The *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are mentioned as thirty-three in number and include the subordinate feelings of self-disparagement (*nirveda*), debility (*glāni*), apprehension (*śaṅkā*), envy (*asūyā*), intoxication (*mada*), weariness (*śrama*), indolence (*ālasya*), depression (*dainya*),

reflection (*cintā*), distraction (*moha*), recollection (*smṛti*), equanimity (*dhṛti*), shame (*vrīḍā*), unsteadiness (*capalatā*), joy (*harṣa*), flurry (*āvega*), stupefaction (*jaḍatā*), arrogance (*garva*), despondency (*viṣāda*), longing (*autsukya*), drowsiness (*nidrā*), dementedness (*apasmāra*), dreaming (*supta*), awakening (*vibodha*), impatience of opposition (*amarṣa*), dissembling (*avahittha*), sternness (*ugratā*), resolve (*mati*), sickness (*vyādhi*), madness (*unmāda*), death (*maraṇa*), alarm (*trāsa*) and doubt (*vitarka*)[54]. The *sāttvika bhāvas*, which can be taken generally as involuntary evidences of internal feeling, are then specified as eight in number[55], viz., stupor (*stambha*), perspiration

54 The English equivalents follow generally Ballantyne's renderings.—It must be borne in mind that the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are independent Bhāvas but occurring as accessory or concurrent to the principal mental state depicted, which is known as the *sthāyi-bhāva*. Sometimes it may happen that the *vyabhicārin* is principally manifested in a composition, and the *sthāyin* is merely awakened; such cases later theorists would call *bhāvas* (and not *rasas*) which are thus incomplete *rasas*. Attempts have been made to distinguish between Rasa and Bhāva, and this question will be discussed later on. It would appear from the enumeration of the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* that the older theorists consider many conditions from the spiritual point of view, which we would regard from the standpoint of the body (e.g. *vyādhi* or *maraṇa*). See Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 395 fn 2.

55 Regarding the *sāttvika bhāva* (which later theorists, e.g. Abhinavagupta, connect with the *sattva guṇa* of the Sāṃkhya philosophers), Bharata says (ed. Grosset p. 129=ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 82): *iha hi sattvaṃ nāma manaḥ-prabhavam, tac ca samāhita-manastvād utpadyate, manaḥ-samādhānāc ca sattva-nirvṛtir iti; tasya yo'sau svabhāvo romāñcāsrādi-kṛtaḥ sa na śakyate'nya-manasā kartum iti; loka-svabhāvānukaraṇāc ca nāṭyasya sattvam īpsitam.* Thus Bharata connotes by it certain tokens of *mental* feelings, delineated in the dramatic representation by an imitation of human nature through steady concentration of the mind. Bharata adds the illustration: *iha hi nāṭya-dharma-pravṛttāḥ sukha-duḥkha-kṛto bhāvās tathā sattva-viśuddāḥ kāryā yathā svarūpā bhavanti.* For, how can sorrow, he says, which must be manifested by weeping, or joy which must be expressed by laughter, be delineated except by these involuntary evidences? This is apparently what Bharata means by *sattvābhinaya* or *sāttvikābhinaya*. In the *Daśa-rūpaka*, however, *sattva* is taken to mean 'a sympathetic heart' and *sāttvika* is explained as *sattvena*

(*sveda*), horripilation (*romāñca*), break of voice (*svara-bhaṅga*), trembling (*vepathu*), change of colour (*vaivarṇya*), tears (*aśru*) and loss of consciousness (*pralaya*). This psycho-physical analysis, however formal it may appear to us, is taken up in detail in chapter vii, and each of these states is categorically defined and illustrated strictly from the standpoint of the drama ; but in later literature they are established authoritatively for pcetry as well[56].

(3)

This is a rough outline of the teachings, relevant to Poetics proper, that we can gather from the somewhat meagre text of Bharata, and it may be taken as an outline of the discipline as it existed in the earliest known period of its history. With Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra, on the other hand, begins the next period of its history, a comparatively brief but exceedingly important stage of extraordinary creative genius. Of the period anterior to Bharata our knowledge is extremely scanty ; and between Bharata and the definite formulation of poetic theories which begins with Bhāmaha, lies, again, a long gap of which we do not possess much knowledge. It is clear, however, that certain poetical *guṇas, doṣas, alaṃkāras* and *lakṣaṇas* were known to Bharata and dealt with by him even as decorative devices of the dramatic speech. It would not be wrong to presume from this fact that the study of Alaṃkāra-śāstra, even if it was not yet fully

nirvṛttaḥ (Cf *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii. 134). Bhānudatta, in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* gives a somewhat different interpretation, and takes *sāttvika* to mean physical gestures as evidences of natural feeling (*sattvaṃ jīva-śarīram, tasya dharmāḥ sāttvikāḥ, itthaṃ ca śārīra-bhāvāḥ stambhādayaḥ sāttvikā bhāvā ity abhidhīyante*). Later writers like the author of the *Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa* bring in philosophical implications and interpret *sāttvika* as originating in the *sattva-guṇa*. Whatever difference there might be as to the meaning of the term *sāttvika* itself, all the writers on this subject agree in applying the term to denote those gestures (enumerated above) which give an involuntary expression to internal feelings.

56 e. g., in Mammata.

developed and self-conscious, was probably older than Bharata himself. It follows from this conclusion that the tradition of opinion, which crystallises itself in the oldest available manuals of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, or in the memorial verses of the Dhvanikāra, comes to us in a definite shape indeed at a date much posterior to Bharata, but it is probable that in substance, if not in actual formulation, it may have been much anterior to Bharata, who himself gives an indication of such teachings. Excepting what we get in Bharata, however, the history of this process of crystallisation (for the different systems appear in a relatively developed form in Bhāmaha and others) is not known to us ; but it must have covered a tentative stage whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra in the making, and would have partly filled up the presumably long gap between Bharata and these earliest formulators of Poetics.

Even if they were the earliest formulators, neither Bhāmaha, nor Daṇḍin, nor the Dhvanikāra, however, claims entire originality of having created the system which he individually represents. None of them can be taken as the absolute founder of the particular doctrines of *alaṃkāra*, *rīti* or *dhvani* with which they are respectively associated ; and with them we do not start at the absolute beginnings of the discipline. Indebtedness of these writers to their predecessors in the line, acknowledged by themselves, has already been noted in the first volume of this work (pp. 50, 67-68, 109) ; but apart from such explicit admissions, one can easily argue that certain fundamental concepts and formulas (such as *vakrokti*, *rīti*, *guṇa* or *alaṃkāra*) appear in writers like Bhāmaha without a preliminary explanation, as things traditionally handed down or already too well known to require any detailed discussion. It is also unthinkable that these early writers could have, as they certainly do not claim to have, evolved by themselves the relatively developed form and treatment of the main topics of Poetics in the absence of earlier tentative works.

It will be profitable, therefore, to pause and enquire if these works of Bhāmaha and others give us any indication of the stage or stages through which the discipline might have passed in the interval between Bharata and themselves. Fortunately there are passages in these writers which would give us hints as to the existence of such intermediate stages. Jacobi has already shown[57] that Bhāmaha, in his treatment of the poetic figures, groups them in a curious but suggestive way which probably indicates the different stages in the growth and multiplication of such figures before his time. Unlike later authors who, adopting some definite principle of classification, enumerate the poetic figures *en masse*[58], Bhāmaha begins (ii. 4) by naming and defining first a group of five such figures only, and then goes on to enumerate other such limited groups of figures, taking 24 remaining figures in a final group. The first group of figures thus mentioned comprises *anuprāsa, yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upamā*, recognised, as Bhāmaha says, by others (*anyair udāhṛtāḥ*) and accepted by himself. These five correspond in reality to the four ancient poetic figures known to and defined by Bharata, viz. *yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upamā*. The additional figure *anuprāsa*, mentioned by Bhāmaha, can be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka*[59], the one being *varṇābhyāsa* and the other *padābhyā-*

57 In *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 220-222.

58 By the time of Daṇḍin, for instance, a large number of poetic figures appears to have been recognised, and he does not find any necessity of 'reporting' them or mentioning them successively in groups as Bhāmaha does; but he arranges them in his own way, taking the *arthālaṃkāras* first and the *śabdālaṃkāras* next, in two separate chapters. Udbhaṭa, a follower of Bhāmaha, deals with the first three groups of Bhāmaha in the first three chapters of his own work (omitting, however, Bhāmaha's phrases like *anyair udāhṛtāḥ, aparaḥ, abhihitāḥ kvacit* etc, with reference to these groups), the other three chapters taking up the remaining twenty-four figures of the last group. Although he follows generally the sequence as well as the definition of Bhāmaha, he does not recite them in the manner of groups after Bhāmaha.

59 The distinction between *yamaka* and *anuprāsa* may be explained thus: in the *anuprāsa* there is a repetition of one or more consonants,

sa, while both are what Bharata would call *śabdābhyāsa*. Abhinavagupta very significantly takes[60] *anuprāsa* as implied in *yamaka* by Bharata ; and the very fact that the *anuprāsa* in Bhāmaha is thus clearly differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in the analysis of these figures and betoken a somewhat later stage.

In course of time, six other figures appear to have been analysed and added, and Bhāmaha mentions them next in a group in ii. 66. They are *ākṣepa, arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, vibhāvanā, samāsokti* and *atiśayokti*. Of these there is no trace in Bharata. This constitutes probably the second stage of development, in which can also be included a seventh figure *vārtta*, which is referred to by Daṇḍin in i. 85, but which is not accepted by Bhāmaha as non-poetic utterance in which there is no Vakrokti (ii. 87)[61]. The third stage indicated by Bhāmaha's treatment does not appear to have been very productive, for in it we have the addition of only two more figures *yathāsaṃkhya* and *utprekṣā* (ii. 88), and possibly of a third *svabhāvokti*. In this connexion it is noteworthy that by Daṇḍin's time *svabhāvokti* (also called *jāti*, recognised by Bāṇabhaṭṭa) is established as the primary or first figure (*ādyā*

sometimes but not necessarily along with the accompanying vowels ; in *yamaka*, the consonants as well as the vowels are repeated strictly in the same order or sequence. In *yamaka*, the same group of vocables is repeated but it need not have the same meaning, and may even be quite meaningless in itself ; but in the repetition of the *anuprāsa* one should consider the meaning. *Nicitaṃ kham upetya nīradaiḥ priyahīnā-hṛdayāvanīradaiḥ* would be an example of one variety of *yamaka* ; while *adri-droṇī-kuṭīre kuhariṇi hariṇārātayo yāpayanti* would be an example of *anuprāsa*.

60 *tenānuprāsa-lāṭīyāder anena* (=*yamakena*) *evopasaṃgrahāt*.

61 V. Raghavan (*Some Concepts*, p. 99f), however, argues that in Bhāmaha Vārttā is no name of an Alaṃkāra.—Here Bhāmaha speaks of three other poetic figures *hetu, sūkṣma* and *leśa*, which he rejects as not involving that he calls *vakrokti*. These, however, appear not in direct connexion with this enumeration of poetic figures but in the immediate context of *vakrokti* alluded to in the previous verse. These figures, however, are illustrated (as interpreted by commentators) by Bhaṭṭi, and were probably recognised before Bhāmaha's time.

alaṃkṛti), while in Bhāmaha it occupies a rather dubious position ; for the latter, in pursuance probably of his peculiar theory of Vakrokti, does not appear to favour this figure very much. With regard to *utprekṣā* [62], which is indeed an important addition to the Poetics of this period, Bhāmaha reports (ii. 88) that Medhāvin called it *saṃkhyāna*[63]. Is it possible that Bhāmaha's predecessor Medhāvin was the first to analyse and name this figure? Daṇḍin, in a well known passage, considers in detail the question whether the word *iva* is indicative of *utprekṣā*, a question which was apparently disputed by other rhetoricians between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin ; but in Vāmana we find this is already an established fact. From Bhāmaha ii. 40, again, we learn that Medhāvin set up

62 The *utprekṣā* and *ākṣepa* as poetic figures are expressly mentioned by Subandhu, ed. Srirangam p. 146 ; while *upamā* and *dīpaka* are recognised by Bāṇabhaṭṭa (introd. to *Kādambarī*). Both Subandhu and Bāṇa speak of composition enlivened by *śleṣa ;* but it is not perfectly clear whether they mean by it a *prabandha-guṇa* (as in Bharata) or the specific poetic figure of that name. Bhāmaha not only speaks of *śleṣa* but mentions three kinds or cases of its occurrence. Subandhu's boast of having used Śleṣa (as his commentators interpret) in every word of his composition is not an idle one ; and from his use of it, one can indeed incline to the view that Subandhu's Śleṣa is no other than our modern poetic figure of the same name, especially as Bharata's definition of Śleṣa as a Guṇa is hardly applicable to Subandhu's case.

63 The text reads (Bhāmaha ii. 88):
yathāsaṃkhyam athotprekṣām alaṃkāra-dvaṃ viduḥ /
saṃkhyānam iti medhāvinotprekṣābhihitā kvacit / /
It should be noted in this connexion that Daṇḍin (ii. 273) gives *saṃkhyāna* (and *krama*) as alternative names, not of *utprekṣā*, but of *yathāsaṃkhya*, which seems to be more plausible. It is possible that the text is corrupt here. Kane *HSP*, pp. 61-62 suggests the emendation : *saṃkhyānam iti medhāvī notprekṣābhihitā kvacit*, which he translates as "Medhāvin (calls *yathāsaṃkhya*) by the name of *saṃkhyāna*, and in some places (in works on *alaṅkāra*) *utpreksā* has not been spoken of as an Alaṅkāra." But the difficulty in accepting this emendation lies in the fact that Daṇḍin's elaborate treatment of *utprekṣā* would indicate that this figure must have assumed enough importance, even in Bhāmaha's time, to have been entirely overlooked in works on Alaṃkāra. Vāmana calls *yathāsaṃkhya* by the name of *krama*.

seven *upamā-doṣas*, and this statement appears to have been accepted by Nami-sādhu (on Rudraṭa xi. 24), who mentions and illustrates the seven Doṣas by examples. Unfortunately we do not possess any other information about Medhāvin (or Medhāvirudra)[64]; and to Nami-sādhu and Rājaśekhara, who cite him, he was possibly nothing more than a name. From Bhāmaha's references, however, it is not unreasonable to presume that Medhāvin was the first writer on Poetics who, at an early period, gave an exposition of two very important poetic figures like *upamā* and *utprekṣā*.[65]

After dealing with these groups of figures, Bhāmaha takes up (iii. 1-4) in the next chapter the remaining poetic figures recognised in his time, all in a body, without any further break. These constitute a long list as twenty-four figures. This may be taken as the fourth stage which brings us down to Bhāmaha's own time, and which must have ended with the elaboration of a large number of figures, although the number is not as large as we find it in Daṇḍin's time.[66] This stage is also represented by a canto in the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* which illustrates in all thirty-eight independent poetic figures, although

64 See vol i p. 50. Nami-sādhu's quotation from Medhāvin (on xi. 24) merely refers to Bhāmaha ii. 40 which hardly adds anything to our knowledge. Rājaśekhara and Vallabhadeva (on *Śiśu* xi. 6) cite Medhāvin as a poet, the former coupling his name with that of Kumāradāsa, and the latter actually citing a verse from Medhāvirudra (see *ZDMG* lxxiii, 1919, p. 190 fn 1).

65 The problems regarding *upamā-doṣas* and *utprekṣā* appear to have engaged, to a great extent, the attention of early writers. See vol. i. p. 60, fn 1 on *upamā-doṣas*. On *utprekṣā*, see Daṇḍin ii. 226-234, Vāmana iv. 3. 9 vṛtti, Udbhaṭa ed. Telang, pp. 43-46.

66 The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the growth of speculation is a familiar fact in Alaṃkāra literature; and it is not surprising that as the study advanced, the process of refining went on until a time came when the number became too unwieldy and the distinctions too fastidious; and then they had to be systematised in the light of some central principle. Such attempts were made from time to time, the earliest of which, as we shall see, was perhaps that of Vāmana.

as we have already discussed [67]) Bhaṭṭi appears to have made use of a text possibly unknown to Bhāmaha, if not materially differing from the latter's sources. There can be no doubt, however, that by this time the standpoint of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra was clearly defined and firmly established. With Bhāmaha begins a new epoch in which the uncertain groupings of the earlier periods vanish with the setting up of a more or less authoritative standard.

67 See vol i pp. 52-56.

CHAPTER II

BHĀMAHA, UDBHAṬA AND RUDRAṬA

(*The Alaṃkāra System*)

BHĀMAHA

(1)

In Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, the different topics of Poetics are formulated not incidentally, as in Bharata, but in such well-defined outline as would indicate that the Alaṃkāra-śāstra had already attained the rank of an independent discipline. We have seen that Bharata considered certain important elements of poetry as devices for embellishing dramatic speech and as subservient to the principal purpose of producing the dramatic Rasa. In Bhāmaha, on the other hand, the poetical embellishments form the principal object of study; and, while Dramaturgy and Rasa are entirely ignored, we find for the first time a definite scheme of Poetics more or less systematically elaborated and authoritatively established. Bharata's treatment would show that even before his time some of the older poetic figures, most of the Guṇas and Doṣas, had been recognised and clearly defined, even if no particular theory of Alaṃkāra had been in existence. But Bhāmaha throws into prominence these poetic embellishments and the consideration of Guṇas and Doṣas in their connexion, in conformity perhaps to a tradition from which the whole discipline appears to have received the significant designation of Alaṃkāra-śāstra. We have attempted to explain in the preceding chapter that the comparative antiquity of this tradition or of this school of opinion cannot be denied; and the presumption is not unlikely that a system of Alaṃkāra or an Alaṃkāra school[1] (if the term is allowed from the em-

1 The word 'School' is used here in a very general sense to indicate affiliation to a particular doctrine or system. Only Udbhaṭa

phasis it puts on the consideration of *alaṃkāra* or the poetic figure as the principal element of poetry)[2] existed side by side with the Rasa school or the dramaturgic Rasa-system, and influenced it, as it was to a limited extent influenced by it. But this doctrine or system of Poetics is represented to us by a comparatively late writer like Bhāmaha, who was by no means its original founder.

The general doctrine of this Alaṃkāra-system is almost co-extensive with what appears to have been the original standpoint of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra itself as an objective, empirical, and more or less mechanical discipline ; for, despite the previous or synchronous existence of a system which elaborated the idea of Rasa in the service of the drama, there is nothing to contradict the hypothesis, which we have already indicated and which is confirmed by the very early existence of the Alaṃkāra-system itself, that Sanskrit Poetics started apparent-

and Vāmana, we are told, had their groups of followers respectively designated Audbhaṭas and Vāmanīyas. But there is no evidence to show that the particular doctrines of Rasa, Alaṃkāra, Rīti and even Dhvani were worked out in proper schools, consciously or unconsciously founded by a great writer and supported by his followers. At the same time it can hardly be doubted that in spite of mutual and inevitable contamination or appropriation, these doctrines or systems had a tradition and a history of their own which naturally differentiated them from one another ; and each writer conformed, in his fundamental principles, to some theory which threw into prominence one or other of these doctrines. One could say, for instance, that Abhinavagupta owes his allegiance principally to the Dhvani-system of Ānandavardhana, although he acknowledges the importance of Rasa or brings in Vāmana's ideas of Guṇa in his interpretation of those of Bharata. With these reservations, the word 'school' is meant here to denote the different systems which emphasise respectively the Rasa, Alaṃkāra, Rīti or Dhvani theories.—Samudrabandha (p. 4) speaks of five Pakṣas or views about Kāvya, namely (i) of Udbhaṭa (ii) of Vāmana (iii) of Vakroktijīvita-kāra (iv) of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and (v) of Ānandavardhana. The Anumāna-pakṣa of *Vyakti-viveka* is said to be unworthy of serious consideration.

2 Referring to Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and other older writers, Ruyyaka says: *tad evem alaṃkāra eva kāvye pradhānam iti prācyānāṃ matam* (p. 7).

ly from some theory of embellishment (*alaṃkāra*) which took into consideration the whole domain of poetic figures and confined its energies to the elaboration of more or less mechanical formulas with reference to the technique of expression.[3] Just as there may be a theory of painting consisting of a collection of information regarding the techniques of tempera, of oil-painting, of water-colour, of pastel, on the proportion of the human body and on the laws of perspective, the art of poetry was supposed to comprise a collection of precepts relating to the forms of expression, its structural beauty, its damaging faults and its rhetorical ornaments, without going further into the speculative aspects of the problems involved. The whole aesthetic judgment was directed to these means of externalisation, and aesthetic pleasure was regarded objectively from the standpoint of extraneous facts which contributed to it. It cannot indeed be dogmatically stated that the necessity and inevitability of postulating an ultimate principle did not trouble these older writers ; but the study must have begun with a method which resulted in the establishment of a series of more or less rigid definitions and categories elaborated to a degree of fineness. The question as to what constitutes poetry or poetic charm, the aesthetic fact, does not arise until Vāmana and the Dhvanikāra come into the field ; for earlier authors like Bhāmaha (i. 23) and Daṇḍin (i. 10) propose to confine themselves chiefly to what they call the *kāvya-śarīra*[3] or the 'body of poetry', as distinguished from its

3 Vol. i p. 7. Sanskrit Poetry, more than ever in this 'classical' period of its history, appeared as the careful work of a trained and experienced specialist. The tradition of such poetry points naturally to the working of the rules and means of the art into a system. This, combined with a natural and characteristic love of adornment, which demanded an ornamental fitting out of thought and word, probably supplied the original motive-force which brought the study of Poetics into existence. The word "Alaṃkāra" (lit. embellishment), applied to the discipline itself, as well as to the poetic figure, which forms the main topic of discussion in the earliest extant works from Bhāmaha to Rudraṭa, would indicate that Sanskrit Poetics had probably grown out of a theory and practice of

ātman, its 'soul' or animating principle.[4] The advantages of verbal arrangement with due regard to the expression of an agreeable sense and of clever clothing of the sense with

embellishment, which included and threw into prominence the whole domain of verbal and ideal figures of speech, those decorative devices by which poetic expression may be rendered attractive. It seems that originally *Ars Poetica* in India, as Jacobi suggests, did not go further than being a series of advice to the poet in his profession, and consisted more or less in formulating prescriptions for the practical working out of poetry. It pointed out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and described the poetical embellishments which should enhance the beauty of expression, insomuch as the whole study came to receive the designation of Alaṃkāra-śāstra, or the Science of Poetical Embellishment. This theme of the "education" of the poet became in later literature a separate study when the theoretical aspects of the problems involved began to occupy an important place in the discipline, and we find a group of writers devoting themselves entirely to the subject of *kavi-śikṣā* which, having the practical and somewhat mechanical training of the poet in his art for its object, really represents the original standpoint of Poetics. Sanskrit poetics was probably raised to the rank of an independent discipline almost about the time when Sanskrit 'Classical' poetry was already overstepping itself in its development.

4 The metaphorical expression *kāvya-śarīra* with its implied *kāvyātman* plays an important part in Sanskrit Poetics throughout its history. Its origin has been traced to the allegory of the Veda-puruṣa in *Ṛgveda* vi. 58. 3 (*catvāri śṛṅgā°*), and Rājaśekhara indulges in an analogous poetic conception of the Kāvya-puruṣa (Spirit of Poetry) and his bride Sāhitya-vidyā. According to Rājaśekhara's somewhat fanciful description, the body of this Kāvya-puruṣa is composed of word and sense (*śabda* and *artha*), the face made of Sanskrit, the arms of Prakrit, the hips and loins of Apabhraṃśa, the feet of Paiśāca, and the breast of mixed languages. This is evidently from the linguistic point of view. It is further added that his speech is rich in different modes of poetic expression (*ukticaṇaṃ*); moods and sentiments (*rasa*) make up his soul; metres form the hair of his body; his conversation consists of questions and answers and riddles; and he is adorned by poetic figures like alliteration and simile. The later writers attempt to arrive at greater precision, first indicated by Vāmana, who makes 'diction' (*rīti*) to be the soul of poetry. That the external art of poetry can be systematised formed one of the fundamental postulates of Sanskrit Poetics; but at the same time the necessity of some deeper principle to explain the manifold character of its content

poetical or rhetorical ornaments absorb the attention of these writers ; and whatever may be the theoretic basis of poetic charm, it is enough if it is realised by the objective beauty of ingenious expression.

The two important factors, which go to make up the *kāvya-śarīra*, i.e. the 'body' or external framework of poetry,

could not be ignored. Hence the attempt to find the 'soul' or the animating principle in the 'body' or external framework of poetry. Bhāmaha perhaps vaguely realised this when he proposed to take *vakrokti* as the underlying principle of artistic expression ; but Daṇḍin goes a step further and designates the Guṇas as the 'life-breath' (*prāṇāḥ*) of the diction (*mārga* or *rīti*), which he sets up as the most important part of poetry. Vāmana is the first known writer to comprehend and state distinctly what this 'soul' is, and the Dhvanikāra takes the last step in completing this figurative idea by defining systematically the mutual relation of the 'body' and the 'soul' of poetry. The Dhvanikāra implies in ii. 7 that *vyaṅgya artha* is this *ātman*, the *guṇas* being compared to natural qualities like courage, and the *alaṃkāras* likened to external ornaments like bracelets which adorn the body. This view is apparently accepted by Mammaṭa (viii. 1) and taken as authoritative by all subsequent writers, while Nami-sādhu (on Rudraṭa xii. 2) gives a similar but not accurate explanation of Rudraṭa's opinion on the subject. The final extension of this metaphorical conception is thus set forth by Viśvanātha : *kāvyasya śabdārthau śarīram, rasādiś cātmā, guṇāḥ saundaryādivat, doṣāḥ kāṇatvādivat, rītayo'vayava-saṃsthāna-viśeṣavat, alaṃkārāḥ kaṭaka-kuṇḍalādivat*, thus comprehending all the elements of poetry, discussed by previous writers, into this elaborate metaphor. Whatever may be the value of this metaphor as an index to the conception of poetry gradually evolved by Indian theorists, one point is clear, viz., that they all take, from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha, the *śabda* and *artha* as constituting what they call the 'body' of poetry ; and with this idea the theories start, ultimately ending in a search for its 'soul'. From another point of view, the *śabda* and *artha* form the central pivot round which all theories move (for they are all theories starting with *expression*) with particular reference to the question of the function *par excellence* operative in poetry. And as the study of Poetics itself, on the admission of some of its greatest exponents, drew its original inspiration from grammatico-philosophical speculations on speech, it is not surprising that enormous emphasis should be put on these two elements.

are supposed to be *śabda* (word) and *artha* (sense)[5], and the *alaṃkāras* or poetic figures which adorn these are taken as forming the essential sign of a Kāvya. In other words, poetry consists of a verbal composition in which a definite sense must prevail, and which must be made charming by means of certain turns of expression to which the name of poetic figure is given. This general standpoint is implied by Bhāmaha at the very outset in connexion with his general discussion of the two kinds of figures based respectively on word and sense[6]:

rūpakādim alaṃkāraṃ bāhyam ācakṣate pare/
supāṃ tiṅāṃ ca vyutpattiṃ vācāṃ vāñchanty alaṃkṛtim//
tad etad āhuḥ sauśabdyaṃ nārtha-vyutpattir īdṛśī/
śabdābhidheyālaṃkāra-bhedād iṣṭaṃ dvayaṃ tu naḥ//

This passage, quoted with approval in the *Vakrokti-jīvita* (on i. 8) and the *Kāvya-prakāśa* vi, is difficult to translate, but the meaning is clear and may be freely rendered

5 See above footnote 3. *Śabārthau sahitau kāvyam,* Bhāmaha i. 16, from which, as Kuntaka indicates, the name *sāhitya* was probably given to poetry. The earliest use probably of this term *sāhitya* in Sanskrit Poetics occurs in Mukula (pp. 21 and 22) and in his pupil, Pratīhārendurāja, while Rājaśekhara expressly uses the term *sāhitya-vidyā.* The orthodox etymology of the term, which derives it from the above definition of poetry, as the union of word and sense, is thus put by Rājaśekhara: *śabdārthayor yathāvat saha-bhāvena vidyā sāhitya-vidyā,* an interpretation with which Kuntaka agrees. This Sāhitya or alliance of word and sense is admitted as a fundamental postulate from a very early time, and with proper modifications, by all schools and authors. Cf Daṇḍin i. 10, Vāmana i. 1. 1 (vṛtti), Rudraṭa ii. 1. Ānandavardhana admits as unquestioned: *śabdārthau tāvat kāvyam, na vipratipattir iti darśayati.* The view is alluded to by Māgha in ii. 86b, and apparently by Kālidāsa in the first verse of *Raghu°.*

6 This distinction between Alaṃkāras of Śabda and of Artha began to be recognised, if not directly stated, from the time of Bhāmaha. Although Daṇḍin is not explicit, he has the same distinctive view when he deals with Arthālaṃkāras in ch. ii and Śabdālaṃkāras in ch. iii. It is Bhoja who classifies Alaṃkāras into those of Śabda, of Artha or of both, defining and illustrating 24 of each in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā°.*

thus: "Others regard metaphor and the like to be external ornaments. They postulate that grammatical correctness adorns speech, and call it excellence of language, (implying that) there is no such corresponding correctness of sense. We, however, accept two kinds of ornaments, referring respectively to word and sense". Daṇḍin, who does not strictly belong to this school but who substantially agrees on this point with Bhāmaha, is more explicit in his statement, and lays down (i. 10) that the 'body' of poetry consists of a series of words regulated by an agreeable sense.

Although Bhāmaha is the oldest representative of this system whose work has survived, he was, as we have stated more than once, by no means its originator. The system, as we find it set forth in his work, is certainly not primitive, but indicates the clear existence of a developed teaching on the subject. Rājaśekhara, as we have noted (vol. i, p.1), gives us a long list of mythical names with which he identifies the original treatment of the various topics relating principally to the poetic figures. He assigns the elaboration of the poetic figures *anuprāsa, yamaka* and *citra, śabda-śleṣa, vāstava, upamā, atiśaya, artha-śleṣa,* and *ubhayālaṃkāra* respectively to Pracetāyana, Citrāṅgada, Śeṣa, Pulastya, Aupakāyana, Pārāśara, Utathya and Kubera. While the antiquity of the distinction between *śabdālaṃkāra* and *arthālaṃkāra* generally (in spite of the above passage of Bhāmaha's) and of *śabda-śleṣa*[1] and *artha-śleṣa* in particular may be seriously doubted, some of these poetic figures may be allowed to have been very early recognised, as Bharata mentions some of them and Bhāmaha acknowledges nearly all (excepting *citra* which we find in Daṇḍin and *vāstava* which we find in Rudraṭa). Medhāvin, cited by Bhāmaha, probably belonged to this school, and his is the only authentic name of an early exponent of this system.

With Bhāmaha's work, however, we emerge from the region of conjecture and doubt, and arrive at the first classic statement of a definite doctrine of Poetics. We must not yet

look to his work, nor to that of his follower Udbhaṭa, for a thoroughly critical system. We can deduce certain broad conceptions, but the practical object, underlying the speculation of this school in general, and its more or less normative character did not allow sufficient scope for purely theoretic treatment ; nor can we expect such treatment at this early stage. Bhāmaha, therefore, nowhere attempts a formal definition of poetry, nor does he state clearly the theory of Vakrokti and Alaṃkāra which, as we shall see, was first systematically enunciated by his follower, the Vakroktijīvitakāra. The first chapter of Bhāmaha's work gives us some preliminary remarks about the general characteristics of poetry and its subdivisions, but a large part of it is taken up with the enumeration of the general faults which obstruct the proper expression of an idea.

Bhāmaha states at the outset the purposes of poetry (*kāvya-prayojana*) and the qualifications of a poet (*kāvya-hetu*), incidentally mentioning the 'sources' of poetry (*kāvya-yonayaḥ*). Regarding the first topic of the aim and purpose of poetry, it is not necessary to discuss the different views in detail, as they generally enumerate extraneous objects and throw little light on the general theory of poetry. In the older writers there is a more or less uncritical mention of fame (*kīrti*) for the poet and delight (*prīti*)[7] for the reader as the chief objects of poetry ; and herewith Bhāmaha (i. 2), Daṇḍin (i. 105), Vāmana (i. 1. 5), Rudraṭa (i. 21, 22) and Bhoja (i. 2), though belonging to different schools of opinion, seem to be content. But it became customary to add,[8] from the poet's standpoint, 'wealth', 'social success' and 'escape from ills'. From the reader's point of view, poetry is said to bring 'solace', 'instruction in knowledge' and 'proficiency in the arts and ways of the world' ; and these are sometimes summarily comprehended by the term *trivarga*, viz., profit, pleasure and

7 Bharata had already laid down this pleasure-giving function of the dramatic art as *krīḍanaka* (i. 11), *vinodakāraṇa* (i. 86).

8 E. g. Mammata i. 2, Hemacandra p. 2 etc.

virtue, to which later on the *caturvarga*, anticipated by Bhāmaha (i. 2), adds *mokṣa* or liberation of the soul. This is probably an attempt to bring poetry on a level with other arts or sciences which profess similar ends, and is in harmony with the deep-rooted idea of the functions of Śāstra. It is, however, pointed out by later theorists like Mammaṭa and his followers,[9] who in their turn develop Abhinavagupta's idea (°*Locana* p. 12), that the Kāvya, as distinguished from the scriptures and the sciences, is *kāntā-sammita*, i. e., like the teaching of a loving mistress, implying thereby that the pedagogic powers of poetry resolve themselves into a peculiar power of suggesting a condition of artistic enjoyment. The famous opening verse of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* makes this clear when it describes poetic speech as comprehending a creation ungoverned by nature's laws and consisting of pure joy. The *caturvarga* and the other material objects of poetry are mentioned in almost unbroken tradition; but with the elaboration of a full-fledged scheme of Poetics in connexion with the suggestion of Rasa, the purpose of poetry was brought into a level with the ultimate theory about its nature ; and poetry was supposed to create a peculiar mood of aesthetic pleasure, conveyed generally by the philosophic term *ānanda*[10].

9 Abhinava uses the terms *prabhu-sammita*, *jāyā-sammita* and *mitra-sammita*, which are accepted by Mammaṭa (ed. B.S.S, 1917, p. 9). Later writers distinguish (e. g. *Ekāvalī* pp. 13-15) between the Vedas which are *prabhu-sammita*, the Itihāsa etc. which are *mitra-sammita*, and the Kāvya which is *kāntā-sammita*.

10 Abhinavagupta's comment on Bhāmaha i. 2 on this point is interesting (°*Locana* p. 12, partially copied by Hemacandra in his commentary, p. 3): *yathoktam—dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣesu vaicakṣaṇyaṃ kalāsu ca | karoti kīrtiṃ prītiṃ ca sādhu-kāvya-niṣevaṇam || iti, tathāpi prītir eva pradhānam. Anyathā prabhu-sammitebhyo vedādibhyo mitra-sammitebhyaś cetihāsādibhyo vyutpatti-hetubhyaḥ, ko'sya kāvya-rūpasya vyutpatti-hetor jāyā-sammitatva-lakṣano viṣeṣa iti prādhānyenānanda evoktaḥ. Caturvarga-vyutpatter api cānandaḥ pāryantikaṃ mukhyaṃ phalam.* The essence of Rasa, which came to be considered as the most important thing in poetry, is said to consist of this *prīti or ānanda*; naturally *ānanda* or *prīti* became in later

Jagannātha completes the idea by defining it as a 'disinterested' or 'dissociated' (*alaukika*) pleasure, which depends upon a taste formed by repeated representation of beautiful objects, and which can be enjoyed by a man initiated into the poetic mysteries.

With regard to the other two questions, viz. the equipment of a poet and the sources of poetry, Bhāmaha appears to be cognisant of their importance. His remarks on these points are, however, brief as compared with those of Vāmana, who deals with the subject elaborately for the first time. It may be pointed out in this connexion that Sanskrit Poetics, consistently with the original idea of its having been a more or less mechanical discipline, gives a long list of the essential qualifications which a poet should possess and lays down elaborate rules for his 'education'. With the advance of the theoretical aspects of the science, this theme was, no doubt, made the object of a separate study by a group of writers who make it their business to instruct the poet in his profession ; but all early writers on general Poetics, more or less, touch upon the point. We shall have occasion to deal with this school of *kavi-śikṣā* ; but it will be convenient to indicate here briefly the earlier speculations on the subject. While not denying the supreme necessity of genius or poetic gift (*sat-kavitva*, Bhāmaha i. 4) which consists in *pratibhā* (poetic conception), all writers, early or late, agree in emphasising the necesssity of study and experience. Both Bhāmaha (i. 5) and Daṇḍin (i. 103-4) acknowledge *pratibhā* which is said to be natural (*naisargikī*) or inborn (*sahajā*) ; and Vāmana puts it into a formula that in *pratibhā* lies the seed of poetry, and defines it (i. 3. 16 Vṛtti) as an antenatal capacity of the mind[11] without which no poetry is possible, and if possible, it is only ridiculous, a dictum which is almost literally copied by

Poetics the chief object of poetry. Mammaṭa calls it *sakala-prayojana-maulībhūtam*.

11 *janmāntara-gata-saṃskāra-viseṣaḥ kaścit*. Daṇḍin describes it as *pūrva-vāsanā-guṇānubandhi*.

Mammaṭa who, however, uses the more general term *śakti*.[12] Abhinavagupta (°*Locana* p. 29) defines it as intelligence (*prajñā*), capable of fresh invention (*apūrva-vastu-nirmāṇa-kṣama*), its distinguishing characteristic being the capacity of creating poetry possessed of passion, clarity and beauty (*tasya viśeṣo rasāveśa-vaiśadya-saundarya-kāvya-nirmāṇa-kṣamatvam*) ; and he quotes the authority of Bharata (vii. 2) who designates it as the 'internal disposition' of the poet (*antargata bhāva*). This agrees with the definition of *pratibhā* as *prajñā nava-navollekha-śālinī*, given in a verse cited anonymously by Hemacandra, but attributed by Kṣemendra (*Aucitya-vicāra*° *ad śl.* 35) to Abhinava's guru, Bhaṭṭa Tauta ; and it is recognised as canonical by later writers, to whom Abhinava and Mammaṭa were the final lawgivers, but who sometimes add that it is *lokottara* and capable of producing an indefinable charm variously termed *vaicitrya, vicchitti. cārutva, saundarya, hṛdyatva* or *ramaṇīyatva*.

While these theorists believed in *pratibhā*, they also believed in "making a poet into a poet," and maintained the importance of what Daṇḍin calls *śruta* and *abhiyoga*, but what later writers call *vyutpatti* (culture) and *abhyāsa* (practice). Rudraṭa, therefore, thinks that *pratibhā* is not only *sahajā* or inborn, but also *utpādyā* or capable of attainment by *vyutpatti* or culture. The poet is thus required to be an expert in a long list of sciences or arts. The earliest of such lists is given by Bhāmaha in i. 9, where mention is made of the following studies as 'sources' of poetry,[13] viz., grammar, prosody, lexicography, stories based on Itihāsa, ways of the world, logic and and the fine arts. This substantially agrees

12 Used by Rudraṭa (i. 14-15), who distinctly gives two alternative terms *śakti* and *pratibhā* and by Abhinavagupta (°*Locana* p. 137) who says: *śaktiḥ pratibhānam, varṇanīya-vastu-viṣaya-nūtanollekha-śālitvam*.

13 Read *kāvya-yonayaḥ* (instead of *kāvyayairvaśī* in the printed text), as indicated by Vāmana i. 3. 1 (*kāvyāṅgāni*) and Rājaśekhara viii (*kāvya-yonayaḥ*). Cf. Jacobi in *op. cit.* p. 224.

with Rudraṭa's list (i. 18), but Vāmana deals with the topic in greater detail in i. 3. 21-22, and requires the poet to be conversant with grammar, lexicon, metrics, arts, morals, erotics, politics, and, above all, the ways and means of the world. It is also sometimes implied that the poet must have studied the theory of poetry and made himself proficient in poetical exercise (*abhyāsa*). He must be clever at weaving metaphors and other poetic figures, at the trick of producing a double meaning, at manipulating complicated schemes of alliteration and rhyming, at following up quick composition, at making complete verses out of broken lines and sentences, and similar ingenious practices. When a new work is published, it is submitted to and approved by assemblies of experts, as we are told by Maṅkhaka, Rājaśekhara and others. It was obviously expected to answer all the demands of theory, although it was by no meaas an easy test; for style, says an Indian stylist, is like a woman's virtue which cannot bear the least reproach. The public likewise possessed or were expected to possess a certain amount of theoretical knowledge; for the *rasika* or *sahṛdaya*, the man of taste, the true appreciators of poetry, must be, according to the conception of the Sanskrit theorists, not only well read and wise, and initiated into the intricacies of theoretic requirements, but also possessed of fine instincts of aesthetic enjoyment[14]. The poet naturally liked to produce an impression that he had observed all the rules, traditions and expectations of such an audience; for the ultimate test of poetry is laid down as consisting in the appreciation of the *sahṛdaya*. Thus, the poet is required to be true to his natural gifts and yet conform to the rigid demands of theory. The art of poetry in this way came to flourish in a learned atmosphere, and the theory of Poetics, as we shall see, naturally assumed a scholastic

14 On the subject of the "education" of the poet, see F. W. Thomas, The Making of the Sanskrit Poet in *Bhaṇḍarkar Commemoration Volume* p. 375 f.

and dialectic character in common with the whole scientific literature of ancient India. It is true that a certain amount of inevitable difference is always to be found between theory and practice ; and, as on the one hand, we have gifted poets aspiring to untrammelled utterance, so on the other, there is a tendency to degenerate towards a slavish adherence to rules, which naturally resulted in a strong overloading of a composition by complicated or artificial expressions.

With these general remarks we may now turn to a brief consideration of other topics in the work of Bhāmaha[15]. Bhāmaha rests content by taking the Kāvya to consist of *śabda* and *artha* (*śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam*), giving equal prominence to word and sense in poetry. But he implies by his treatment that the Kāvya should also be faultless (*nirdoṣa*) and embellished by poetic figures (*sālaṃkāra*). Then follows the classification of poetry (i) according to form, into verse and prose, (ii) according to the language employed, into Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, (iii) according to the subject-matter, into fourfold division, so far as it deals respectively with incidents human or divine, incidents invented by the poet's imagination, or incidents based on the several arts or sciences, (iv) according to the conventional way of grouping compositions into fivefold recognised division, viz. *sarga-bandha* (*mahākāvya*), *abhineyārtha* (drama), *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā* and *anibaddha-kāvya* (i. e. detached poems like *gāthās* or individual *ślokas*). Bhāmaha's definition of *mahākāvya* is more or less conventional, and practically agrees with that to be found in Daṇḍin (i. 14f) and in the *Agni-purāṇa* (336. 24-32). With regard to *abhineyārtha*, he omits its treatment because others have treated of it already. Bhāmaha lays down a somewhat hard-and-fast line of demarcation between the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā*, a view which is not accepted

15 Bhāmaha's work consists of six chapters: ch. i on poetry generally (60 verses), ch ii and iii on Alaṃkāra (160 verses), ch. iv on Doṣa (50 verses), ch. v on logical correctness or Nyāya (70 verses) and ch. vi on grammatical correctness (60 verses).

by Daṇḍin and which Vāmana does not enter into as being too fine[16]. With regard to the formal classification of verse and prose, it may be remarked that poetry, according to the view of Sanskrit theorists, has a twofold aspect according as it consists of verse (*padya*) or prose (*gadya*), although some authors speak of a mixed kind (*miśra*), e. g., the drama in which both prose and verse occur. The doctrine that prose is the opposite, not of poetry but of verse, which began to be realised rather late in European critical theories, was very early admitted without question by Sanskrit authors with whom metre does not play the same part as it does in European poetry ; for in India from the earliest time, it was usual to put down even the driest teachings in a metrical form[17].

Bhāmaha, however, appears (i. 31-35) to be indifferent

16 Vol. i. p. 65. We have tried to show elsewhere (*The Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā in Classical Sanskrit* in *BSOS*, vol. iii (reprinted in *Some Problems*, pp. 65-79) that two or three well-defined stages are distinguishable in the development of these two species of the Kāvya in Classical Sanskrit, the earliest being represented by the characteristics given by Bhāmaha and the latest by those given by Rudraṭa ; and that while Bhāmaha cannot be taken as having accepted Bāṇa's two masterpieces as his prototype, Rudraṭa has only generalised their important features into universal definitions of the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā*. Lacôte in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā* suggests (p. 282) that Daṇḍin must have found that Guṇāḍhya did not observe the traditional distinction between the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* (e. g. in the original *Bṛhatkathā*, on Lacôte's showing p. 220, there was a narration by Naravāhanadatta of his own victories, which is contrary to the rule laid down by Bhāmaha). He was, therefore, led to reject it altogether. Bhāmaha, no doubt, refers to a *kathā* in Apabhraṃśa in i. 28 but it is not known whether he was aware of the existence of the *Bṛhatkathā*.

17 One need not emphasise the point that Sanskrit theorists define poetry so as to include any literary work of the imagination in its scope, and absolutely refuse to make of rhyming or versing an essential. This tradition is so well established that the question is nowhere discussed and never doubted. Thus, the theorists include under the head of poetry romances like *Kādambarī* or *Harṣa-carita* which are written for the most part in prose. Vāmana even quotes a dictum which says that prose is the touchstone of the poets (*gadyaṃ kavīnāṃ nikaṣaṃ vadanti*, cited in Vṛtti on 1. 3. 21).

to the literary value of *rīti* (roughly, 'diction'), to which Daṇḍin and his followers of the Rīti school attach so much importance. He thinks that the distinction made by the Rīti-theorists between *vaidarbha* and *gauḍa* is meaningless ; and though he does not use the terms *mārga* (Daṇḍin) or *rīti* (Vāmana), his statement would imply that he is speaking of *vaidarbha-* and *gauḍa-kāvyas* respectively, in which some had apparently seen differences of manner and treatment.[18] As a necessary corollary apparently to this view, he does not think it worth while to devote much attention to the *guṇas*, which the Rīti-theorists take as forming the constituent excellences of *rīti*, and summarily mentions in another context (ii. 1-3) only three Guṇas, viz., *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, apparently rejecting Bharata's ten orthodox excellences. He does not, however, connect them directly with the Rīti, and thinks that they are distinguished according to the presence or absence, in varying degrees, of compound words, *ojas* employing long compounds, and *mādhurya* and *prasāda* not doing it. These Guṇas, in his opinion, are not qualities of any particular diction, but of the good Kāvya generally. It is noteworthy that this brief description of the Guṇas precedes in context the treatment of Alaṃkāras, implying probably that they are analogous to each other. It is also noteworthy that Bhāmaha does not employ the term Guṇa at all, except in another context in connexion with the Bhāvika Alaṃkāra which he, like Daṇḍin, designates as a *prabandha-guṇa*.

Bhāmaha then proceeds to define and discuss, with illustrations, the poetic figures or *alaṃkāras*, to which he devotes two long chapters (ii. 4-95, iii. 1-56), consisting of nearly one hundred and fifty verses. Then come (ch. iv) the *doṣas* or demerits of composition (some of which are already dealt with in i. 37-56), and the whole subject is wound up

18 As each of these types have certain distinguishing features, Bhāmaha is of opinion that one need not condemn Gauḍa nor praise the Vaidarbha ; but he himself does not deal with these types which must have been well known in his time.

with two chapters (v-vi) on the logical[19] and grammatical[20] correctness of poetry respectively. Now leaving aside these two requirements and the Doṣas, all of which are in a sense negative requirements, the only thing of the highest importance in poetry, in Bhāmaha's view, is apparently the Alaṃkāra or the poetic figure, which takes up the bulk of his treatment.[21] Bhāmaha attempts to classify poetic expression into fixed rhetorical categories ; and from this point of view his work possesses the general appearance of a technical manual, comprising a collection of definitions with illustrations and empirical canons for the benefit of the artist desirous of externalising his ideas. But in the course of his enquiry, it probably struck him that a philosophical or scientific classification of expressions is not possible ; for, although every single expressive fact may be grouped together generically, the continuous variation of the individual content results in an irreducible variety of expressive facts. He attempts, therefore, to arrive at a synthesis by holding that there may be *modes* or *grades* of expression, of which the best mode is that which involves *vakrokti*[22], by which a certain peculiarity or charm of expression is posited as the essential principle of all Alaṃkāras.

19 In which are discussed such *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* topics as the *pramāṇa, prajñā, hetu, dṛṣṭānta* etc.

20 Giving practical hints for attaining grammatical correctness (*sauśabdya*), and corresponding to the last *adhikaraṇa* of Vāmana's work.

21 Excluding subvarieties the Alaṃkāras mentioned or defined by Bhāmaha are 39 (+4) in number, viz. in this order: *anuprāsa* (two varieties), *yamaka* (five kinds), *rūpaka* (two varieties), *dīpaka, upamā, prativastūpamā* (as a variety of *upamā*), *ākṣepa* (two kinds), *arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, vibhāvanā, samāsokti, atiśayokti, yathāsaṃkhya, utprekṣā, svabhāvokti, preyas, rasavat, ūrjasvi, paryāyokta, samāhita, udātta* (2 kinds), *śliṣṭa, apahnuti, viśeṣokti, virodha, tulyayogitā, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, vyāja-stuti, nidarśanā, upamā-rūpaka, upameyopamā, sahokti, parivṛtti, sasaṃdeha, ananvaya, utprekṣāvayava, saṃsṛṣṭi, bhāvika, āśīḥ* (according to some), as well as *hetu, sūkṣma leśa* and *vārttā* (to which the status of Alaṃkāra is denied).

22 It is true that in one place Bhāmaha speaks of the figure

The etymological meaning of the term *vakrokti* is "crooked speech"; and this meaning appears in the verbal poetic figure defined by Rudraṭa (ii. 13-17) and, after him, by all later theorists, who connote by this figure a kind of pretended speech based on paronomasia (*śleṣa*) or peculiarities of intonation (*kāku*). In Vāmana, on the other hand, *vakrokti* appears not as verbal figure (*śabdālaṃkāra*) but as a figure based on the sense (*arthālaṃkāra*) ; and it is defined as a metaphorical mode of speech based on "transference of sense" (*lakṣaṇā*). Bhāmaha, while admitting it, apparently in common with Daṇḍin (ii. 363), as a collective designation of *all* Alaṃkāras[23], uses the term to imply a selection of words and turning of ideas peculiar to poetry and abhorrent of matter-of-fact speech. Kuntaka, who develops this idea and builds a unique theory of *alaṃkāra* on its basis, makes this meaning clear when he indicates by such *vakratā* the peculiar charm (*vicchitti*) or strikingness (*vaicitrya*) which can be imparted to ordinary expression by the conception of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā*). When words are used in the ordinary manner of common parlance, as people without a poetic turn of mind use them, there is no special charm, no strikingness; and

bhāvika as the characteristic excellence of a composition as a whole, a view which coincides with that of Daṇḍin, as well as of Bhaṭṭi who (according to commentators) illustrates this figure in one whole canto (canto xii). It is defined as the representation of objects, whether past or future, as if they were present, the condition of the representation being that the story or theme must have picturesque, strange and exalted meaning (*citrodāttādbhutārthatvaṃ kathāyāḥ*) and must be capable of being enacted well (*svabhinītatā*), and that the words used must be agreeable (*śabdānukulatā*). Bhāmaha, however, does not appear to lay any special emphasis on *bhāvikatva* in Poetry, but deals with it as he does with any other poetic figure. No doubt, he speaks of *bhāvika* as a *prabandha-guṇa*, but Bhāmaha does not seem to have made any theoretical distinction between Guṇa and Alaṃkāra as such, and the word *guṇa* here should not be taken in any technical sense.

23 On this subject, see S. K. De, introd. to Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd Ed. pp. xiv-xxv.

consequently it is not poetical in the sense in which Bhāmaha and his follower understand it. Such *svabhāvokti* or 'natural' mode of speech, which Daṇḍin calls *ādyā alaṃkṛti* and distinguishes from *vakrokti*, is not acceptable to Bhāmaha[24] and to Kuntaka, who refuse to acknowledge *svabhāvokti* as a poetic figure at all ; for these theorists apparently imply a distinction between the "artistic", or ornamental or extra-ordinary, on the one hand, and the "naturalistic", or unadorned or ordinary expression, on the other[25].

24 See Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv 130 f, and in *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 224 f. Kuntaka also uses the term *vakrokti* as almost co-extensive with the term *alaṃkara* (p. xxx), and regards the so-called poetic figures as aspects of *vakrokti*.—Bhāmaha does not, as Kuntaka does, elaborately argue against Svabhāvokti ; he acknowledges it, but the terms by which he refers to it (ii. 93-94) would make one think that it is not as acceptable to him as it is to Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin would divide Vāṅmaya into Svabhāvokti and Vakrokti, the latter including in its scope all the poetic figures. Bhoja (*Sarasvatī-k.*) would divide Vāṅmaya into Svabhāvokti, Vakrokti, and Rasokti.

25 To Bhāmaha and Kuntaka, *svabhāvokti*, which consists in a description of the natural disposition (*svabhāva*) of an object, is obviously wanting in the requisite strikingness to be poetical ; for they take it to be merely plain or unadorned description and imply that a poet should express things or ideas differently from the banality or prosiness of the Śāstras or of common life. But Daṇḍin and later theorists, on the contrary, reckon *jāti* or *svabhāvokti* among the poetic figures. On this point we quote what we said elsewhere (Introd. to *Vakrokti-jīvita*, p. xix, fn 19). "Though formally the expression of the *svabhāvokti* may not differ from a statement or description in common life there is still a substantial difference. For the poet sees or conceives the very same thing not in the same way as common people. In the case of the latter, all things stand in some relation to his personal interests, which should be understood to connote also scientific interest in them as objects of knowledge. But for the poet the object has no connexion with his or anybody's interests, not even as an object of knowledge ; he has a vision of the thing in itself in its true nature. This is what is partially understood by *lokātikrānta-gocaratā*, and Jagannātha makes it clear (ed. Bombay, 1915, p. 4) while explaining the term *lokottaratva* as an element of poetic charm. Literally *lokottara* means supermundane, but in the sense indicated above it may be translated roughly as 'disinterested' or 'dissociated'. Now, Daṇḍin, adopting the traditional term *alaṃkāra* and applying it to the *svabhāvokti*, could not very

Bhāmaha, therefore, lays down, in his classification of the different kinds of Kāvya, that the subdivisions of poetry mentioned by him are admissible to that designation in so far as they possess *vakrokti* (i.30); and this is made more explicit by declaring later on that whatever value might be attached to the function of Rīti in poetry, the *vakrokti* is desirable as an embellishment of poetic speech (i. 36), which he characterises elsewhere as *vakrā* (vi. 23). Therefore he calls upon the poet to be diligent in accomplishing this, as the *vakrokti* manifests the sense of poetry and as no embellishment of poetry is possible without *vakrokti* (ii. 85). It is not surprising, therefore, that he rejects figures like *hetu, sūkṣma* and *leśa* on the ground that they do not involve *vakrokti.*

It is curious, however, that Bhāmaha nowhere explicitly defines or explains the word *vakrokti.* Perhaps here we have the work of early theorisers who have not yet learnt to theorise systematically, but who are carried away more or less by their practical object of establishing definite norms and prescribing general formulas as a means of attaining literary expression. Or, perhaps the idea of *vakrokti* was traditional or already too well known in his time to require detailed explanation. At any rate, after enumerating and defining the poetic figures up to and including *atiśayokti*, he says generally *saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktiḥ* (ii. 85), with a hint (as it appears from the context) of identifying the *vakrokti* in substance with the idea involved in *atiśayokti.* Kuntaka appears

well accept Bhāmaha's statement that *vakratā* is the characteristic of *all* poetic figures, because *vakrokti* excludes the *svabhāvokti* (Daṇḍin ii. 362); but he tries to reconcile his own view with Bhāmaha's opinion by extending the latter's remarks regarding the *atiśayokti* (ii. 81) to *all* poetic figures, thus including the *svabhāvokti.* The Indian theorists have almost neglected an important part of their task, viz., to find a definition of the nature of the subject of a poem as the product of the poet's mind ; this problem is the main issue of Western Aesthetics. Only *svabhāvokti* and *bhāvika* can be adduced as a proof that the Indian theorists were conscious of the problem, but did not attack it in its entirety, treating it only in some of its aspects". See also, on this point, Jacobi in *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* cited above, pp. 224 f.

to agree with Bhāmaha that some kind of *atiśaya* is involved in *vakrokti*, and thinks that the *atiśaya* is a necessary element in what he calls *vicitra-mārga*, where *vakrokti-vaicitrya* prevails (i. 27). Daṇḍin probably arrives at the same conclusion in a different way when he speaks of all poetic figures as depending on *atiśayokti*, a view which is explained thus by one of his commentators: *alaṃkārāntarāṇām api eṣa* (=*atiśayoktyalaṃkāraḥ*) *upakārī bhavati, atiśaya-jananatvaṃ vinā bhūṣaṇatayā na syād ity abhiprāyaḥ.* Ānandavardhana's remarks in this connexion are illuminating. He says that it is possible to include *atiśaya* in all poetic figures, as it has been successfully done by great poets, for the purpose of increasing the beauty of poetic composition ; and citing Bhāmaha's idea of *atiśayokti* and *vakrokti* he remarks (pp. 208)[26]: "There is an excellence of charm in that poetic figure in which the *atiśayokti* is established by the imagination of the poet ; other figures are merely so called. Since it is able to enter into the body or composition of all poetic figures, it is, by assuming it to be identical with them, called their essence". The *atiśayokti*, therefore, is taken, in the words of Abhinavagupta's explanation, as the common token or generic property of all poetic figures (*sarvālaṃkāra-sāmānya-rūpam*), or as Mammṭa puts it, as their life-breath or essence (*prāṇatvenāvatiṣṭhate*, p. 743). One can realise from this the close connexion between this important figure and Bhāmaha's notion of *vakrokti*.

Bhāmaha defines *atiśayokti* as *nimittato vaco yat tu lokātikrānta-gocaram* (ii. 81), which Daṇḍin paraphrases as *vivakṣā yā viśeṣasya loka-sīmātivartinī* (ii. 214). It would seem, therefore, that the *atiśaya* in the *vakratā* of poetic figures consists essentially in this *lokātikrānta-gocaratā*, and Abhinava makes this clear when he explains in this connexion (°*Locana* p. 208): *śabdasya hi vakratā abhidheyasya ca vakra-*

26 *tatrātiśayoktir yam alaṃkāram adhitiṣṭhati kavi-pratibhā-vaśāt tasya cārutvātiśaya-yogaḥ. anyasya tvalaṃkāra-mātrataiveti. Sarvālaṃkāra-śarīra-svīkaraṇa-yogyotvenābhedopacārāt saiva sarvālaṃkāra-rūpety ayam evārtho'vagantavyaḥ.*

tā lokottīrṇena rūpeṇāvasthānam. From this it is reasonable to conclude that by *vakratā* Bhāmaha implies a kind of heightened or extraordinary turn given to expression (what Kuntaka would call *bhaṅgī* or *vicchitti*), which constitutes the charm or strikingness of poetic expression, as distinguished from common speech where facts are simply stated. We shall see that Kuntaka elaborates this idea by the peculiar theory of *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti* (which is taken as almost equivalent to the term *vakratā*) of word and sense as forming the basis of all poetic decoration (the so-called poetic figures being mere aspects of it), whereby the poet lifts ordinary speech to the level of extraordinary poetic utterance.

As a necessary corollary from the prominence given to *vakrokti* or *alaṃkāra* in poetry by this system, it follows that ideas of Rasa should be included in the scope of particular poetic figures. We shall see that Bhāmaha actually assigns this function to the particular figure *rasavat*, and if we are to accept Udbhaṭa's position as indicative of that of Bhāmaha, also to the figures *preyas* and *ūrjasvin.* By putting a technical interpretation on the word *vibhāvyate* in Bhāmaha ii. 85, Abhinavagupta attempts to make out that Rasa as well as Alaṃkāra originates in *vakrokti* ; but this is probably an instance of the not-unusual but rather far-fetched ingenuity of the commentator. Regarding *vyaṅgyārtha* or *dhvani,* the "suggested sense", which plays such an important part in later theories, Bhāmaha nowhere expressly alludes to this idea ; but we can never dogmatically affirm that some kind of suggested sense was not known to him. He defines figures like *paryāyokta*, *vyāja-stuti*, *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* and *samāsokti*, in all of which there is an indication of an implied sense. The *paryāyokta*, for instance, is defined as *paryāyoktaṃ yad anyena prakāreṇābhidhīyate* (iii. 8), and Udbhaṭa expands this with *vācya-vācaka-vṛttibhyāṃ śūnyenāvagamātmanā*, in which there is a clear indication of an *avagamyamāna artha*[27]. This

27 Cf. Ruyyaka's remarks on this figure. See also Bhāmaha's definition of *samāsokti,* ii. 79.

is also apparent from the criticism of Ānandavardhana, who does not agree, however, that in Bhāmaha's *paryāyokta* there is a predominance of the suggested sense, inasmuch as the expressed sense is not intended there to be merely subservient (pp. 39-40). In another place (p. 108), Ānandavardhana further remarks that Udbhaṭa has shown in detail that expressed poetic figures like *rūpaka* can sometimes be a suggested element, a case of what is explained by Dhvani-theorists as *alaṃkāra-dhvani*. Thus, in the opinion of the great exponent of the *dhvani*-theory himself, Bhāmaha as well as Udbhaṭa (cf °*Locana* p. 10) is not an *abhāva-vādin* or one who denies the existence of *dhvani* (as Mallinātha, p. 24, wrongly considers him to be), but an *antarbhāva-vādin* who includes the idea of *dhvani* in other elements of poetry. Discussing this point, Pratīhārendurāja appears to agree with Ānandavardhana ; for, in his opinion, the *dhvani*, which is considered by some school to be the 'soul' of poetry, is not separately dealt with by these early writers because they include it in poetic figures (p. 79). In the same way, Jagannātha (pp. 414-15) remarks that although Udbhaṭa and others, who were earlier than the author of the Dhvani-system, never use the term *dhvani*, it is yet unreasonable to hold on that ground that the concept of *dhvani* was unknown to them, because they indicate some of its aspects in their definitions of figures like *paryāyokta*, *samāsokti*, *vyāja-stuti* and *aprastuta-praśaṃsā*. To the same effect is the general statement of Ruyyaka (p. 3), who says that Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and other ancient writers would comprehend the suggested sense in the Alaṃkāra as an adornment of the expressed sense ; in other words, they do not take it independently but as an accessory to the expressed sense, in the same way as they take Rasa as an accessory element. Following perhaps the tradition of Bhāmaha's *paryāyokta*, the younger Vāgbhaṭa defines (pp. 36-37) the figure as *dhvanitābhidhānam*, and refers the curious reader to the treatise of Ānandavardhana for a detailed treatment of *dhvanitokti* ; while Hema-

candra defines (p. 263) it more briefly as *vyaṅgyasyoktiḥ*. In all this, one can perceive an attempt to read the idea of *dhvani* into older authors like Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa and thus to find an orthodox authority for it from an early time ; but it is not unlikely that the general notion of a suggested sense, like the general notion of Rasa, was not unknown to these ancient authors, although it was only naïvely understood and never independently treated, being uncritically included as an element of some poetic figures.

(2)

UDBHAṬA

The only writer of later times who develops Bhāmaha's notion of *vakrokti* is Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakrokti-jīvita* ; but for this exposition, it disappears from the writings of this school. Udbhaṭa, one of the earliest avowed followers of Bhāmaha, nowhere mentions it, although it is quite possible that we would have got a much more comprehensive idea of Udbhaṭa's standpoint from his lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* or *Kāvyālaṃkāra-vivṛti*[28] than from his existing brief compendium of poetic figures. His *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, as its name implies, consists merely of a collection of verses defining forty-one poetic figures (including three varieties of *anuprāsa*), and we are left absolutely in the dark regarding his views on general problems.

In his treatment of these poetic figures, Udbhaṭa follows

28 See vol. i. p. 46. The six chapters of Udbhaṭa's existing work deal exclusively with the poetic figures in the following order and divisions: I. *punaruktavad-ābhāsa, chekānuprāsa, vṛttynuprāsa* (with three *vṛttis*), *laṭānuprāsa, rūpaka, dīpaka* (3 kinds), *upamā, prativastūpamā*. II. *ākṣepa, arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, vibhāvanā, samāsokti, atiśayokti* (4 *kinds*). III. *yathāsaṃkhya, utprekṣā, svabhāvokti*. IV. *preyasvat, rasavat, ūrjasvin, paryāyokta, samāhita, udātta* (2 kinds), *śleṣa*. V. *apahnuti, viśeṣokti, virodha, tulyayogitā, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, vyāja-stuti, vidarśanā, saṃkara* (4 kinds), *upameyopamā, sahokti, parivṛtti*. VI. *sasaṃdeha, ananvaya, saṃsṛṣṭi, bhāvika, kāvyaliṅga* (*hetu*) and *kāvya-dṛṣṭānta* (*dṛṣṭānta*).

Bhāmaha very closely, enumerating the figures in the same order and even borrowing literally the definitions of a large number of them. In the case of a few particular poetic figures, however, Udbhaṭa enters into distinctions which were probably unknown to Bhāmaha. Thus, he speaks of four forms of the *atiśayokti*, which Bhāmaha does not mention, but which agree substantially with the four out of the five varieties of that figure recognised by later writers. Bhāmaha spoke (ii. 6-8) of only two kinds of *anuprāsa*, viz., *grāmyānuprāsa* and *lāṭīyānuprāsa*, which classification, Pratīhārendurāja thinks, is based on a tacit admission of the two Vṛttis, viz., *grāmyā* and *upanāgarikā*. Udbhaṭa, on the other hand, distinguishes three varieties of *anuprāsa*, called *chekānuprāsa*, *lāṭānuprāsa* and *vṛttyanuprāsa*, the last of which appears to be classified again on the basis of the three Vṛttis, viz., *grāmyā* (or *komalā*), *paruṣā* and *upanāgarikā*. These Vṛttis, which consist primarily of suitable sound-adjustment with a view to alliteration, appear to have been first recognised, as Abhinavagupta points out, by Udbhaṭa, and from him known to Ānandavardhana (pp. 5-6). We shall see presently that Rudraṭa mentions five Vṛttis (ii. 19 f) ; but we find Udbhaṭa's views accepted by later theorists like Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka who, however, consider the whole question from the point of view of Rasa[29]. Again, the grammatical basis of the divisions of *upamā* (of which there is only a hint in Bhāmaha ii. 31-33) first appears in Udbhaṭa (i. 35-40) in a form which establishes itself in later theory. It is true that Udbhaṭa does not in the present treatise devote, as Bhāmaha does, a special chapter to the question of grammatical correctness, nor does he allude to the theories regarding functions of words already hinted at by Bhāmaha (vi. 6f), yet in deference to the grammatical analysis of speech, he discusses at some length the various

29 These Vṛttis refer primarily to *anuprāsa* (alliteration, or sound-arrangement of letters), and has nothing to do with the four dramatic Vṛttis mentioned by Bharata (vi. 25, xx. 24f).

subdivisions of *upamā*, due to suffixes like *vat*, *kyac*, *kyaṅ*, *kvip*, *kalpap* and the like, indicative of resemblance ; and this analysis became almost standardised in later literature.

Regarding definitions of individual figures, minor differences, as well as further elaboration, are noticeable. Thus, Udbhaṭa's *tulyayogitā* corresponds to that of Mammaṭa, but Bhāmaha's figure of the same name is perhaps equivalent to Mammaṭa's *dīpaka*. The figures *dṛṣṭānta* and *kāvya-liṅga* (also called *kāvya-dṛṣṭānta* and *kāvya-hetu* respectively) are omitted by Bhāmaha, but defined and illustrated by Udbhaṭa for the first time. But Udbhaṭa is the only older writer who entirely omits the treatment of *yamaka*. Again, Bhāmaha recognises *śleṣa* involved in *sahokti*, *upamā* and *hetu*, and Daṇḍin speaks of *śleṣa* as coming in and increasing the charm of all figures. But the well-known controversy regarding the division of *śleṣa* into *śabda-śleṣa* and *artha-śleṣa*, together with the question of its relations to other poetic figures in which it may appear, seems to have started, as Ruyyaka notes, from Udbhaṭa's time ; and Udbhaṭa declares that in cases of combination, the *śleṣa* is stronger than the other figures to the extent even of dispelling their apprehension. We shall also see that Udbhaṭa is certainly more advanced in recognising Rasa and defining its place in the poetic figures, if not in poetry as a whole ; and he even goes so far as using the technical terms *bhāva* and *anubhāva*, which cannot be traced in Bhāmaha. The *saṃsṛṣṭi* of two or more independent poetic figures is found indeed in Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi (as also in Daṇḍin and Vāmana), but Udbhaṭa does not refer to the two cases of such *saṃsṛṣṭi* mentioned by Daṇḍin (ii. 360) and distinguishes it definitely from *saṃkara* (pp. 63 and 72), of which he mentions four cases[30].

30 Vāmana gives the *saṃsṛṣṭi* a limited scope, recognising only two varieties, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava*, in opposition to Daṇḍin ii. 258-60. Daṇḍin does not mention *saṃkara*. Possibly Daṇḍin's *aṅgāṅgibhāva-saṃsthāna* variety of *saṃsṛṣṭi* comes, as Pratīhārendu indicates, under Udbhaṭa's *anugrāhyānugrāhaka* variety of *saṃkara*.

All this, however, means an advance, and not a deviation; it indicates an aspect of the growth of scholastic activity, which delighted in indulging in fine distinctions and minute classifications, and not a departure from the original standpoint. To later writers, however, it is not Bhāmaha but Udbhaṭa who is the authoritative exponent of this system and whose views are entitled to great respect from all schools of opinion. Bhāmaha indeed commands veneration due to his antiquity; but he was, in course of time, eclipsed by his commentator, and later theorists turn to Udbhaṭa's work as embodying the standard opinions on the subject. We have the testimony of Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Ruyyaka that some of the later speculations and controversies (e. g. those regarding *upamā*-divisions, or *śleṣa*) started from Udbhaṭa's time; and Udbhaṭa (as also Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa) probably showed the way to minute analysis and differentiation of poetic figures, which play such an important part in later theories. We can understand what influence Udbhaṭa's teachings exerted in this respect when we bear in mind that they guided very considerably the enquiries of two important later lawgivers in Poetics, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka, who fixed for the last time the definitions of most figures, analysed and arranged them on some general principle, and systematised their underlying doctrine. Although Kuntaka elaborated one part of Bhāmaha's teaching which he took as the basis of his own peculiar system of *vakrokti*, it was Udbhaṭa who properly carried on Bhāmaha's tradition and gave a systematic exposition of his work. Along with his contemporary Vāmana, Udbhaṭa may be taken without exaggeration to have been the founder of the Kashmirian school of Poetics which produced its finest fruit in Ānandavardhana; for Udbhaṭa in Kashmir established the *alaṃkāra*-doctrine in Poetics at a time when Vāmana was skilfully constructing a theory of *rīti* on the basis apparently of Daṇḍin's teachings, and both of them prepared the way for Ānandavardhana.

Pratīhārendurāja's interpretation of Udbhaṭa is not always reliable as an indication of Udbhaṭa's standpoint, for the commentator flourished a little over a century later than the text-writer and frequently reads his own notions into the text. For instance, Udbhaṭa can be taken, as we have seen, to have been cognisant of a suggested sense, though he never speaks of *dhvani* or deals with it directly ; but Pratīhārendurāja refers to it in clearest terms and attempts by forced interpretation to make out that Udbhaṭa deliberately included it in the treatment of poetic figures. There is no doubt, again, that Pratīhārendurāja was a great deal influenced by the views of the Rīti school of Vāmana. Discussing the mutual relation of *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra* (pp. 75 f), Pratīhārendurāja not only cites Vāmana but closely follows his exposition. To Bhāmaha, the distinction between *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra* was hardly of any theoretic importance, and Udbhaṭa appears to have been of the same opinion ; for Ruyyaka distinctly states *udbhaṭādibhis tu guṇālaṃkārāṇāṃ prāyaśaḥ sāmyam eva sūcitam* (p. 7), and Hemacandra adds in the same way : *tasmād gaḍarikā-pravāheṇa guṇālaṃkāra-bheda iti bhāmaha-vivaraṇe... bhaṭṭodbhaṭo'bhyadhāt* (p. 17). Vāmana, on the other hand, putting greater stress on *rīti* elaborately distinguishes between the *guṇas* and the *alaṃkāras* ; and Pratīhārendurāja apparently reads Vāmana's views into Udbhaṭa. Udbhaṭa omits all mention of *rīti* which Bhāmaha had only referred to in passing ; but Udbhaṭa speaks of three *vṛttis*, which are connected in particular with the figure *anuprāsa* but which correspond roughly to the three *rītis* of Vāmana, and like the latter, again, to the three *guṇas* recognised by Ānandavardhana and his followers.[31] But even then it cannot be said that Udbhaṭa's *vṛttis* cover the same ground or possess the same functional value as the three *rītis* of Vāmana or the three *guṇas* of Ānandavardhana. Udbhaṭa, according to Abhinavagupta (p. 134), regards the *guṇas*, again, as the properties of

31 *rīter hi guṇeṣveva paryavasāyitā,* ° *Locana* p. 231.

saṃghaṭanā, but this *saṃghaṭanā* cannot be taken as equivalent to Vāmana's *rīti*[32]. In the same way, Pratīhārendurāja speaks of *rasa* as the 'soul' of poetry (p. 77), although there is nothing to warrant the supposition that Udbhaṭa, fully aware as he appears to be of the importance of this element, would regard it as anything but a subservient factor in some special poetic figures.[33]

(3)

RUDRAṬA

Although influenced considerably by the Rasa-doctrine, Rudraṭa belongs properly to the Alaṃkāra school. He recognises the Rasas and devotes two fairly long chapters to it; but, as we shall see later on, the function he assigns to Rasa is more or less extraneous. On the other hand, what

32 Ānandavardhana speaks of *saṃghaṭanā* as threefold, viz., *a-samāsā*, *dīrgha-samāsā* and *madhyama-samāsā*, according as there is the presence or absence, in varying degrees, of compound words. Each of these is suited, though not invariably, to a particular Rasa. But he thinks that the Guṇas are not of the nature of *saṃghaṭanā*, nor are they dependent upon *saṃghaṭanā*, but that the appropriateness of the *saṃghaṭanā* is determined by the Rasa and by the speaker and the subject (pp. 133-5). See Jacobi in *ZDMG*, lvi, 1902. p. 779, fn 6, and S. K. De, Ānandavardhana on saṃghaṭanā in *Some Problems* pp. 91-94.

33 This point will be discussed in ch. iv below. Rājaśekhara attributes some other doctrines to Udbhaṭa and his school (*audbhaṭāḥ*), which cannot be traced in Udbhaṭa's existing work: (1) that a sentence has a threefold denotation (*vākyasya tridhābhidhā-vyāpāra iti audbhaṭāḥ*), (2) that *artha* is of two kinds, viz., *vicārita-sustha* and *avicārita-ramaṇīya*, the first found in the Śāstras and the second in Kāvyas. The *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna* attributes a similarly untraceable Siddhānta at p. 4. Such citations or association of earlier authoritative names with a particular view may be merely *pūjārtha*, which is not an unusual procedure with later commentators, as Sukthankar in *ZDMG* lxvi, 1912 discusses. Pratīhārendurāja, for instance, attributes a strange opinion to Bharata that grammatical works and the like do not deserve the name of poetry because they are not acceptable as such in the absence of the necessary Guṇas.

he appears to consider as important in poetry is the *alaṃkāra* or poetic figure, to which he devotes ten chapters which form indeed the bulk of his work. His work itself is named *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, apparently after the works of Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, and is so designated, as his commentator Nami-sādhu admits (on i. 2), from the undoubted emphasis laid on *kāvyālaṃkāras* or poetic figures as elements of poetry.

Rudraṭa, like other writers of this school, does not seem to attach much importance to the Rīti or its constituent Guṇas. He speaks, no doubt, of four Rītis (and not two, after Daṇḍin, or three, after Vāmana) viz., *pāñcālī, lāṭīyā, gauḍīyā* and *vaidarbhī* ; but in his exposition he is not influenced by the views of the Rīti school. The classification of 'diction', he thinks, depends on the presence in varying degrees of short (*laghu*), middling (*madhya*) and long (*āyata*) compound words, or on their entire absence as in the case of the Vaidarbhī which is, apparently for this reason, considered to be the best type. Bhāmaha, we have seen, adopts a similar principle of classification, not with regard to the Rīti but to the three Guṇas admitted by himself. The notion of Rīti, therefore, belongs, in Rudraṭa's opinion, altogether to the province of *śabda*, governed by fixed rules of verbal arrangement, or rather, of using compounds, and is therefore called the *samāsavatī vṛtti* of *śabda*. Rudraṭa does not speak of *dhvani*, nor does he appear to have been cognisant of its function ; but he implies a suggested sense (as also Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa do) ancillary to the expressed sense in a limited number of poetic figures, e. g., in figures like *paryāya* or *paryāyokta* and in the figure *bhāva* vii. 38-41.[34]

34 The two illustrations that Rudraṭa gives under the figure are quoted in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, and in the °*Locana* p. 45. Abhinava distinctly refers to Rudraṭa's *bhāvālaṃkāra* as a case in which the *vyaṅgya* sense is subordinate. Abhinava thinks that Udbhaṭa would take *bhāvālaṃkāra* as *preyas* (pp. 71-72). It is remarkable that Ruyyaka, in his review of Rudraṭa's opinion on this point, states that Rudraṭa admits the three kinds of suggestion mentioned by the Dhvani-theorists. He says that Rudraṭa implies *vastu-dhvani* in the figure *bhāva* ;

Rudraṭa's detailed treatment of the poetic figures or *alaṃkāras*, however, is the distinguishing feature of his work and indeed justifies its title. It is not only elaborate and exhaustive, but also presents considerable difference of method and treatment, which distinguishes him from other earlier writers of this school, and which may lend plausibility to the supposition that he is not only later in time but is also probably following a tradition other than that of Bhāmaha and his followers. To Udbhaṭa's limited number of poetic figures Rudraṭa adds nearly thirty more independent figures[35], besides enumerating several subvarieties of most of the important ones, and devoting an entire chapter to *citra* (already discussed by Daṇḍin). Udbhaṭa (not to speak of Bhāmaha and Bharata) nowhere treats clearly of the distinction between ideal and verbal figures (i. e. figures relating to word and sense respectively), although such a distinction is implied by

alaṃkāra-dhvani in *rūpaka* etc; *rasa-dhvani* in *rasavat* and *preyas*. But it may be pointed out that excepting what is stated with regard to *vastu-dhvani* being traceable in Rudraṭa's *bhāva*, the remark does not apply. Rudraṭa does not mention, define or otherwise deal with the figures *rasavat*, *preyas* etc, nor does he speak of *pratīyamānā utprekṣā* referred to by Ruyyaka in this connexion (although he gives an example of implied *utprekṣā* in ix. 13). See on this point Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxii, 1908, p. 295 fn 5.

35 The number in Udbhaṭa is 41, in Rudraṭa 68 (excluding subvarieties). The sixteen chapters in Rudraṭa deal with the following subjects: (I) the purpose and object of poetry, the qualifications of a poet etc. (II) the four *rītis* (*pāñcālī*, *lāṭīyā*, *gauḍīyā* and *vaidarbhī*), the six *bhāṣās* (Prakrit, Sanskrit, Māgadha, Piśāca, Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa), and five *alaṃkāras* of *śabda*, of which *vakrokti* and *anuprāsa* are here treated, along with five Vṛttis of *anuprāsa*. (III) *yamaka*. (IV) *śleṣa* and its eight varieties, (V) *citra*. (VI) *śabda-doṣas*, including *doṣas* of *pada* and *vākya*. (VII) four bases of *arthālaṃkāra* (*vāstava*, *aupamya*, *atiśaya* and *śleṣa*), and 23 figures based on *vāstava*. (VIII) 21 figures based on *aupamya*. (IX) 12 figures based on *atiśaya*. (X) 12 figures based on *śleṣa*, *śuddha* and *saṃkīrṇa*. (IX) nine *doṣas* of *artha*, and four *upamā-doṣas*. (XII) ten *rasas*, and treatment of *śṛṅgāra*. (XIII) *saṃbhoga-śṛṅgāra* etc. (XIV) *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*, and the *upāyas*. (XV) characteristics of other *rasas*. (XVI) kinds of poetic composition, such as *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* and their characteristics.

his treatment of four *śabdālaṃkāras* first, followed by an exposition of the *arthālaṃkāras*. Daṇḍin also implies a similar distinction by a similar separate treatment without expressly stating it. Rudraṭa, on the other hand, classifies the figures, like Vāmana, clearly into two groups according as relative prominence is given to *śabda* and *artha*. He also gives us for the first time a basis or principle of arranging the individual figures in groups in respect of their general nature or characteristic. The *śabdālaṃkāras* are arranged under five broad heads, viz., *vakrokti* (equivocation), *śleṣa* (paronomasia), *citra* (tricks of pictorial effects, like conundrum etc.), *anuprāsa* (alliteration) and *yamaka* (repetition of sounds or rhyming); while the *arthālaṃkāras* are classified on a principle of his own, viz., under *vāstava* (reality), *aupamya* (comparison), *atiśaya* (elevatedness) and *śleṣa* (coalescence)[36]. The figures mentioned under *arthālaṃkāras* are: (1) VĀSTAVA. *Sahokti, samuccaya, jāti, yathāsaṃkhyā, bhāva, paryāya, viṣama, anumāna, dīpaka, parikara, parivṛtti, parisaṃkhyā, hetu, kāraṇamālā, vyatireka, anyonya, uttara, sāra, sūkṣma, leśa, avasara-milita* and *ekāvalī* (23 figures), (2) AUPAMYA. *Upamā, utprekṣā, rūpaka, apahnuti, saṃśaya, samāsokti mata, uttara, anyokti, pratīpa, arthāntara-nyāsa, ubhaya-nyāsa, bhrāntimat, ākṣepa, pratyanīka, dṛṣṭānta, pūrva, sahokti, samuccaya, sāmya* and *smaraṇa* (21 figures). (3) ATIŚAYA. *Pūrva, viśeṣa, utprekṣā, vibhāvanā, tadguṇa, adhika, virodha, viṣama, asaṃgati, pihita, vyāghāta* and *hetu* (12 figures). (4) ŚLEṢA. Two kinds—*śuddha* and *saṃkīrṇa*, the former subdivided into *aviśeṣa, virodha, adhika, vakra, vyāja, ukti, asaṃbhava, avayava, tattva* and *virodhābhāsa*, and the latter comprising two varieties (10+2=12 figures).

36 Vāmana had already taken *aupamya* as the basis of his classification, for he would regard all figures as *upamā-prapañca*, implying that all figurative expression forms nothing more than aspects of metaphorical expression. Rudraṭa. however, thinks that *all* figures do not imply comparison ; and in this he is in agreement with all writers excepting Vāmana who is unique in his extreme view.

Daṇḍin, who himself enumerates a very large number of poetic figures[37], very sagely remarks that if for some slight difference, a different figure is to be defined, there would be hardly any end to their infinite multiplication. This remark partly applies to Rudraṭa whose general scheme, as well as particular definitions, is open to such an obvious objection. One of the curious results of rigorously following this classification is that the same figure reappears as an *alaṃkāra* under different groups. Thus *sahokti* and *samuccaya* have two aspects, based respectively on *vāstava* and *aupamya*, while the figure *utprekṣā* appears similarly under *aupamya* and *atiśaya* respectively. Some of Rudraṭa's figures have been abandoned by later writers, while some have changed their names or have been modified[38], later speculation inclining rather towards the more orthodox expositions of Udbhaṭa or even of Daṇḍin ; yet the general merit of Rudraṭa's analysis and definitions, testified to by the more or less implicit acceptance by later theorists like Mammaṭa[39], cannot be denied. They indicate not only a considerable advance in scholastic activity on Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, but also remarkable independence, and consequent divergence of treatment in several notable cases.

Taking the verbal figures, Rudraṭa's *vakrokti*, based on paronomasia (*śleṣa*) and intonation (*kaku*), has nothing in common with that of his predecessors. The intonational *vakrokti* is indeed not accepted by some of his successors

37 Viz. 35 in ch. ii. and *yamaka, citra* and *prahelikā* in ch. iii.

38 E.g., Rudraṭa's *bhāva, mata. sāmya* and *pihita* are not defined by later writers (excepting Vāgbhaṭa in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*), while his *hetu* is not admitted by Mammaṭa. Rudraṭa's *avasara* and *pūrva* (mentioned by the younger Vāgbhaṭa) appear to be the same as the second variety of Mammaṭa's (and Udbhaṭa's) *udātta* and the fourth variety of Mammaṭa's *atiśayokti* respectively.

39 Mammaṭa's indebtedness to Rudraṭa is discussed by Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, lxvi, 1912, p. 478, as well as in many places in Nobel's *Beiträge* already cited. Ruyyaka, on the other hand, while drawing largely on Mammaṭa himself, is more indebted to Udbhata.

(e g. Rājaśekhara p. 31 and Hemacandra p. 234), inasmuch as it is supposed to depend on mere peculiarities of reading (*pāṭha-dharmatvāt*): but on the whole, Rudraṭa's definition of the figure replaced that of Vāmana's metaphorical *vakrokti*, survived Kuntaka's broader interpretation of *vakrokti*, and established itself as the only recognised figure of that name in later literature from Mammaṭa onwards. Again, Rudraṭa's classification of *anuprāsa* is somewhat different from that of Udbhaṭa, the former basing it on the five *vṛttis* of letters (*varṇa*), viz., *madhurā, paruṣā, prauḍhā, lalitā* and *bhadrā*, and the latter admitting only three *vṛttis* (*paruṣā, upanāgarikā* and *grāmyā* or *komalā*) only in connexion with one of his three kinds of *anuprāsa*, viz. *vṛttyanuprāsa*. The later writers follow Udbhaṭa, on this point. Udbhaṭa, again, omits the treatment of *yamaka*, in spite of the examples of Bharata and Bhāmaha before him, and in spite of the fact that Daṇḍin had already given one of the fullest treatments of that figure in the whole realm of Alaṃkāra literature. Rudraṭa perhaps ranks next to Daṇḍin in the fulness of his treatment, though there is considerable divergence in the details of classification of these two writers. In the same way, there is no reference to *citra* in Bharata, Bhāmaha or Udbhaṭa, although Māgha says (xix. 41) that it was in his time a figure indispensable in a Mahākāvya. Daṇḍin dilates upon some of its varieties, but Rudraṭa gives a much fuller exposition ; and it is noteworthy that although Mammaṭa does not attach much value to such verbal ingenuity, yet in his discussion of this figure he quotes almost all the illustrations from Rudraṭa. In connexion with the faults concerning verbal figures, Rudraṭa points out several cases (vi. 29-33) where *punarukta* or tautology is not a fault ; Udbhaṭa, as Nami-sādhu also notes, includes all these cases in the figure *punaruktavad-ābhāsa* or 'semblance of tautology'. Udbhaṭa, again, speaks of *śleṣa* apparently as an *arthālaṃkāra*, and divides it into *śabda śleṣa* and *artha-śleṣa*, which correspond respectively to *abhaṅga*- and *sabhaṅga-śleṣa* of later writers. Rudraṭa, on the other

hand, speaks of *śleṣa* as a *śabdālaṃkāra* which he carefully distinguishes (ii. 13) from the *arthālaṃkāra* of the same name, which he deals with separately in ch. x and which forms the basis of twelve independent figures. The verbal figure *śleṣa*, on the contrary, is elaborately classified according as it relates to *varṇa, liṅga, prakṛti, pratyaya, vibhakti* and *vacana* (iv. 12), Rudraṭa thus avoiding the controversy carried on by later theorists as to whether the *śleṣa* is a figure of *śabda* or of *artha*.

Regarding *arthālaṃkāras*, Rudraṭa mentions only four *upamā-doṣas* (xi. 24), in contradistinction to seven of Bhāmaha and Medhāvin and six of Vāmana[40], viz., *vaiṣamya, asaṃbhava, aprasiddhi* and *sāmānya-śabda-bheda*, the last defect including all cases of change of a word signifying common property (as construed with the *upameya* and the *upamāna*), due to the difference of *liṅga, vacana, kāla, kāraka* and *vibhakti*. We have already noted that Udbhaṭa enters rather minutely into the grammatical subdivisions of *upamā*, but this finds no place in Rudraṭa's treatment, which includes them in a lump in *samāsopamā* and *pratyayopamā*. Again, Bhāmaha positively rejects *hetu* as a poetic figure, although Daṇḍin speaks of it as *vācām uttama-bhūṣaṇam*, including it under *kāvya-liṅga* (*kāraka-hetu*) and *anumāna* (*jñāpaka-hetu*). Udbhaṭa recognises only *kāvya-liṅga*, calling it also *kāvya-hetu* and distinguishing it from *dṛṣṭānta* which he calls *kāvya-dṛṣṭānta*. It is Rudraṭa (vii. 82) who first defines and fixes its characteristics as finally accepted in Poetics. It is needless to cite any more instance ; but what is said above will be enough to indicate, in the first place, that there is a considerable divergence of view between Rudraṭa and his predecessors with regard to the nature and scope of individual figures and their classification ; and what is more important to note, it is easy to demonstrate that most of these differences are fundamental. We can reasonably assume, therefore, that Rudraṭa, possessed as he is of great inventive power, either follows a

40 See vol. i. p. 60, fn 1.

system of classification and definition peculiar to himself, or follows a tradition of opinion different in some respects from that of Bhāmaha and his followers, although in general theory he belongs to a common school.

Although Rudraṭa's work is remarkable indeed for its careful analysis, systematic classification and apposite illustration of a large number of poetic figures, some of which have become more or less standardised, his direct contribution to the theory of Poetics cannot be valued too highly. Indeed, the practical nature and scope of his work, like that of Udbhaṭa's, leave hardly any room for discussion of general principles or of speculative aspects of the questions involved. Rhetoric rather than Poetics appears to be his principal theme, as it is of most writers of this system who concern themselves entirely with the elaboration of rhetorical categories in which they suppose the whole charm of poetry lies. Partly perhaps to his novelty of treatment and partly to his omission of discussion of ultimate principles is due the fact that Rudraṭa has hardly any direct follower in later literature, unless one cites Rudrabhaṭṭa who, however, utilises only his Rasa-chapters. Rudraṭa's name is not associated with the establishment of any particular system, although he shows great fertility and acuteness in his treatment of individual figures, which, in some cases, have been implicitly accepted by later writers on the subject. Rudraṭa is the last great exponent of the Alaṃkāra school, strictly so called ; for after him the school began to decline and merge ultimately, like the two other sister schools relating to Rasa and Rīti, into the finally dominant Dhvani school.

(4)

The decline of the Alaṃkāra-system was probably synchronous with and perhaps hastened by the rise of the rival Rīti-doctrine. The first step towards this is indicated by the general trend of Daṇḍin's work. Daṇḍin who stands, as it were, midway between the Alaṃkāra and the Rīti

schools, admits, no doubt, the great importance of poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*) in a scheme of Poetics (ii. 1) ; but he takes them, along with the *guṇas*, as constituting the essence of what he calls the *mārga* (or *rīti*). As the characteristic of 'embellishing' poetic speech is possessed by both Alaṃkāras and Guṇas, both are, in his opinion, Alaṃkāras in a wider sense, the Guṇas being special embellishments of the Vaidarbha Mārga, while the Alaṃkāras are common to both the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍa Mārgas. Vāmana, who systematically established the Rīti-theory, goes further and lays down that the Guṇas are essential (*nitya*) excellences, while the Alaṃkāras are not essential (*anitya*) but serve only to increase the beauty of a poem already brought out by the former.

With the advent of the Dhvani-theory, there was an elaboration of the concept of Rasa as the principal suggested element not only in the drama but also in poetry ; and both the Guṇa and the Alaṃkāra naturally came to be subservient to it. But the Guṇas were supposed to reside in intimate relation to the Rasa, without which they could not exist and existing with which they only served to heighten its beauty. The Alaṃkāras, on the other hand, were supposed to be extraneous and artificial sources of beauty, just as ornaments are to the body. We shall have occasion to deal with these questions in greater detail in connexion with the views of the Rīti- and the Dhvani-theorists ; it would be enough to indicate here that the later theorists, in their search for a fundamental principle, could no longer regard the discipline as co-extensive with an external theory of embellishment ; and necessarily the Alaṃkāra, as well as the Guṇa, which appertain more or less to the objective beauty of representation, came to occupy a subordinate position as an element of poetry. It was held that the term *alaṃkāra* 'embellishment' should explain the question as to what is to be 'embellished' *alaṃkārya* ; and as such it must confine itself, as the early formulators of the Alaṃkāra-system modestly yet wisely held, to the 'body' or framework of poetry ; it must not attempt to explain its 'soul' or essence.

The Alaṃkāra-system, however, left its undoubted impress on later theories. The Rīti-systems of Daṇḍin and Vāmana amply recognise its influence by devoting considerable attention to the detailed discussion of various poetic figures ; and although no writer after Ānandavardhana seriously contends that the poetic figure is the only element worth considering in poetry, yet all of them acknowledge its importance and assign to it a place in their system. In spite of the emphasis which they put on Dhvani and Rasa, the new school, beginning from Mammaṭa, devote a large section of its work to the elaboration of various poetic figures, and the Alaṃkāra-chapter may justly claim to have been a thoroughly worked out theme. Here was given to Indian scholars rich material for subtle distinction and endless classification ; and with a hair-splitting care, befitting scholastic minds, all kinds of metaphors, similes, alliterations and other figures were minutely analysed and defined. Indeed, the multiplication of limitless varieties of poetic figures[41], based on minute differences, as well as the making of a large number of subvarieties of each figure, went on through the whole course of the history of the discipline ; and down to the latest times, we find traces of new and ever new poetic figures.

The extent to which this specialisation is carried will be understood by taking a typical example. The beauty of a lady's face is described ; this can be done in several ways, resulting in a number of poetic figures, by taking the familiar comparison of the Sanskrit poet as the starting point. "Your face is like the moon"—*upamā* ; "the moon is like your face" —*pratīpa* ; "your moon-face"—*rūpaka* ; "is this your face, or is this the moon"—*sasaṃdeha*; "this is the moon, and not your

41 Excluding subvarieties, Bharata mentions only 4 Alaṃkāras, but in *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* we find 18, Bhāmaha 39 (+4), Daṇḍin 38, Udbhaṭa 41, Rudraṭa 68, Vāmana 31, Mammaṭa 61 (+6), Ruyyaka 75 (+4), Vāgbhaṭa II 63 (+6), Viśvanātha 77 (+7), Jayadeva (*Candrāloka*) 100, Kuvalayānanda 115. Hence Ānandavardhana says (p. 8) : *sahasraśo hi mahātmabhir anyair alaṃkāra-prakārāḥ prakāśitāḥ prakāśyante ca* !

face"—*apahnuti* ; "the moon is like your face, and your face is like the moon"—*upameyopamā* ; "your face is only like your face"—*ananvaya* ; "having seen the moon I remembered your face"—*smaraṇa* ; "thinking it to be the moon, the *cakora* (a bird which is said to feed on moonbeams) flies towards your face"—*bhrāntimat* ; "this is the moon, this the lotus, thus the *cakora* and the bee fly towards your face"—*ullekha* ; "this is verily the moon"—*utprekṣā* ; "this is a second moon"—*atiśayokti* ; "the moon and the lotus are vanquished by your face"—*tulya-yogitā* ; "your face and the moon rejoice in the night"—*dīpaka* ; "the moon shines in night, but your face always shines"—*vyatireka* ; "in the heavens the moon, on earth your face"—*dṛṣṭānta* ; "the moon reigns in heaven, your face reigns on earth"—*prativastūpamā* ; "your face bears the beauty of the moon"—*nidarśana* ; "the moon is pale before your face" —*aprastuta-praśaṃsā* ; "by your moon-face the warmth of passion is cooled"—*pariṇāma* ; "your face beautifully spotted with black eyes and adorned with the light of smile"—*samāsokti.* Some of these turns of expression lose their force or point in the translation, but this will roughly indicate the varieties of figures arrived at by nice distinctions, although these constitute only a few, of which comparison forms the basis. They are sharply separated from one another ; and although some of the distinctions may appear to us to be somewhat trivial or formal, we cannot refuse to recognise the amount of ingenuity shown in the matter. Even taking only one figure *upamā*, they subdivide it into a number of inferior varieties, most of which, however, are based on peculiarities of grammatical construction, but which Appayya Dīkṣita, one of the latest writers on the subject, refuses to admit on this very ground in his treatise on poetic figures[42].

42 *evam ayaṃ pūrṇa-lupta-vibhāgo vākya-samāsa-pratyaya-viśeṣa-gocaratayā śabda-śāstra-vyutpatti-kauśala-pradarśana-mātra-prayojano nātīvālaṃkāra-śāstre vyutpādyatām arhati, Citra-mīmāṃsā* p. 27.

But the different theorists are not agreed in their exposition of the exact nature and scope of individual poetic figures. This difference is partly due to the inevitable change of view-points and gradual growth of ideas consequent upon the progress of the study itself, and partly to the favourite refining process which loved to indulge itself in niceties of distinction. The development of the conceptions of the different poetic figures in the writers of different schools affords an interesting field of study in itself, and cannot be comprehended in our limited scope[43]; but one or two instances will make the process clear. The figure *ākṣepa*, which (generally speaking) consists of an apparent denial of something which is intended to be said for the purpose of conveying a special meaning, is variously analysed by different writers. Vāmana defines it as the repudiation of the standard of comparison, *upamānākṣepaś cākṣepaḥ* (iv. 3. 27). One interpretation of this, as given in Vāmana's own Vṛtti, is *upamānasyākṣepaḥ pratiṣedha upamānākṣepaḥ, tulya-kāryārthasya nairarthakya-vivakṣāyām* ; that is to say, the standard of comparison is rejected for the purpose of indicating that it is useless in the presence of the object described. This would be equivalent to the figure *pratīpa* of later writers. But Vāmana adds another explanation which indicates that the figure can also occur when the standard of comparison is only hinted at (*upamānasyākṣepataḥ pratipattir ity api sūtrārthaḥ*). This

43 No complete attempt has yet been made to study the development of the different conceptions of individual poetic figures from the earliest time to that of Jagannātha. Much material, however, will be found in Trivedi's and Kane's notes to their learned editions of *Ekāvalī* and *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* respectively. J. Nobel has published a series of articles on some of the Alaṃkāras studied in their development. His *Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alaṃkāra-śāstra* (Diss. Berlin 1911) deals with the figures *dīpaka, tulya-yogitā, vibhāvanā, viśeṣokti, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, samāsokti, nidarśana*, and *arthāntara-nyāsa* ; while his articles in *ZDMG* lxvi, 1912, pp. 283-93 and lxvii, 1913, pp. 1-36 deal with *vyāja-stuti*, and *sahokti* and *vinokti* respectively, and in lxxiii, 1919, pp. 189f with *prativastūpamā* and *dṛṣṭānta*.

would be equivalent to the *samāsokti* of some writers. Daṇḍin's definition of *ākṣepa*, on the other hand, is very wide; for, according to him, the denial (*pratiṣedha*) need not be of what has been said (*ukta*) or of what is about to be said (*vakṣyamāṇa*), but it may be of anything whatever. Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Mammaṭa limit the denial in so far as it concerns the *ukta* or the *vakṣyamāṇa*. They are followed by Ruyyaka, Vidyādhara and Viśvanātha, but a second kind is added, viz., the apparent permission of what is not wished for. Jagannātha refers (p. 421f) to both the views of Vāmana and Udbhaṭa, but adds that, according to a third view, which he takes to be the view of the Dhvanikāra, all suggestive negation or denial is the province of *ākṣepa*. This is supported by the fact that the *viśeṣa* or special meaning to be conveyed by the apparent denial is never expressed but always left to be understood. It would, therefore, be classed by the Dhvanikāra under "poetry of subordinate suggestion" (*guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*), for the expressed sense itself is charming here and the suggested sense is subordinated to it. It is probably in reference to such views that the *Agni-purāṇa* lays down: *sa ākṣepo dhvaniḥ syāc ca dhvaninā vyajyate yataḥ*. The case of *ākṣepa* will exemplify, to some extent, the way in which each poetic figure is not only minutely analysed, but elaborately classified into subvarieties by taking into account the different cases of its occurrence. Thus, *upamā* (simile) is classified into six complete and twenty-seven incomplete forms; the figure *utprekṣā* into thirty-two varieties, the *vyatireka* into forty-eight, the *virodha* into ten. The number of self-standing figures, together with their innumerable adjunct of subvarieties, goes on increasing as the study progresses, until it reaches to a number exceeding one hundred; and it is not surprising that in the later stages of its history, whole volumes like Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, Jayadeva's *Candrāloka* or Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda* are dedicated exclusively to the special purpose of analysing, defining and illustrating the various poetic figures.

The simple basis of classfying the poetic figures, according as they appertain to the word or the idea, into *śabdālaṃkāra* and *arthālaṃkāra* (verbal and ideal figure) obtained throughout from Rudraṭa's time[44], but some writers add figures which are both of the word and the idea (*śabdārthālaṃkāra*). The *Agni-purāṇa* appears to be one of the earliest known works to mention this third division, and the position is taken up by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*. A long controversy, however, has centred round the propriety of such a classification ; and it has been held that although, generally speaking, all figures are both of *śabda* and *artha*, the *raison d'être* of such divisions is the relative prominence given respectively to *śabda*, *artha* or both, on the dictum *yo'laṃkāro yadāśritaḥ sa tad-alaṃkāraḥ*. But this relation of *āśraya* and *āśrayin* (i. e. interdependence) is not accepted by all, and Mammaṭa maintains that *anvaya* (connexion) and *vyatireka* (disconnexion or contrast) must form the test, which consists in considering whether the particular figure does or does not bear a change of synonymous words (*parivṛtti-sahatva*). If the figure disappears with the change of the word by its synonym, it is a verbal figure or *śabdālaṃkāra* ; if not, it is an ideal figure or *arthālaṃkāra*. The number of independent Śabdālaṃkāras has never been large, the largest being probably the twenty-four mentioned by Bhoja. The older writers pay, as a rule, greater attention to this class, which apparently afforded ample scope to decadent classical poets for mere verbal jugglery ; but more recent writers like Ānandavardhana or Mammaṭa do not deal with it with so much care, on the ground that though such word-play brings about variety or *vaicitrya* of expression to some extent, it does not help but only retards the comprehension of Rasa in a composition by entirely engrossing the reader's mind. The Arthālaṃkāras, on the other hand, have always engaged more care and attention, and the favourite refining process has been systematically and

44 See above p. 62.

untiringly pursued in this sphere. Their number, however, has always been subject to fluctuation; but it can be generally stated that while in the older writers the number is limited, in comparatively recent authors the multiplication is more marked. On the one hand, Bharata speaks only of four Arthālaṃkāras; Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Vāmana deal with about thirty to forty different figures; the number reaching its maximum perhaps in Rudraṭa's sixty-eight. In Bhoja, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka there is a reaction towards restriction and decrease; but in the latest stage of our history, the *Candrāloka* gives about one hundred, while the *Kuvalayānanda* adds a score more. Daṇḍin, himself a great sinner in this respect, very early protested against such endless differentiation, and Ānandavardhana agrees with him; but it appears to have afforded endless scope to the scholastic ingenuity of later theorists who, after the time of Ānandavardhana, finding hardly anything to systematise in respect of the essentials of theory, occupied themselves in elaborating the details.

As to the classification of the ideal figures (*arthālaṃkāra*) according to their essential characteristic, Daṇḍin divides all figures into *svabhāvokti* and *vakrokti*; Vāmana makes an early attempt to take *aupamya* as the central principle; while Rudraṭa groups them systematically under *vāstava, aupamya, atiśaya* and *śleṣa*[45]. Mammaṭa has no definite principle of classification. Ruyyaka suggests one based on (i) *aupamya* (comparison) (ii) *virodha* (incongruity) (iii) *śṛṅkhalā* (linked succession) (iv) *nyāya* (logical reason) (v) *gūḍhārtha-pratīti* (understanding of a concealed sense) (vi) combination of figures (*saṃsṛṣṭi* or *saṃkara*). Vidyādhara and Viśvanātha substantially follow this classification, only splitting up *nyāya* into *tarka-nyāya, vākya-nyāya* and *loka nyāya*; but Vidyānātha substitutes the word *sādharmya* for *aupamya* (or *sādṛśya*) and speaks of *adhyavasāya* (complete identification) and *viśeṣaṇa-vaicitrya* (strikingness of adjectives or attributes) as two other bases of

45 iii. 9. See above p. 62.

classification. Perhaps none of these classifications would be regarded as strictly scientific, for they mix broad heads indicating psychological factors (like similarity, contrast or contiguity) with mere formal bases of classification as *gūḍhār-tha-pratīti* or *apahnava*.

A development is also noticeable in the general conception of a *kāvyālaṃkāra* or poetic figure. It is true that a "poetic figure" corresponds to a certain extent to a "speech-figure" or to what is known as a figure of speech in a formal scheme; but later theorists explain that something more belongs to a poetic figure as such. The special charm, known as *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*, peculiar to each composition, which rests ultimately on the conception or skill of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā* or *kavi-kauśala*) makes up the *kāvyālaṃkāra* as such, and gives it its distinguishing characteristic. This view would be entirely omitted in a treatise on rhetoric merely; and with this point of view it is misleading to describe the theory of Alaṃkāra as a theory of rhetorical categories only. Originally it might have been, more or less, a theory of externals, but the problem was complicated by the appearance of this new factor of thought, first introduced by Kuntaka and then elaborated in the sphere of individual figures by Ruyyaka, Jayaratha and others, the development of which will be traced hereafter in its proper place.

CHAPTER III

DAṆḌIN AND VĀMANA

(The Rīti System)

(1)

DAṆḌIN

Daṇḍin comes chronologically after Bhāmaha ; and Vāmana, who comes after Daṇḍin, was contemporaneous with Bhāmaha's commentator Udbhaṭa ; but the Rīti-system, which Daṇḍin and Vāmana represent in Poetics, was probably older in tradition than Bhāmaha himself, who would not seriously concern himself with the distinction between *vaidarbha* and *gauḍa* Kāvya. It can be traced back to the time of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (first-half of the 7th century) who tells us that the Gauḍas were already notorious for *akṣara-ḍambara*, to which fact Daṇḍin also alludes in his depreciation of the *gauḍa mārga*. It will be seen that although the terms *mārga* or *rīti* in the technical sense might not have been very ancient, both Daṇḍin and Vāmana themselves indicate that some such system as they advocate was traditionally existent ; and they appear to refer to and sometimes actually quote from unknown expositors of the past[1]. It is probable that the Rīti school, if we use this term to separate those writers who put an emphasis on *rīti* as the most important element of poetry, had an independent origin and history, and existed for a long time side by side with the sister schools, which threw into prominence the elements of *rasa*, *alaṃkāra* or *dhvani* respectively.

We have already stated that Daṇḍin is influenced, to some extent, by the teachings of the Alaṃkāra school, and as such

1 e. g. under Vāmana i. 2. 11, 12-13; 3. 15, 21; iii. 1. 9, 25; iv. 1. 7 etc.

stands midway in his view between the Alaṃkāra-system of Bhāmaha and the Rīti-system of Vāmana. At the same time, there can be no doubt that in theory he allies himself distinctly with the views of Vāmana. In Vāmana, however, we find the system in its completely self-conscious form ; and here we have nothing of that vagueness or indefiniteness which characterises the rival Alaṃkāra-system of Udbhaṭa. With a clear-cut scheme and a definite central principle, Vāmana proceeds to set forth his system in the brief but concise *sūtra*-form ; and whatever may be the value of his speculations, there can be no doubt that Vāmana was the first writer to enunciate a definite theory which, before the Dhvanikāra, must have had great influence on the study of Poetics.

With regard to the commonplaces of poetic speculation,[2] Daṇḍin's standpoint does not differ much from that of Bhāmaha ; and both start with the same notion of embellishing sound and sense, which, in their opinion, should constitute the 'body' of poetry. The classification of poetry into species of composition like the *sarga-bandha* (*mahākāvya*) etc., is almost identical,[3] the only remarkable divergence occurring, as already noted, in the case of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, which rigid distinction is not admitted by Daṇḍin.[4] Poetry

2 Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* consists of three chapters devoted respectively to (i) Mārga-vibhāga, (ii) Arthālaṃkāra and (iii) Śabdālaṃkāra and Doṣa (the last topic is separately given as ch. iv in the Madras ed.).

3 Under verse, Daṇḍin mentions *sarga-bandha* (=*mahākāvya*), *muktaka* (single verse), *kulaka* (five verses), *kośa* (unconnected verses of different authors), and *saṃghāta* (unconnected verses of the same author) ; under prose, he speaks *kathā*, *ākhyāyikā* and *campū*. Vāmana gives two divisions of both prose and verse, viz., *nibaddha* and *anibaddha* (connected and unconnected). He thinks that verse is of various kinds, but divides prose into three varieties, *vṛtta-gandhi* (savouring of verse), *cūrṇa* (having no long compounds and possessing sweet vocables), and *utkalikā-prāya* which is the opposite of *cūrṇa* (i. 3. 21-26).

4 The varieties of *kathā* mentioned by Hemacandra are *ākhyāna*, *nidarśana*, *pravahlikā*, *matallikā*, *maṇikulyā*, *parikathā*, *bṛhatkathā*,

is classified, according to its form, into prose, verse and mixed (*miśra*), while language furnishes another *fundamentum divisionis* yielding four distinct groups, viz., *saṃskṛta, prākṛta, apabhraṃśa*[5] and *miśra*,[6] the last kind in both these divisions not being mentioned by Bhāmaha. The effect of combining these two principles of classification gives us four species of composition, viz. *sarga-bandha* (*mahākāvya*) in Sanskrit, *skandhaka* in Prakrit, *osara* in Apabhraṃśa, and *nāṭaka* in mixed languages, although it is not thought necessary to deal with them all in detail. The old division into *śravya* and *preksya* Kāvya,[7] according as a composition appeals to the eye or the ear, is also referred to in i. 39; but regarding *preṣya kāvya*, by which dramatic composition is generally meant, Daṇḍin summarily refers to specialised treatises on the subject.

These speculations, of course, constitute the common stock-in-trade of Poetics, and find themselves repeated in a more or less similar form in most writers irrespective of the school or tradition to which they belong. Thus, Vāmana also gives us preliminary chapters on the divisions of poetry

khaṇḍa-kathā, sakalakathā and *upakathā* (pp. 338 f). The last three are also admitted by Ānandavardhana (p. 141) and defined by Abhinava. The *Agni-purāṇa* 337. 20 defines *kathānikā*.

5 It is not known what Bhāmaha signifies by the term *apabhraṃśa*, but Daṇḍin gives to it a definite connotation as the language of the Ābhīras and others in the Kāvya, as distinguished from the Śāstra where it is the name applied to all languages other than Sanskrit. Nami-sādhu sententiously says: *prākṛtam eva apabhraṃśaḥ*. Hemacandra adds to Apabhraṃśa another kind called *grāmyāpabhraṃśa*. Cf. Bharata xvii. 49, which makes it clear that the Apabhraṃśa was a *jāti-bhāṣā* and not a *deśa-bhāṣā*. The Ābhīras were ancient settlers in the land and are mentioned by Patañjali (i. 252). See *IA*, 1918, p. 26.

6 The mixed variety of Kāvya is cryptically summed as *nāṭakādi tu miśrakam*. But if mixed language is meant, it probably refers to what is now called Hybrid Sanskrit or mixed Sanskrit.

7 This division occurs again in Hemacandra, who divides *prekṣya* Kāvya into *pāṭhya* and *geya*.

(*kāvya-viśeṣa*), on the auxiliary aids or sources of poetry (*kāvyāṅga*), on the persons entitled to study the science (*adhikāri-nirūpaṇa*). Although belonging to a different school, Rudraṭa in the same way devotes two chapters (i and xvi) to these general topics of Poetics.

But in respect of the attention which Daṇḍin pays to the elaboration of poetic figures, his sympathy obviously allies him with the standpoint of the Alaṃkāra school. He shares the views of this school in his general opinion that a good Kāvya should be embellished by those decorative devices which go by the name of *alaṃkāra*. At the same time, it is important to note that while Daṇḍin believes, with all early writers, in the theory of embellishment, he differs in his view as to the means by which this embellishment should be realised; for he apparently holds that it is not the poetic figures only but the several literary excellences, the *guṇas* (which are also designated *alaṃkāras* by him), that constitute the essence of the poetic manners (*mārgas*) or poetic diction, in the realisation of which alone the essence of poetry lies. Indeed, the marked emphasis laid on the Mārga, which is almost equivalent to Vāmana's Rīti,[8] and on its constituent excellences, known as Guṇas, to which the Alaṃkāra school is apparently indifferent, is a distinct feature of Daṇḍin's work, and places Daṇḍin in his fundamental theoretic attitude in the Rīti school. Although he does not go so far as Vāmana in setting up the Rīti as the essence of poetry, there can be no doubt that he attaches special importance to its literary value. It is true that Daṇḍin never uses the term Rīti throughout his work, but his employment of the term Mārga (i. 9, 40, 42, 67, 75, 101) or Vartman (i. 42, 92), implying 'mode,' 'manner', or style in the objective sense, may be taken as almost synonymous. His general definition of poetry, or rather its 'body' or framework, as *iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī* (i. 10)—a series of words characterised by an agreeable sense or idea—naturally

8 Vāmana also uses the term *mārga* in iii. 1. 12.

leads him to consider, first of all, the question of appropriate expression of appropriate ideas, or in other words, to discuss the suitable arrangement of sound and sense for the purpose of producing poetic effect, which is technically denoted by the term *mārga* or *rīti*. Speech, he says, is diversified in its mode of expression (*vicitra-mārga*, i. 9 ; also i. 40), and he is aware of the fine distinctions which mark off one mode from another (i. 40) and result in a multifarious variety of modes. All these he broadly divides into two clearly distinguishable types, called the *vaidarbha* and the *gauḍa*, to the critical study of which his whole work is avowedly devoted. This classification is probably not Daṇḍin's own but derived from some recognised tradition (i. 40), although Bharata, who mentions the *kāvya-guṇas*, does not refer to *mārga* or *rīti*, and Bhāmaha's analysis of the two types[9] (as well as of the *guṇas*) is somewhat different. Of the two types, Daṇḍin gives preference to the *vaidarbha mārga*, which, in his opinion, results from a harmonious unification of the ten *guṇas* or excellences of composition, the *gauḍa* being the exactly opposite type.

The ten Guṇas, which are spoken of as the *prāṇāḥ* or life-breath of the Vaidarbha Mārga and which are said to be generally wanting in the Gauḍa,[10] are therefore essential in a good composition. They are thus enumerated by Daṇḍin:

9 Bhāmaha does not use the terms *mārga* or *rīti* but distinguishes between the *vaidarbha* and the *gauḍa* Kāvya as two types of poetry obtaining in two different places. Bāṇa has already told us that people of different places liked different poetic devices (*Harṣa-carita* i, *śl.* 7), with which statement Daṇḍin's remarks regarding the partiality of the Gauḍas to certain tricks and excellences agree. As Vāmana distinctly says, the Rītis, which took their names from localities, were probably analysed empirically from the styles which prevailed in these localities. With regard to Guṇas, Bhāmaha mentions them independently of the Rīti. They are *mādhurya* and *prasāda* marked by the absence of compounds, and *ojas* by their presence. They would thus correspond to the Rītis of Rudraṭa. Bharata mentions ten Guṇas only as essential to a good Kāvya, and not in relation to Rīti.

10 Daṇḍin says: *esāṃ* (i.e. of the ten Guṇas) *viparyayaḥ prāyo-*

(i) *śleṣa*, the quality of being well knit, the opposite being *śithila* or looseness.

(ii) *prasāda*, or lucidity, the opposite being *vyutpanna* or far-fetchedness.

(iii) *samatā*, or evenness (in the grouping of word-sounds), the opposite being *vaiṣamya* or unevenness.

(iv) *mādhurya*, or elegance, consisting of alliteration of similar sound (*śrutyanuprāsa*[11]) and absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*)[12], respectively termed *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa*. The name of the opposite of *mādhurya* is not given, but the opposite of *śrutyanuprāsa* is *ulbaṇa-varṇāvṛtti* (i. 35)[13] and that of *agrāmyatva* is *grāmyatva*, the latter rejected in both the Mārgas.

(v) *sukumāratā*, or absence of harshness due to the use of soft vocobles, the opposite being termed *niṣṭhura* or *dīpta*.[14]

(vi) *artha-vyakti*, or explicitness of sense (common to both the Mārgas, the opposite *neyatva* or *neyārthatva* being rejected in both).

dṛśyate gauḍa-vartmani. It implies that in his opinion the Viparyayas are *generally* found in the Gauḍa Mārga and not the ten Guṇas. The word *prāyas* is significant, and the older commentators draw attention to it. Thus, Taruṇavācaspati: *prayaḥ-śabdaḥ arthavyakty-audārya-samādhyādayo guṇā ubhaya-sādhāraṇā iti darśayati* ; Hṛdayaṅgama: *prāyo-grahaṇaṃ sākalya-nivṛtyartham, tena arthavyakty-audārya-samādhi-guṇā ubhaya-mārga-tulyā iti gamyate*. Some of the Guṇas, therefore, are common to both the Mārgas.

11 The *śrutyanuprāsa* is the name given to the grouping of similar sounds which exist between letters belonging to the same *sthāna*, such as *kaṇṭha, tālu, mūrdhan, danta* etc. It is thus distinguished from *varṇānuprāsa*. The subdivisions of *anuprāsa* are infinite ; but Bhoja (ch. ii. 71f) gives an elaborate scheme of classification containing six main varieties, viz. *śruti, vṛtti, varṇa, pada, nāma-dvirukti* and *lāṭa*.

12 For the meaning of the terms *grāmyatva* and *rasa* occurring in this definition, see below ch. iv.

13 This implies "an excess of a wild variety of Anuprāsa" as V. Raghavan interprets it (*Śṛṅgāra-pr*. pt. ii, p. 283). For an historical analysis of the Guṇas of Daṇḍin and Vāmana, see this work of V. Raghavan (pp. 282-299).

14 Dīpta is explained by Daṇḍin as Kṛcchrodya=hard to pronounce.

(vii) *udāratva*, or elevation consisting of the expression of some high merit (common to both the Mārgas).

(viii) *ojas* or force due to the presence of compounds (common to both the Mārgas, but the Vaidarbha attempts a simpler kind of prose, while the Gauḍa attempts a hightened style both in prose and in verse, long compounds prevailing in the latter case).

(ix) *kānti*, or agreeableness due to conformity to general usage ; in other words, absence of the unnatural, the exaggerated or the grotesque, the opposite being *atyukti*.

(x) *samādhi*, or transference of the qualities or actions of one thing to another, i. e. metaphorical expression generally (common to both the Mārgas).

It will be noticed that the above enumeration of the literary excellences of diction, which differs greatly from that of Bharata[15], is neither exhaustive nor strictly logical. The *artha-vyakti*, for instance, may well be included in the *prasāda*. The definition of *udāratva* is rather vague, so also is that of *kānti*, in both of which Daṇḍin apparently admits subjective valuations not clearly indicated. Again, the *mādhurya*, though defined primarily as a particular mode of word-arrangement, is regarded more or less as a subtle excellence which defies analysis[16]. A similar indefinable psychological factor is apparently admitted in the *samādhi*, the definition of which makes it difficult to distinguish from it poetic figures like *rūpaka* or metaphor, where there is also poetic superimposition of an object or its qualities on another. It is quite possible that from Daṇḍin's point of view, the difference between the *samādhi-guṇa* and the *rūpaka-alaṃkāra* may consist in the fact in the Guṇa there is a transference only of the qualities or actions of one thing to another, while in the Alaṃkāra

15 See above pp. 12-15.

16 Daṇḍin's treatment implies that he considers it both as a *śabda-guṇa* (illustrated in i. 53) and as an *artha-guṇa* (illustrated in i. 64), although this distinction is not mentioned by him (but cf. the word *vibhakta* in i. 68).

either one *dharmin* itself is substituted for another, or the new *dharma* entirely supplants the existing *dharma*. But this process of poetic transference is essentially a mode of figurative expression resting finally on *lakṣaṇā*, and Vāmana would regard Daṇḍin's definition of the *samādhi-guṇa* as constituting the figure *vakrokti* which, in his opinion, consists in a similar transference based on resemblance.

It must also be pointed out that some of Daṇḍin's Guṇas refer to *śabda* (word), some to *artha* (sense), while others to both these elements. The *mādhurya* and *sukumāratā* are primarily *śabda-guṇas*, depending on the use of specific vocables, while between themselves the *mādhurya* requires sound-alliteration, and *sukumāratā* the prevailing use of tender vocables. But the use of words or syllables suggesting a vulgar sense must be avoided in *mādhurya*, a fact which precludes us from taking it strictly as a *śabda-guṇa*. Daṇḍin does not make a hard-and-fast distinction between *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas*, as his successor Vāmana does; but taking his definitions as they stand, it would appear that he probably regards some of them (e. g. *śleṣa*, *samatā*, *sukumāratā* or *ojas*, all of which refer to sound-effects) as constituting what later theorists would call *śabda-guṇas*, and others (e. g., *prasāda*, *artha-vyakti*, *udāratva*, *kānti* or *samādhi*) as constituting *artha-guṇas*; while Guṇas like *mādhurya* he would in the same way classify as belonging both to *śabda* and *artha*. Daṇḍin himself was perhaps conscious of the defective nature of his classification, and consequently added (i. 101-102) that in the midst of a general agreement regarding the usage of Guṇas, there always exist differences between writers and writers as regards the emotional value of their composition or their artistic presentation.

After dealing with the Guṇas in relation to the two opposite types of Mārga, Daṇḍin begins (ch. ii) the treatment of those poetic embellishments which are specifically called Alaṃkāras or poetic figures. It must be distinctly understood that the word *alaṃkāra* is used by Daṇḍin in the general sense

of that which causes beauty in poetry, *kāvya-śobhākarān dharmān alaṃkārān pracakṣate,* ii. 1. It appears to include in its wide scope both Guṇas and Alaṃkāras properly so called. Referring to his own discussion of the Guṇas in the previous chapter, in relation to the Vaidarbha Mārga of which they constitute the essence, Daṇḍin speaks of them in ii. 3 as *alaṃkāras*, and goes on to mention the figures as *sādhāraṇam alaṃkāra-jātam*. In other words, poetic figures are Alaṃkāras common to both the Mārgas (*sādhāraṇa*), while Guṇas are Alaṃkāras belonging exclusively to the Vaidarbha. He says, therefore, at the outset of his treatment of the poetic figures (ii. 3)

> *kāścin mārga-vibhāgārtham uktāḥ prag apy alaṃkriyāḥ||*
> *sādhāraṇam alaṃkāra-jātam adya pradarśyate||*

"For the purpose of classifying the *mārgas*, some *alaṃkāras* have been already spoken of (by me in the previous chapter) ; now are shown those *alaṃkāras* which are common (to both the *mārgas*)". Taruṇavācaspati rightly comments, on this verse[17]: "The *śleṣa* and the like are already spoken of as the ten *guṇas*. If it is objected, therefore, that they cannot also be called *alaṃkāras*, the reply is that the characteristic of an *alaṃkāra* consists in its capacity of embellishing, and that on account of this characteristic they (*guṇas*) are also *alaṃkāras*. The learned teachers have already said that the *guṇas* are indeed *alaṃkāras*. Hence *alaṃkāras,* like the *śleṣa,* which are essentially *guṇas*, were mentioned before to indicate the difference between the (two) *mārgas* ; but now are enumerated those *alaṃkāras* which are common to the two *mārgas.*" Daṇḍin, it may be pointed out, uses the word *alaṃ-*

17 *pūrvaṃ śleṣādayo daśa guṇā ity uktam. Kathaṃ te'laṃkāra ucyante iti cet, śobhākaratvaṃ hi alaṃkāra-lakṣaṇam, tallakṣaṇa-yogāt te'pyalaṃkārāḥ.........guṇā alaṃkāra eva ity ācāryāḥ.........tataḥ śleṣādayo guṇātmakālaṃkārāḥ pūrvaṃ mārga-prabheda-pradarśanāya uktāḥ, idānīṃ tu mārga-dvaya-sādhāraṇā alaṃkārā ucyante.*

kriyā in same general sense in iii. 137 (or iv. 14 in Madras ed.). From what is said above it follows that Daṇḍin does not make a fundamental theoretic distinction between the *guṇa* and the *alaṃkāra* as such (as later writers from Vāmana onwards do), but apparently regards them both essentially as *alaṃkāra*, taking the word in its wider sense of that which embellishes ; the *guṇas* being of primary importance as essentials of a good diction, and the *alaṃkāras* (i. e. poetic figures) of subsidiary value as constituents of diction, both good and bad. It is noteworthy that Daṇḍin never makes a confusion in the use of the two terms, but invariably applies the former term to denote (except in one case in ii. 364) the literary excellences of diction (i. 42, 76, 81, 100), and the latter to designate the poetic figures to which the name is traditionally restricted (ii. 7, 116, 214, 220, 268, 300, 340, 359 ; iii. 141, *alaṃkāratā* in ii. 237, 287, 367). In this way he practically foreshadows, if he does not theoretically develop, the rigid differentiation of the Guṇa and the Alaṃkāra of the Rīti school.

The subsidiary *alaṃkāras*, consisting of poetic figures, are dealt with by Daṇḍin in two chapters (ii and iii), devoted respectively to the treatment of the verbal (*śabda-*) and ideal figures (*artha-alaṃkāras*). He does not expressly state this distinction, which is implied in his treatment, but he gives his general opinion that verbal tricks like those of *yamaka* are not especially attractive (*naikānta-madhuram*). He deals with them, however, in greater detail than his predecessor Bhāmaha. The *prahelika* (conundrum),[18] for instance, which is merely alluded to in one verse by Bhāmaha, is elaborately discussed and illustrated by Daṇḍin (iii. 96-124) who mentions sixteen different kinds of this figure. He also gives a detailed treatment of *yamaka*, and defines with illustrations such

18 Some *prahelikās* are already mentioned by Bāṇa. Bhāmaha in a somewhat obscure verse states that a *prahelikā* is a serious composition possessing varied constituent meanings as well as the tricks of *yamaka*, and is so called in Rāmaśarman's *Acyutottara*. Daṇḍin men-

difficult tricks as *gomutrikā*, *ardha-bhrama* and *sarvato-bhadra*.

To the Arthālaṃkāras, however, Daṇḍin naturally pays greater attention. He mentions by name (ii. 4-7) only thirty-five poetic figures[19]; but the special feature of his treatment, as contrasted with those of Bhāmaha and Vāmana, consists in his attempt to make a large number of subordinate varieties, the most remarkable instance being that of *upamā*, which has thirty-two subdivisions, of which eight at least have the value of independent figures to later writers. Daṇḍin also anticipates Udbhaṭa in pointing out the importance of *śleṣa* as the cause of special charm in other figures (ii. 362), and agrees with Bhāmaha in holding that the *atiśayokti* is essential in all poetic figures (ii. 220). The term *vakrokti* is used only once and is reserved by him as a collective name of all poetic figures barring the *svabhāvokti*. According to Daṇḍin's scheme (as indicated in ii. 362), the whole realm of poetic figures can be divided into two distinct groups, consisting of *svabhāvokti*, on the one hand, and *vakrokti*, on the other. By the former, which he characterises as the first or primary figure (*ādyā alaṃkṛtiḥ*), he implies a plain and direct description of things belonging to a genus (*jāti*), or of an action

tions 16 kinds of *prahelikā*. Rudraṭa, like Daṇḍin, deals with the *prahelikā* as well as the *citra-bandhas* in some detail. But Vāmana excludes them. Some of the *citra-bandhas* are mentioned by Bāṇa and Māgha. Under the general designation of *citra-kāvya*, they are discredited by Ānandavardhana, and their importance diminished in later Poetics. They became the subject of specialised treatises like the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri (vol. i, pp. 283-84).

19 The figures dealt with in their order of treatment are: *svabhāvokti, upamā, rūpaka, dīpaka, āvṛtti, ākṣepa, arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, vibhāvanā, samāsokti, atiśayokti, utprekṣā, hetu, sūkṣma, leśa* (or *lava*), *yathā-saṃkhya* (or *saṃkhyāna* or *krama*), *preyas, rasavat, ūrjasvin, paryāyokta, samāhita, udātta, apahnuti, śleṣa, viśeṣokti, tulya-yogitā, virodha, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, vyāja-stuti, nidarśanā, sahokti, parivṛtti, āśīs, saṃkīrṇa* and *bhāvika*. The verses ii. 4-7, which give a prefatory list of figures, are suspected to be an interpolation, but the list substantially agrees with the poetic figures dealt with in ch. ii.

(*kriyā*), of a quality (*guṇa*), or of an individual (*dravya*)[20]. In this so-called natural description, there is apparently no scope for any artificial or ingenious mode of expression, and it should, therefore, be distinguished from all other poetic devices, figurative or otherwise, collectively designated as the *vakrokti*[21]. Among other figures, defined by Daṇḍin for the first time, may be mentioned the *āvṛtti*, *leśa* (=*vyājokti* or *vyājastuti*), *sūkṣma* and *hetu* (the last included by Udbhaṭa in his *kāvya-liṅga*). He does not define *ananvaya* and *sasaṃdeha*, calling them *asādhāraṇopamā* and *saṃśayopamā* respectively, and includes *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* under *rūpaka* and *utprekṣā* respectively. With Bhāmaha, he alludes to *vārttā* (i. 85), which is apparently illustrated by Bhaṭṭi, but which disappears from later Poetics, being included perhaps in the scope of *svabhāvokti*. The *prativastūpamā* is not an independent figure in Daṇḍin but a variety of *upamā*, while the *samāhita* of Daṇḍin is different from the same figure of Udbhaṭa and Vāmana. These few instances would indicate that, compared with the work of his predecessor, Daṇḍin's work attempts to present many new ideas. Possessing great inventive powers and gift of lucid exposition, as well as a notable degree of scholastic acumen, he endeavoured not only to refute and correct in many places the earlier views, but sometimes gave a new shape to them.

It will be convenient to examine here briefly the doctrine of Doṣa, which forms a counterpart of the doctrine of Guṇa enunciated by the Rīti school. Daṇḍin mentions, after Bharata, ten flaws or Doṣas of literary composition (ch. iii. 125f, or ch. iv Madras ed.), but he defines them differently in most cases. They are in name and substance identical with Bhā-

20 These terms are to be taken in the sense they have in grammar (and not as they have in philosophy).

21 This interpretation is supported by Daṇḍin's commentators (see Madras ed. pp. 201-2). We have already dealt with the question in our Introd. to *Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd Ed. pp. xiv f. See above pp. 48f.

22 See above pp. 9-11. Also Jacobi in *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv,

maha's first list of Doṣas noted above[22], with the only exception of the eleventh fault of defective logic, which is recognised by Bhāmaha but vigorously rejected by Daṇḍin as a fault difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss. But even with reference to this fault, Daṇḍin agrees with Bhāmaha in the enumeration of its six subdivisions. With regard to Bhāmaha's second list of faults, which concern the inner essence of poetry they would correspond in general to the Doṣa (or rather the opposites of Guṇa) which Daṇḍin mentions as being absent in the Vaidarbha Mārga and as generally characterising the opposite Gauḍa Mārga. We have noted that some of these Guṇa-viparyayas are expressly named by Daṇḍin. They are (i) the opposite of *śleṣa*, called *śithila* (ii) the oppisite of *prasāda*, called *vyutpanna* (iii) the opposite of *samatā*, called *vaiṣamya* (iv) the opposite of *sukumāratā*, called *dīpta* (v) the opposite of *kānti*, called *atyukti* (vi) the opposite of *artha-vyakti*, called *neyatva* and (vii) the opposite of *mādhurya* (unnamed). These form *seven* faults as against *ten* of Bhāmaha, but Daṇḍin speaks of the excellences *udāratva*, *samādhi* (and probably *ojas*) as having no opposites (or corresponding faults), inasmuch as they are common to both the Mārgas. Daṇḍin does not regularly deal with Upamā-doṣas.

But Daṇḍin does not enter into the question first raised by Bharata as to whether the Doṣas in Poetics are positive entities or mere negations of Guṇas. Bharata holds that Guṇas signify nothing more than the negative condition of *doṣābhāva*, so that Doṣas are, in his opinion, positive entities, from which the Guṇas are known by implication. It is clear from Daṇḍin's treatment, however, that he mentions in ch. iv the external faults apparently as positive entities, after the manner of Bhāmaha ; while the essential faults are taken as negations of some of the Guṇas of the Vaidarbha Mārga and consequently as positive characteristics of the Gauḍa Mārga. He attempts to avoid the controversy by making use of the distinction of

1922, pp. 222-3. On Daṇḍin's idea of Doṣa see V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, pt. ii, p. 234f.

the two opposite types of diction, making the so-called Guṇas the characteristics of the Vaidarbha type and some of the so-called Doṣas the characteristics of the Gauḍa type. Vāmana, on the other hand, in conformity to his clear-cut theory of Rīti, goes directly against the opinion of Bharata and expressly makes the Guṇas positive entities, defining the Doṣas as opposites of Guṇas and as known from the latter by implication (*guṇa-viparyātmano doṣāḥ, arthatas tad-avagamaḥ*). But he adds that the Doṣas should be dealt with separately for the sake of clear understanding. He, therefore, divides the Doṣas into four classes (i) defects of words (*pada doṣas*) (ii) defects of the meaning of the words (*padārtha-doṣas*) (iii) defects of sentences (*vākya-doṣas*) and (iv) defects of the meaning of sentences (*vākyārtha-doṣas*)[23].

23 Rudraṭa, apparently accepting both Guṇas and Doṣas as independent entities, enumerates and classifies Doṣas on a different principle. Taking *śabda* and *artha* as the two elements of poetry, he mentions in two series (1) *śabda-doṣas* or defects of words and (2) *artha-doṣas* or defect of sense. The first series includes eleven faults, viz. (i) *pada-doṣas* like *asamartha, apratīta, visaṃdhi, viparīta-kalpanā, grāmya, avyutpanna* and *deśya* (7 kinds) (ii) *vākya-doṣas*, such as *saṃkīrṇa, garbhita, gatārtha* and *analaṃkāra* (4 kinds). The second series comprehends (besides four *upamā-doṣas*) nine faults, viz., *apahetu, apratīta, nirāgama, bādhayat, asaṃbaddha, grāmya, virasa, tadvat* and *atimātra*. Rudraṭa recognises (xi. 24) only four Upamā-doṣas, viz., *sāmanya-śabda-bheda, vaiṣamya, asaṃbhava* and *aprasiddhi*, but Bhāmaha mentions seven. (On Rudraṭa's general idea of Guṇa and Doṣa respectively see V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, pt. ii, pp. 302 f and 239 f). Like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa believes that with change of conditions Doṣas become Guṇas. After the advent of the Dhvani-theorists, the Doṣa (like the Guṇa) came to be related to the Rasa, the poetic mood in a composition, and began to be defined as that which depreciates or hinders the awakening of Rasa. The doctrine of Doṣa was taken along with the doctrine of Guṇa, of which it formed the counterpart, and was considered from the standpoint of Rasa alone. They were no longer absolute entities, but attributes or absence of attributes relative to the development of Rasa, and must therefore be governed by the theory of *aucitya* or propriety which these theorists put forward in their treatment of Rasa. The Doṣas

(2)

VĀMANA

Vāmana's work[24], in comparison with Daṇḍin's, shows further progress and elaboration of the ideas discussed above. Indeed, what is vague and unsystematic in Daṇḍin appears fully developed and carefully set forth in Vāmana, who may thus be fittingly regarded as the best representative of the Rīti-system. To Vāmana belongs the credit of being the first writer on Poetics who, before the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, gave us a well thought-out and carefully outlined scheme of Poetics, no longer naïve or tentative, which

came to be defined generally as *rasāpakarṣaka* (Viśvanātha) ; but specific *rasa-doṣas* also came to be defined and discussed. The question whether the Doṣa is *nitya* or *anitya* (already raised by Bhāmaha and Rudraṭa) is solved by supposing that a Doṣa may sometimes become a Guṇa if it helps (and not hinders) the development of the Rasa. Mammaṭa and most later theorists accept the distinction of Doṣas relating to *pada*, *vākya* and *artha* ; but they speak also of *rasa-doṣas* and *alaṃkāra-doṣas*. The later opinion regarding the respective character of Guṇa and Doṣa appears to be that each of them conveys a positive meaning, in spite of the fact that some Doṣas approach the condition of *guṇābhāva* and some Guṇas approach the condition of *doṣābhāva*. Even Daṇḍin in ch. iv separately mentions ten Doṣas which he does not regard as constituting the opposite of any of his Guṇas.

24 Instead of having *adhyāyas* first and *adhikaraṇas* thereunder, Vāmana reverses the order of older *sūtra*-writers and divides his work into five *adhikaraṇas*, each of which consists of two *adhyāyas* (excepting the first and the fourth which contain three each), the whole work thus having five *adhikaraṇas* and twelve *adhyāyas*. The arrangement of these *adhikaraṇas* is as follows. I. *śarīra*: dealing with the object of poetry, persons qualified to receive instructions in the subject, the Rīti and its subdivisions, the subsidiary aids and divisions of poetry. II. *doṣa-darśana*: treating of the defects or flaws of composition. III. *guṇa-vivecana :* considering the Guṇas or excellences of composition. IV. *ālaṃkārika*: devoted to the definition and illustration of poetic figures. V. *prāyogika*: setting forth the poetic conventions and propriety of poetic usages, and *śabda-śuddhi* (corresponding to the last chapter of Bhāmaha's work), explaining grammatical solecism.

in spite of its theoretic defects, is in some respects unique and valuable.

The enquiry as to what is the 'soul' or essence of poetry is for the first time definitely posed and systematically worked out by Vāmana ; his predecessors, to whom the 'body' of poetry was more important, never having troubled themselves with this question. Vāmana lays down in clear terms: *rītir ātmā kāvyasya* 'the Rīti is the soul of poetry' (i. 2. 6) ; and working out this figurative description he points out (on i. 1. 1) that the word (*śabda*) and its sense (*artha*) constitute the 'body', of which the soul is the Rīti[25]. He defines the Rīti as *viśiṣṭapada-racanā* or particular arrangement of words. This particularity (*vaśiṣṭya*) of arrangement, again, rests upon certain definite combination of the different Guṇas or fixed excellences of composition. For instance, of the three kinds of Rīti proposed by Vāmana, the Vaidarbha unites all the ten Guṇas, the Gauḍī abounds in *ojas* and *kānti*, the Pāñcālī is endowed with *mādhurya* and *saukumārya*. This is how Vāmana would distinguish the different Rītis from one another. On these three Rītis poetry takes its stand, just as painting has its substratum in the lines drawn on the canvas (on 1. 2. 13). The Vaidarbhī is of course recommended, for it contains all the excellences ; and as the genius of each diction is peculiar to itself, Vāmana rejects the view that the other two inferior dictions ought to be practised as steps leading up to the Vaidarbhī. He argues that the proper

25 Vāmana says (i. 1. 1) that the word *kāvya* applies in strictness to word and sense embellished with Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, but it is employed in the secondary sense (*bhaktyā*) to mere word and sense. By Kāvya-śarīra he means elsewhere (i. 3. 10) *itivṛtta* or the content or subject-matter of poetry. But the first chapter of his work is designated Śarīra ; and on i. 2. 6 he says that the word *śarīra* must be understood after the word *kāvya* in the Sūtra, meaning thereby that Kāvya consisting of word and sense is the Śarīra, of which the Ātman is Rīti. For the history of the concept of Rīti see V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts*, pp. 131-172 ; Prakash C. Lahiri, *Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa*, Dacca University 1937.

diction cannot be attained by one who begins with the improper. If the weaver practises weaving with jute, he does not attain proficiency in the weaving of silk. It will be seen from this analysis of the three kinds of diction that the Vaidarbhī is the complete or ideal one which unifies all the poetic excellences, whereas the other two encourage extremes. The one lays stress on the grand, the glorious or the imposing, the other on softness and sweetness, whereby the former loses itself often in bombast, the latter in prolixity. It will be noticed also that the names of the different Rītis are derived from those of particular countries, and Vāmana expressly says in this connexion (i. 2. 10) that the names are due to the fact of particular excellence of diction being prevalent in the writings of particular countries[26]. This makes it probable that the theory of diction, peculiar to this school, originally arose from the empirical analysis of the prevailing peculiarities of poetic expression in different places, and furnishes another proof of the general *a posteriori* character of the discipline itself.[27]

26 *vidarbha gauḍa-pāñcāleṣu tatratyaiḥ kavibhīr yathā-svarūpam upalabdhatvād tat-samākhyā, na punar deśaiḥ kiṃcid upakriyate kāvyānām.*

27 In the absence of proper data, it is not possible to determine when the distinction between the Eastern and Southern styles—Gauḍa and Vaidarbha—was first recognised. We have already noted that Bāṇa speaks of people of different localities affecting different tricks of style, some putting stress on sound, some on sense, while others indulging in a play of fancy. In Daṇḍin's time the distinction must have been fully established. Jacobi (*Māhārāṣṭrī*, pp. xvi) suggests that the simpler Vaidarbha style was a reaction against the older and more ornate Gauḍa-style (which Daṇḍin disfavours), and that it came into existence probably in the 3rd century A. D., being known to us from Hāla's *Saptaśatī* (5th century A.D.). It is possible to argue, on the contrary, that the Gauḍa-style itself is a sign of further development or decadence, exhibiting a tendency to a more elaborate style (as opposed to an earlier and simpler Vaidarbha-style) which we find, as a matter of practice, asserting itself more and more in later decadent Sanskrit Kāvya. Cf Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 50.

It should be observed that the term Rīti is hardly equivalent to the English word 'style', by which it is often rendered but in which there is always a distinct subjective valuation. Although *artha* (i. e. sense or idea) is admitted as an element by Sanskrit writers, the Rīti consists essentially of the objective beauty of representation (of the intended idea), arising from a proper unification of certain clearly defined excellences, or from an adjustment of sound and sense. It is, no doubt, recognised that appropriate ideas should find appropriate expression ; or in other words, the outward expression should be suitable to the inward sense. Bharata goes further and formulates that in the drama the expression should also be in keeping with the temperament and character of the speaker to whom it is attributed. But at the same time, the Rīti is not, like the style, the expression of poetic individuality, as it is generally understood by Western Criticism, but it is merely the outward presentation of its beauty called forth by a harmonious combination of more or less fixed literary 'excellences.' Of course, the excellences are supposed to be discernible in the sense or import, as much as in the verbal arrangement, but this subjective content is not equivalent to the indefinable element of individuality which constitutes the charm of a good style. If we accept the nomenclature of a modern analyst of style[28], we may say that the Sanskrit authors admit what he would call the 'mind'-in-style, as a subject of technical formulation, but not the 'soul'-in-style, which is elusive and which they leave to individual writers to evolve in their own way.

28 Walter Pater's essay on Style in his *Appreciations*. V. Raghavan (*Some Concepts*, p. 140) demurs to our views ; but it does not help to refer to Demetrius or Aristotle ; for we are not concerned here with European classical literature but with modern literature, as viewed by Walter Pater or Benedotte Croce. It is not until we come to Kuntaka that poetry is brought in strict relation to poetic individuality (*kavi-svabhāva*) or poetic conception (*kavi-pratibhā*). This is admitted by Raghavan himself.

Vāmana, therefore, teaches that the Guṇas are essential in poetry, as they go to make up the Rīti, which is the 'soul' of poetry. The objection of the author of the *Ekāvalī* (p. 51) is that to conceive the Guṇas, on the one hand, as the principal element and therefore as something fit to be adorned (*upaskārya*) and to call them, on the other hand, properties that adorn poetry (*upaskāraka,*) involves contradiction in terms. This raises only a scholastic quibble which does not bear serious examination. The Guṇas are, no doubt, spoken of as *śabdārthayor dharmāḥ*, but this, as the commentator points out, is a loose or popular use of the term ; for, strictly speaking, they are concerned directly with Rīti (*guṇā vastuto rīti-niṣṭhā api, upacārāc chabda-dharmā ity uktam* p. 69, ed. Benares), which is described as *guṇātmā*. To the objection that these entities have no absolute existence, Vāmana replies that their existence is vouched by their cognition as such by men of taste (*saṃvedyatvāt* iii. 1. 26, on which comm. : *sahṛdaya-saṃvedanasya viṣayatvāt*), and that these excellences are not found in all cases of recitation but depend upon the presence or absence of certain well-defined characteristics (iii. 2. 28 and Vṛtti).

Like Daṇḍin, Vāmana enumerates the Guṇas as ten, which appears to have been the standard number from Bharata's time, but he really doubles the number by clearly differentiating between the *śabda-guṇas* and the *artha-guṇas*, and regarding each Guṇa as belonging respectively to *śabda* and *artha*. In other words, each Guṇa is looked at from two different points of view, and the distinction thus proposed between verbal and ideal excellences comes in, as technically put, according as the word or the idea is the denoter (*vācaka*) or the denoted (*vācya*). We find in Vāmana, for the first time, the definite classification of Guṇas of Śabda and Artha respectively. This sharp distinction, no doubt, clears away some of the vagueness surrounding definitions of Bharata's and Daṇḍin's individual Guṇas ; and Vāmana, though widely differing from his predecessors in the peculiar connotation

he attaches to some of them, is careful in distinguishing the allied Guṇas from one another. In most essentials Vāmana undoubtedly continues and expands Daṇḍin's somewhat unsystematic scheme, but his definitions bear in some cases an altogether different complexion, and justify us in presuming that Vāmana develops his ideas from elsewhere, as he himself often supports his analysis by verses quoted from unknown sources (e. g. under iii. 1. 9, 25 ; 2. 15 etc.).

His scheme of the Guṇas may be tabulated thus:

Śabda-guṇa	Artha-guṇa
i. *ojas*, or compactness of word-structure (*gāḍha-bandhatva*, where *bandha*= *pada-racanā* iii. 1. 4)	i. *ojas*, or maturity of conception (*arthasya prauḍhiḥ*)
ii. *prasāda*, or laxity of structure (*śaithilya*)	ii. *prasāda*, clearness of meaning (*artha-vaimalya*) by avoidance of superfluity (*anupayogi-parivarjanāt*, as Abhinavagupta explains)
iii. *śleṣa*, or coalescence of words resulting in smoothness (*masṛṇatvam, yasmin sati bahūny api padāny ekavad bhāsante*)	iii. *śleṣa*, or coalescence or commingling of many ideas (*ghaṭanā*)
iv. *samatā*, or homogeneity of manner, i. e., of construction (*mārgābhedaḥ, yena mārgeṇopakramas tasyātyāgaḥ*)	iv. *samatā*, or non-relinquishment of proper sequence of ideas (*prakramābheda*)
v. *samādhi*, or symmetry due to orderly ascent and descent, i.e. when the heightening effect is toned down by softening effect, and *vice versa* (*ārohāvaroha-krama*)	v. *samādhi*, or grasping of the original meaning arising from concentration of the mind (*artha-dṛṣṭiḥ samādhi-kāraṇatvāt*)

Śabda-guṇa	Artha-guṇa
vi. *mādhurya*, or distinctness of words (*pṛthak-padatva*) due to absence of long compounds (*samāsa-dairghya-nivṛtti*)	vi. *mādhurya*, or strikingness of utterance (*ukti-vaicitrya*), i. e. in an impressive periphrastic manner for special charm
vii. *saukumārya*, or freedom from harshness (*ajaraṭhatva*)	vii. *saukumārya*, or freedom from disagreeable or inauspicious ideas (*apāruṣya*)
viii. *udāratā*, or liveliness in which the words seem as if they are dancing (*yasmin sati nṛtyantīva padāni*) i. e. *pada-vicchedāt*?	(viii. *udāratā*, or delicacy i. e. absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*)
ix. *artha-vyakti*, or explicitness of words whereby the meaning is easily opprehended (*jhaṭitya-artha-prati-patti hetutva*)	ix. *artha-vyakti*, or explicitness of ideas which makes the nature of things clear (*vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatva*)
x. *kānti*, or brilliance, i.e. richness of words (*aujjvalya*)	x. *kānti*, or prominence of the *rasas* (*dīpta-rasatva*)

It will be seen from this brief enumeration that Vāma na's Guṇas differ considerably from those of Bharata or Daṇḍin. Vāmana's *ojas*, for instance, would correspond to Daṇḍin's *śleṣa*, while Daṇḍin's *mādhurya* is split up into *pṛthak-padatva* and *agrāmyatva*. Vāmana brings in the idea of Rasa in the *artha-guṇa kānti* (cf. Bharata's *kānti*), thereby admitting it in one of the essentials of poetry, while Daṇḍin acknowledges it in some of the non-essential poetic figures. Vāmana's *artha-guṇa artha-vyakti* would be regarded by Daṇḍin as an instance of *svabhāvokti alaṃkāra*. But it must be observed that Vāmana's scheme, while being more systematic and thus marking an advance on the speculation of Daṇḍin's, is hardly satisfactory as a whole. The somewhat pedantic classification of Guṇas, into external and internal, verbal and

ideal, is in itself open to objections and has been controverted by later theorists[29]. The distinctions are sometimes unconvincing, and it is natural to suspect that they are made for the sake of symmetry of having two sets each of ten excellences. Taking the individual Guṇas, it appears that Vāmana himself was perhaps conscious of the defective nature of some of his definitions, although he must have elaborated the ten Guṇas according to some current convention. For instance, his *śabda-guṇa prasāda* is merely a negation of his *ojas* ; Vāmana himself admits this and adds the qualification that the *prasāda* is an excellence when appearing along with *ojas* and not by itself, for when it appears by itself it is clearly a defect. If it is objected that there cannot be a combination of two such contradictory Guṇas, Vāmana replies that such a combination is a fact of common experience. Vāmana's *śleṣa* is rejected by Mammaṭa as an independent excellence, inasmuch as it is only a particular form of *ojas*. In the same way, the *saukumārya* is not admitted by later theorists on the ground that it is merely the negation of the defect of harshness, just as Vāmana's *udāratā* is a negation of vulgarity (*grāmyatva*). His *samādhi* as an *artha-guṇa* is different from Daṇḍin's *samādhi*, but it is hardly an 'excellence.' It is supposed to consist in comprehending the original meaning, but this happens in the case of all compositions ; for there can hardly be any poetry, worth the name, of which the meaning is not comprehended. These and other objections are brought forward by Mammaṭa and his followers, who protest against this needless multiplication and differentiation of the Guṇas, and who sum up the literary 'qualities,' which they admit as an embellishment of the principal sentiment (Rasa) of the composition, under three broad categories, differentiated on entirely psychological grounds, viz., *ojas* (energy), *prasāda* (lucidity) and *mādhurya* (sweetness).

29 e. g. Mammaṭa viii, Hemacandra pp. 195-200, Māṇikya-candra pp. 191f, Jagannātha 62f etc.

It is also noteworthy that the Rīti-system assigns to some of the Guṇas functions which other systems assign to Alaṃkāras or poetic figures. Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti* corresponds to figures like *rasavat* of the Alaṃkāra-system,[30] while Daṇḍin's *samādhi* in some cases will be equivalent to the *rūpaka* and analogous metaphorical figures. Vāmana's *artha-guṇa artha-vyakti* is nothing more than the *svabhāvokti* of Daṇḍin, and Daṇḍin's *kānti* only defines the limit, as Hemacandra puts it, to the figure *atiśayokti* (*seyam atiśayokter yantraṇā, na punar guṇāntaram*). On the basis of Bhāmaha's *vakrokti*, the later writers of the Alaṃkāra school, we shall see, postulate *ukti-vaicitrya* as the fundamental principle of all figurative expression, but this is comprehended merely as one of the excellences by Vāmana's definition of the *artha-guṇa mādhurya*.

It will be clear from the above, as well as from the elaborate review of the Guṇa-doctrine by Hemacandra (pp. 195-200) and Māṇikyacandra (pp. 191f) that the writers of the Rīti school, especially the followers of Daṇḍin and Vāmana, differ widely in their attempts at defining and classifying the Guṇas, and that such attempts are open to criticism. Some of Bharata's definitions, on the other hand, do not always agree with those either of Daṇḍin or Vāmana. For instance, Bharata's *ojas*, which consists in the use of high-sounding compound words of varied strikingness, may correspond to Daṇḍin's *ojas*, but Hemacandra states that the essence of this Guṇa consists in imparting loftiness to an object which is low or treated with contempt. Again, Bharata's *prasāda*, corresponding to Daṇḍin's *samādhi*, is a metaphorical mode of expression, which Vāmana would include in his peculiar definition of the *vakrokti*-figure, and which comes generally under *lakṣaṇā* or *upacāra* of later theorists. Bharata's *udārā* differs considerably from Vāmana's *udāratā* which does not comprehend, as Bharata's *udāra* does, the Rasas and Bhāvas in its scope ; but it corresponds partially to Vāmana's

30 For this reason Vāmana does not define the *rasavat* as a figure.

artha-guṇa kānti. At the same time, it would seem that, in spite of such minor discrepancies, Bharata's scheme of the Guṇas as a whole is developed to its furthest possibilities by Vāmana. That there are inevitable differences in the definition of particular Guṇas in the earlier writers on the subject, and that the whole doctrine, despite the care of its exponents, is still unsatisfactory, only indicate the fruitlessness of the efforts of early theorists in comprehending all the literary excellences of a composition within the hard-and-fast limits of a few categories, on the interpretation of which they spend so much ingenuity but on which they cannot in the nature of things arrive at any absolute agreement.

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra in their review of this doctrine cite the opinion of an authority[31], called Maṅgala who, we are told, agrees with Bharata in his definition of *ojas* and maintains with Vāmana that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising it in the Gauḍī Rīti inasmuch as it is common to all Rītis. The only other reference to this writer is made by Rājaśekhara, who cites some opinions of this writer agreeing substantially with those of Vāmana, and quotes at p. 14 a dictum from Maṅgala which occurs in a slightly different form in Vāmana i. 2. 1. From these citations by Rājaśekhara it appears that Maṅgala, if he is not earlier in date than Vāmana, belongs most probably to the same school of opinion. There can hardly be any doubt that the system existed even before Vāmana gave a definite form to it ; and Vāmana's systematic formulation certainly obtained for it a large number of adherents and followers, so that important later authors like Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha cite with respect the opinions of the Vāmanīyas, just in the same way as they cite the Audbhaṭas, the followers of Vāmana's contemporary and rival Udbhaṭa.

31 Vāmana himself quotes some verses giving us ancient definitions of the various *śabda-guṇas* (under iii. 1. 25).

After the Guṇas, Vāmana deals with the poetic figures or Alaṃkāras as elements of subsidiary importance. This definite differentiation of Guṇa from Alamkāra we meet for the first time in Vāmana; for Bhāmaha was indifferent to it, Daṇḍin does not accept it, and Udbhaṭa appears to have denied any difference[32]. At the outset Vāmana states, no doubt, that poetry is acceptable from embellishment (*alaṃkāra*) ; but he is careful to explain embellishment, not in the narrow sense of poetic figure, but in the broad and primary sense of beauty or charm (*kāvyaṃ grāhyam alaṃkārāt, saundaryam alaṃkāraḥ*). He also points out that it is only in the secondary instrumental sense that the term *alaṃkāra* or embellisment is applied to simile and other poetic figures (*alaṃkṛtir alaṃkāraḥ, karaṇa-vyutpattyā punar alaṃkāra-śabdo'yam upamādiṣu vartate*). In this view, Vāmana apparently develops logically Daṇḍin's teaching ; but Vāmana does not make the presence of poetic figures a necessary condition. What makes poetry acceptable, in his opinion, is the presence of charm or beauty (i. e. Alaṃkāra in its broad sense of Saundarya) which he does not define and which is in some respects undefinable[33]. The Rīti and its constituent Guṇas come in as a *sine qua non* in the production of this beauty, but the poetic figures only contribute to its heightening. This distinction between the Guṇa and the Alaṃkāra as to their respective position in a formal scheme of Poetics, which is vaguely hinted at by Daṇḍin, is fully developed for the first time by Vāmana (iii. 1. 1-3). The Guṇas, being essential to the Rīti, are defined as those characteristics which create the charm of poetry (*kāvya-śobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmāḥ*) —a function which is assigned to both Guṇas and Alaṃkāras by Daṇḍin—but Alaṃkāras are such ornaments as serve to enhance the charm already so produced (*tad-atiśaya-hetavaḥ*).

32 The distinction was established by the *Dhvanyāloka*.

33 Vāmana simply says that this beauty is to be attained by avoiding Doṣas and employing Guṇas and Alaṃkāras (*sa doṣa-guṇālaṃkāra-hānādānābhyām*).

The Guṇas are said to be *nitya* (permanent), implying that the Alaṃkāras are *anitya* (*punar alaṃkārā anityā iti gamyate eva, Kāmadhenu* com. p. 71), for there can be charm of poetry without the Alaṃkāras but no charm without the Guṇas (*tair vinā kāvya-śobhānupapatteḥ*). In other words, the Guṇa stands to poetry in the *samavāya*-relation (see *Kāmadhenu* on iii. 1. 4), while the Alaṃkāra in *saṃyoga*-relation, *saṃyoga* being explained as mere conjunction and *samavāya* implying inseparable connexion or inherence (*nitya-saṃbandha*)[34]. To put it in the usual figurative language, the Guṇa is related to the 'soul' of poetry (viz. Rīti), while the Alaṃkāra rests merely on the 'body' (viz. *śabda* and *artha*). The Alaṃkāra, without the Guṇa, cannot of itself produce the beauty of a poem, but the latter can do so without the former. But Vāmana justifies at the same time the existence as such of the Alaṃkāra as an element of poetry, and supports a phase of poetry, which is indeed admitted by Ānandavardhana but not properly dealt with by him, and which is elaborated only by his follower Ruyyaka who, however, takes his inspiration on this point from the Vakroktijīvita-kāra.

Vāmana's treatment of the poetic figures is in some respects peculiar to himself in its general outline, as well as in the specific definition of individual figures. Vāmana is the only old writer who deals with the smallest number of poetic figures[35]. He recognises only two kinds of *śabdālaṃkāra*, viz., *yamaka* (rhyming) and *anuprāsa* (alliteration). He rigidly excludes *prahelikās* and *bandhas*. With regard to

34 This is criticised by Mammaṭa viii, p. 470 ; for he maintains that Guṇas like *ojas* and Alaṃkāras like *anuprāsa* and *upamā* reside in the relation of inherence (*samavāya-sthiti*).

35 They are in their order of the treatment: *yamaka, anuprāsa, upamā, prativastūpamā, samāsokti, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, apahnuti, rūpaka, śleṣa, vakrokti, utprekṣā, atiśayokti, saṃdeha, virodha, vibhāvanā, ananvaya, upameyopamā, parivṛtti, krama, dīpaka, nidarśana, arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, viśeṣokti, vyāja-stuti, vyājokti, tulya-yogitā, ākṣepa, sahokti, samāhita,* and *saṃsṛṣṭi* (including *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava*):—30 figures excluding Saṃsṛṣṭi.

the *arthālaṃkāras*, he lays down in general terms that the *upamā* or comparison lies at the root of all poetic figures, which are defined in relation to it and to which is given the collective name of *upamā-prapañca*[36]. The importance of *upamā*, involved in other figures, is recognised from Bhāmaha's time ; and consequently this figure, which is the source of all the figures grouped together by later writers as *sādṛśya-mūla* or *aupamya-garbha* Alaṃkāras, is always given a place of honour at the beginning of most treatises on Sanskrit Poetics[37]; but Vāmana goes to the extreme of defining *all* figures with reference to the idea of comparison, or in terms of the relation of the *upamāna* and the *upameya*. On account of this fundamental postulate, his definitions of some of the figures differ widely from those given by other writers ; and he has also to exclude such figures as *paryāyokta*, *preyas*, *rasavat*, *ūrjasvin*, *udātta*, *bhāvika* and *sūkṣma* which he does not define. He gives a peculiar definition of the figure *vakrokti* as a mode of metaphorical expression. His *viśeṣokti* would correspond to the *rūpaka* of Jagannātha, and his *ākṣepa* to the *pratīpa* or *samāsokti* of some later writers. Vāmana defines *apahnuti* as the concealment of one thing by a similar thing with a view to impose the character of the latter on the former ; in other words, the *upameya* is denied its nature and the *upamāna* is established in its place. Daṇḍin states that denial of something and the representing of some other thing in its place constitute the figure which need not be based on *aupamya* ; and following him, some later writers (e. g. Viśvanātha) speak of a second variety of

36 The commentator explains: *prativastu-pramukhānām alaṃkārāṇaṃ upamā-garbhatvād upamā-prapañca iti vyapadeśaḥ kṛtaḥ* (on iv. 3. 1).

37 *upamaivāneka-prakāra-vaicitryeṇālaṃkāra-bījabhūteti prathamaṃ nirdiṣṭā*, Ruyyaka p. 26 ; *sādṛśya-vicchitti-viśeṣaī rūpaka-dīpakādyanekālaṃkāra-bījatayopamāyāḥ prathamaṃ nirūpaṇam*, Mallinātha p. 195. Although Upamā need not be involved in *all* poetic figures, Vāmana appears to accept only those figures which are based on poetic comparison, as it imparts a special charm to them.

apahnuti in which there is no *gamyamāna aupamya* or implied comparison[38].

(3)

This brief summary of the views of the leading authors of this school will shew that the Rīti-teachings mark a great advance on the Alaṃkāra-doctrine in many respects. There are many points which are common to both these systems ; but, by clearly defining and working out the doctrine of Rīti as that distinct characteristic of poetry which sharply separates it from dry philosophical or technical writings, the Rīti school seems to have first suggested and started the enquiry (only hinted at by Bhāmaha's theory of *vakrokti*) as to what constitues the essential charm of poetry, and anticipated the theory of *vicchitti* (or *ukti-vaicitrya*) elaborated later by Kuntaka and other adherents of the Alaṃkāra-doctrine. The Dhvanikāra pays an indirect compliment (iii. 52) to the Rīti school for having first perceived, however dimly, the true nature of poetry, although he does not agree with its peculiar theory of Rīti. The Rīti school also goes a step further than the Alaṃkāra school in including Rasa among the necessary characteristics (in Kānti as an Artha-guṇa). It is possible that Vāmana's partiality for the drama, which he considers to be the best form of composition and from which he supposes other forms of poetry to proceed (i. 3. 30-32), led him to realise the importance of Rasa, already worked out as fundamental in the drama by the dramaturgic Rasa school, and to incorporate it in one of the essential properties of poetry (iii. 2. 15 and Vṛtti). But, at the same time, it was perhaps his idea to make his definition of poetry comprehensive enough to cover a larger field and include those instances, e. g., which develop no Rasa. The *kāvya-śobha*, a term which he probably borrows from Daṇḍin (ii. 1), or *saundarya* which conveys the same general idea as

38 Cf *Uddyota*, ed. Candorkar, p. 39.

the word 'beauty', is regarded as the ultimate test of all poetry ; and this beauty, in his opinion, agreeing with the common-sense view of the matter, is realised by carefully worked-out diction, which avoids the damaging flaws by adopting primarily the so-called literary excellences, as well as the poetic figures for the secondary purpose of heightening the effect thus produced.

But the Rīti-system, in spite of Vāmana's well-reasoned formulation and the advocacy of his followers, never appears to have wielded very great influence, and its existence was comparatively short-lived[39]. There is no doubt that like the Rasa and the Alaṃkāra-systems, it left its impress on later theories, but it never found a serious champion after Vāmana among latter-day writers, and its theories never found unqualified acceptance. Its general doctrine of Rīti began to be discredited and severely criticised from Ānandavardhana's time as too crude an explanation of the nature of poetry ; and Mammaṭa, the foremost authority of the latest school, ingeniously combats and sets aside the leading views of Vāmana.

It may, however, be noted that some of the broad principles enunciated by the Rīti school have been tacitly recognised by later theorists. The importance of Rīti or diction, as such, became established as a stock-idea in Poetics: but it was accepted with grave modifications. It was accepted by the Dhvani school in so far as it contributed to the development of the *rasa-dhvani*, and its chief characteristic was supposed to consist in an arrangement or disposition of words or letters for that purpose[40]. This modification naturally diminished the value of all discussion and elaborate

39 A commentator on Vāmana, named Sahadeva, tells us that Vāmana's work went out of vogue, and its tradition was restored by Bhaṭṭa Mukula (!) who obtained a copy of the work. See notes to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, ed. Gaekwad Oriental Series, p. 5.

40 *varṇa-saṃghaṭanā-dharmatva*, Ānandavardhana p. 5; see also ii. 8-11.

classification of the Rītis into different types, and the function of the three Rītis of Vāmana was made practically equivalent to the three Guṇas admitted by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* ; but they do not yet appear to have lost all interest with later theorists. Even those writers, who do not subscribe to the doctrine either of the Rīti school or of the Dhvani school, pay considerable attention to this question. Thus, Rudraṭa adds *lāṭi* to the enumeration of the three Rītis of Vāmana, although by Rīti Rudraṭa means a definite usage of compound words. The *Agni-purāṇa* accepts this fourfold classification, but the distinction is supposed to lie not only in the length or shortness of the sentences but also in the qualities of 'softness' or 'smoothness', as well as in the prominence of metaphorical expression (*upacāra*). Bhoja, who carries the elaboration still further, adds two more types of Rīti to the *Agni-purāṇa's* four, viz. *māgadhī* and *āvantikā*, the former being an intermediate diction between Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī, and the latter forming only a *khaṇḍa-rīti*, i. e. a defective or incomplete type. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* gives us the same three Rītis as Vāmana does, but in his *Karpūra-mañjarī* he appears to speak of three Rītis, respectively named *vacchomī* (from Vatsagulma[41]), *māahī* (*māgadhī*) and *paṃcāliā* (*pāñcālī*). The older Vāgbhaṭa mentions only two Rītis, viz., *pāñcālī* and *lāṭīyā*, the one having some compound words and the other having none ; but the younger Vāgbhaṭa accepts the three Rītis of Vāmana and classifies them on the basis of the three excellences, *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, which were the only three Guṇas recognised since Mammaṭa's time. The Dhvanikāra does not discuss this question, but Ānandavardhana appears to assign equal functional value to the three *vṛttis* of Udbhaṭa and the three *rītis* of Vāmana, a view which Mammaṭa enunciates thus: *etās tisro vṛttayo vāmanādīnāṃ mate vaidarbhī-gauḍī-pāñcālyākhyā rītayo matāḥ.*[42]

41 In Vidarbha; so this is really Vaidarbhī.

42 But a distinction has always been theoretically maintained

Abhinavagupta, however, thinks (p. 6) that the three Rītis of Vāmana, which, in his opinion, characterise an elevated, soft and middling theme respectively through a peculiar combination of the Guṇas, have, together with Udbhaṭa's Vṛttis, no separate existence from Guṇas and Alaṃkāras. Attention, therefore, was naturally directed to the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras more than to the Rīti itself, of which they formed, in Vāmana's opinion, the constituent elements ; and the Rīti, if recognised at all, was recognised as consisting in a particular disposition of words, letters or syllables which favours the development of Rasa, and stands in the same relation to it as (in the usual figurative conceit) the conformation of the 'body' to the 'soul' (*pada-saṃghaṭanā*

between the *vṛtti* and the *rīti*. The Vṛttis, originally styles of dramatic composition (Bharata iii. 25), have been included by Udbhaṭa (i. 4 f) under *anuprāsa* or alliteration, as they are formed by a special arrangement of letters for conveying different ideas, suitable (Abhinavagupta adds, °*Locana* pp. 5-6) to different Rasas. Ruyyaka, therefore, says: *vṛttis tu rasa-viṣayo vyāpāraḥ, tadvatī punar varṇa-racaneha vṛttiḥ*, pp. 20-21. The Rīti, on the other hand, is mostly a matter of objective adjustment of the different 'excellences' of a composition, although admitting *artha* as an element of consideration ; while the Vṛtti concerns itself with the psychological effect produced by the arrangement, as well as by the sense of which that arrangement is a vehicle. One and the same Rīti may conceivably produce different Vṛttis, and the same Vṛtti may be produced in different Rītis, although a fondness for symmetry led the theorists to assign a distinct Vṛtti to each Rīti. Ānandavardhana expressly distinguishes between the dramatic Vṛtti and the poetical Vṛtti by saying that the former is dependent upon the sense, the latter upon the expression : *vācyāśrayo yo vyavahāras tā etāḥ kauśikādyā vṛttayaḥ, vācakāśrayaś copanāgarikādyāḥ*. They enhance the beauty of drama and poetry respectively by being used according to the drift of the Rasa in the composition: *vṛttayo hi rasādi-tātparyeṇa saṃniviṣṭaḥ kām api nāṭyasya kāvyasya ca chāyām āvahanti* p. 182. Rājaśekhara (*Kav. mīm*. p. 9) sums up the differences wittily and concisely, if not accurately: *tatra veśa-vinyāsa-kramaḥ pravṛttiḥ, vilāsa-vinyāsa-kramo vṛttiḥ, vacana-vinyāsa-kramo rītiḥ*. On the concept of Vṛtti generally see V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts* p. 182-93 ; *Śṛṅgāra-pr*. pp. 196-215.

rītir aṅga-saṃsthā-viśeṣavat/upakartrī rasādīnām, Viśvanātha ix. 1). It follows from this that the respective functions assigned to Guṇa and Alaṃkāra are not in relation to the Rīti but to Rasa, which is one of the fundamental elements of poetry with the later schools. We have already noted that, after Ānandavardhana, the Guṇas are taken as inseparable attributes and causes of excellence (*aṅgino rasasya utkarṣa-hetavaḥ acala-sthitayo guṇāḥ*, Mammaṭa viii. 1) of the Rasa or the principal poetic mood in the composition (and not, as Vāmana thinks, of the Rīti). The poetic figures, on the other hand, are only attributes of *śabda* and *artha*[43], which constitute the 'body' of poetry, and therefore heighten the poetic mood or Rasa in an indirect way (*ibid*, viii. 2). Vāmana's ideas about 'poetic charm' are also taken as axiomatic, but they appear in later theories in a somewhat different form as the *vicchitti*, or *vaicitrya*, or *kavi-prauḍhokti* underlying all figurative expression.

In spite of these and other important contributions to the general theory of Poetics, it is obvious that the fundamental doctrine of the Rīti school could not have been accepted in its entirety. Nor could it have competed against that of the Dhvanikāra, because Vāmana comprehended poetry only from the formal point of view, whereas the former showed a deeper insight into its inner nature. The more or less objective definition of the Rīti, given by this school, was hardly enough to satisfy the search for ultimate principles. Viśvanātha, following the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana in this respect, states this objection when he says that the Rīti is a particular kind of formal arrangement, a peculiar disposition or posture of parts; what is called the 'soul' or

43 Mammaṭa, we shall see, takes the Guṇa as directly related to the Rasa as the *aṅgin*, and if we sometimes speak of them as belonging to *śabda* and *artha*, we do so only figuratively (*upacāreṇa*); but Jagannātha (pp. 33-35), going back to Vāmana's old position, combats this view and thinks that this usage is not figurative.

essence of poetry is something quite different[44]. Again, the analysis of the several types of diction shows considerable ingenuity indeed, but it was found almost impossible, as Daṇḍin himself admitted very early (i. 101-2), to label and classify all the modes of poetic expression with definite and unalterable characteristics. As the Rīti school, therefore, tended to make invidious and essentially unprofitable (except as empirical facts) distinctions between the Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and other kinds of diction with regard to whose exact significance there was bound to be inevitable difference of opinion, it naturally provoked criticism and opposition. In the same way, the endeavour to exhaust and classify all the literary excellences and flaws within clear-cut bounds on the basis of more or less formal analysis, was sure to prove unconvincing ; and a protest against minute differentiation or endless multiplication of the Guṇas was rightly and definitely propounded by Mammaṭa who (following Ānandavardhana, pp. 79 f) reduced the number to three only, viz. *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, in relation to the ultimate factor of the poetic sentiment. The attempt, therefore, to stereotype the entire poetical output into so many ready-made dictions and fixed excellences, was bound ultimately to be discarded in favour of other and more penetrating principles. We shall see in the next few chapters that such a principle in poetry came to be recognised in the suggested element of Rasa, which was being already elaborated in the service of the drama and which was utilised by the Dhvani-theorists as one of the most important aesthetic foundations of poetry.

44 *yat tu vāmanenoktam—rītir ātmā kāvyasya iti, tan na, rīteḥ saṃghaṭanā-viśeṣatvāt, saṃghaṭanāyāś cāvayava-saṃsthāna-rūpatvāt, ātmanaś ca tad-bhinnatvāt*, p. 18 ed. Durgaprasada, 1915. (It will be noticed that Viśvanātha here speaks of Rīti as a kind of *saṃghaṭanā*).

CHAPTER IV

LOLLAṬA AND OTHERS

(*The Rasa System*)

(1)

While the orthodox schools of Poetics were elaborating systems of Alaṃkāra and Rīti, there flourished several writers who discussed the question of the dramatic Rasa after Bharata, and formulated explanations of the latter's much discussed *sūtra* on the subject[1]. Their exposition, however, concerned the dramatic art, and their theories did not as yet come properly within the sphere of Poetics, which was entirely dominated by the Alaṃkāra- and Rīti-systems. The aesthetic importance of the Rasa, therefore, was never realised, as we shall see, until it was taken up and worked into Poetics by the Dhvanikāra and his followers. The dramaturgic Rasa school, however, had in the meantime elaborated several theories of Rasa and brought it into prominence as an element of the drama ; and in this way it succeeded, to a certain extent, in reacting upon and influencing the orthodox theories of Poetics, which appear to have possessed, even at an early period a limited acquaintance with Rasa, and which actually accord it a place, however small, in their general systems of Alaṃkāra or Rīti.

This will be obvious from a reference to the views of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin on this subject. To Bhāmaha, the most important element in poetry is *alaṃkāra* or *vakrokti*. He does not seem to possess any clear notion of the function of Rasa in poetry, the only direct reference to it occurring in the definition of the figure *rasavat* which, in his opinion, must manifest the Rasas clearly (*rasavad darśita-spaṣṭa-śṛṅgārādi-*

1 See above p. 20. The Sūtra runs thus: *vibhāvānubhāva-vyavhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ.*

rasam, iii. 6). The Rasa is thus included in the scope of a particular figure only and given a very subordinate place in his system[2]. Bhāmaha seems to have been aware of the existence of the *śṛṅgāra* and other dramatic Rasas ; but the speculations regarding the origin and function of Rasa do not appear to have started in his time ; and, in common with Daṇḍin, he never thought it necessary to use the technical terms *vibhāva, anubhāva* etc., so familiar to later writers on this subject. In Bhāmaha's opinion, the Rasa need not be invariably present in poetry, but it may sometimes be delineated in some poetic figure. In i. 21, no doubt, Bhāmaha lays down that a Mahākāvya must separately depict all the Rasas ; and in v. 3 he speaks of the *kāvya-rasa* as mitigating the rigour of the Śāstras, a sentiment which is endorsed by Rudraṭa (xii. 1-2) and which probably inspired the dictum of Abhinavagupta that the Śāstra is *prabhu-sammita,* while the Kāvya is *jāyā-sammita.* The term *kāvya-rasa* is used here probably to indicate 'the flavour of poetry' in an untechnical sense ; but even if we read, with Abhinavagupta (°*Locana* p. 182), a technical meaning into it, it only shews that the earlier authors were content with assigning a pleasing but extraneous function to Rasa in poetry,[3] although all the Rasas may be developed in the drama (i. 21).

2 Commenting of Bhāmaha's central verse on *vakrokti* (ii. 85), *saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktir anayārtho vibhāvyate,* Abhinavagupta attempts to read into it his own idea of the importance of Rasa and interprets *vibhāvyate* technically as *pramadodyānair vibhāvatāṃ nīyate, viśeṣeṇa ca bhāvyate, rasamayīkriyata iti.* He apparently makes Bhāmaha mean that by *vakrokti,* the sense of poetry is rendered into a suitable factor of Rasa, so that by using the word *vibhāvyate* with the technical meaning given to it Bhāmaha would imply that the Rasa as well as Alaṃkāra originates in *vakrokti.*

3 Such a distinction appears to be implied also in Daṇḍin ii. 292 ; and one can differentiate two meanings of *rasa* (see below): (1) *kāvya-rasa,* the flavour of poetry or the aesthetic delight produced by it, and (2) *rasa* in the technical sense of *nāṭya-rasa.* It is worthy of note that in the latter sense it is very rarely used in earlier classical poetry (except

The same remarks with regard to the recognition of Rasa apply more or less to Daṇḍin ; but Daṇḍin seems to have been more alive to its importance than Bhāmaha. Like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin allows the Rasas to be included in figures like *rasavat*, which appear to have been the only means by which they could permit the Rasa to play any rôle in their systems. It may be contended[4] that Daṇḍin gives prominence to Rasa by including it in one of the essential excellences (Guṇas) of the diction (Rīti), viz., in *mādhurya*, which is defined as the establishment of Rasa in the word and in the object (*vāci vastuny api rasa-sthitiḥ*, i. 51) ; but from ii. 292 it appears that Daṇḍin means by the term Rasa in the *mādhurya-guṇa* to connote absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*)[5], and does not contemplate the inclusion of Rasa in the technical sense[6]. The *mādhurya-guṇa*, according to Daṇḍin (i.51-7), may appear in two different aspects, in so far as it creates *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa*, the former consisting of repetition of similar sounds (*śrutyanuprāsa*)[7] and the latter connoting absence of

perhaps in Māgha). This *kāvya-rasa* in its essence is not very different from Bhāmaha's *vakrokti* ; for it is possibly a kind of heightened expression inconsistent with commonplace utterance. The word *rasa* must be taken in this untechnical sense when one meets with it in early classics and in such expressions as *rasavat* or *rasāvaha* in Daṇḍin.

4 Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 401 fn.

5 Strictly speaking, *grāmya* is not 'vulgar' in its usual restricted sense, although Daṇḍin seems to bring under its connotation the *aślīla* or the indecent. It means 'the low', 'the rustic', or 'the common', as opposed to the noble or the refined, and probably corresponds to the French word *vulgaire*.

6 This is made clear by the *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary on this point: *mādhurya-guṇe pradarśitaḥ śabdārthayor a-grāmyatayā jāto raso vākyasya bhavati, alaṃkāratayā nirdiṣṭaṃ rasavattvam aṣṭa-rasāyattam* (p. 167), the last part of the passage calling attention to the fact that the only cases where the eight (dramatic) *rasas* are admitted by Daṇḍin occur in connexion with his inclusion of the *rasas* in figures like *rasavat*. In i. 64 Daṇḍin speaks of *agrāmya artha* as *rasāvaha*.

7 See above p. 80, fn 11. Daṇḍin speaks of *anuprāsa* as *rasāvaha* in this sense in the same context (i. 52).

vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*). Thus, Hemacandra explains (p. 198) the Rasa in Daṇḍin's *mādhurya*, according as it resides in the *vāk* or *vastu* in this way: *śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyāṃ vāg-rasaḥ....... agrāmyābhidheyatayā tu vastu-rasaḥ*[8]. Thus, the Rasa in Daṇḍin's *mādhurya* has a distinct connotation which separates it from the technical dramatic Rasa of the Rasa school[9].

At the same time it cannot be affirmed that Daṇḍin was entirely ignorant of the concept of Rasa as elaborated by Bharata and his followers. He declares (i. 18) that a Mahākāvya should invariably depict *rasa* and *bhāva*; so does Bhāmaha (i. 21). His treatment of the figures *rasavat*, *preyas* and *ūrjasvin* (ii. 280-87) gives a much clearer indication of his undoubted acquaintance with the eight recognised Rasas, all of which he enumerates by their respective names, and four of which (viz. *śṛṅgāra*, *raudra*, *vīra* and *karuṇa*) he illustrates as elements of the poetic figures under discussion. If we are to accept Abhinavagupt's statement[10],

8 With this explanation Māṇikyacandra agrees: *śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyāṃ vāg-rasaḥ, agrāmyatayā tu vastu-rasaḥ, itthaṃ raso dvedhā* (p. 189, ed. Ānandāśrama).

9 A similar untechnical use of the term *rasa* (which, however, Daṇḍin does not explain, as he does in this case) is to be found in iii. 149 (or iv. 26, Madras ed.) where the phrase *girāṃ rasaḥ* (=*vāgrasaḥ*) is interpreted by Taruṇavācaspati merely as *sādhutvam*. The modern commentators, misled, no doubt, by their own idea of the importance of Rasa, read into Daṇḍin their own ideas on the subject. Daṇḍin nowhere speaks of the suggestion of Rasa (*rasa-dhvani*) as the 'soul' of poetry, but Premacandra, commenting on i. 10, reads this into Daṇḍin. The *artha-rasa* in i. 62 seems also to have a distinct reference to *agrāmyatā*.

10 On Bharata vi, partially reproduced by Hemacandra p. 57f. The text of Abhinava's valuable commentary on Bharata's *rasa-sūtra*, so far as it is relevant to the theories on Rasa discussed below, has been published as an appendix to S. K. De, *Theory of Rasa* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume* (Orientalia, vol. iii 1922). It is cited below as "Abh. on Bh.," with references to the pages of the article, which has been largely utilised in this chapter. It is reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 219-35.

Daṇḍin's conception of Rasa is similar to that of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa (which we shall deal with presently), and he believes therefore in the development of Rasa as an effect from the *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*. Daṇḍin's somewhat meagre treatment hardly justifies us in making a definite assumption on this point, but we may assume that Daṇḍin apparently speaks of Rasas like *śṛṅgāra* or *raudra* being developed as effects from such permanent moods as *rati* or *krodha*. For, speaking of the figure *rasavat* which should possess the characteristic of manifesting the Rasas, he gives an example of the manifestation of *śṛṅgāra* in such a figure with the remark: *ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṃ gatā / rūpa-bāhulya-yogena* (ii. 281). Similarly, with reference to the development of *raudra* from *krodha*, he says: *ity āruhya parāṃ koṭiṃ krodho raudrātmatāṃ gataḥ* (ii. 283). But the Rasa in these figures is subordinate to the expressed figure itself of which it serves as a means of embellishment (*alaṃkāratayā smṛtam*) ; in other words, the Rasa is developed not for its own sake but as increasing the beauty of expression. It would seem, therefore, that Daṇḍin was, to some extent, cognisant of *rasa* and *bhāva*, but he could not give it a place in his system except as an embellishment of the language or of the sense ; and this objective view of the function of Rasa, if we may presume it in these early authors, was apparently responsible for this subordinate position given to it by the Alaṃkāra and Rīti-systems.

Although Vāmana improves upon Daṇḍin's system in other respects, he does not seem to have gone further in the treatment of Rasa. His idea of making all poetic figures an aspect of metaphorical expression precludes him from defining the figure *rasavat*, but he attempts to include Rasa in one of the essential (*nitya*) characteristics of poetry, viz., in the *artha-guṇa kānti*, which he defines as an 'excellence of sense' in which the Rasas should be conspicuously present (*dīpta-rasatvaṃ kāntiḥ*, iii, 2. 15). The suggestion for this inclusion of the Rasas

in one of the excellences was probably found in Bharata's definition of the *kānti-guṇa*, or more directly in Bharata's peculiar definition of the *udāra-guṇa*; but it is clear that this certainly marks an advance upon the treatment of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, who include the Rasa in some of the non-essential figures.

Udbhaṭa adheres in the main to the views of Bhāmaha and deals with Rasa as an element of the some of the figures like *rasavat*. One verse, however, which occurs in the text of Udbhaṭa published by Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 847:

> *rasādyadhiṣṭhitaṃ kāvyaṃ jīvad-rūpatayā yataḥ/*
> *kathyate tad rasādīnāṃ kāvyātmatvaṃ vyavasthitam//*

apparently designates Rasa as the essence or 'soul' of poetry, without, however, setting up an aesthetic system on its basis. But the verse is quite out of place in the context in which it occurs[11], and in the text published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, it is wanting, although given as a quotation (with a *tad āhuḥ*) in the accompanying commentary of Pratīhārendurāja (p. 77). Misled by Jacob's text, Jacobi supposes[12] that Udbhaṭa was the first writer to consider the question as to what constitutes the 'soul' of poetry and to regard Rasa as such. It is clear, however, that the verse in question is not Udbhaṭa's, and cannot be reconciled either with its immediate context or with Udbhaṭa's general standpoint, as well as with his definition of *rasavat*. It cannot be denied at the same time that Udbhaṭa betrays an acquaintance with some theory of

11 This verse (vi. 17) occurs after the figure *kāvya-liṅga* (vi. 16), after the definition of which one should expect its illustration, which is given in the verse vi. 18 next after the verse in question. If Jacob's text is accepted, then the verse *rasādyadhiṣṭhitam* (vi. 17) would be abruptly thrust in between the definition of *kāvya-liṅga* and its illustration. As a matter of fact, it occurs in Pratīhārendurāja's commentary on *kāvya-liṅga* and is erroneously incorporated in Udbhaṭa's text by the editor.

12 *ZDMG*, 1902, p. 396.

Rasa and its technicalities using, as he does, terms like *vibhāva sthāyin*, *sañcārin* (iv. 4) and *anubhāva* (iv. 2), and enumerating, after Bharata, the eight orthodox *nāṭya-rasas* with the addition of a ninth Rasa (viz. *śānta*) in the category. But Udbhaṭa takes all this into account as an embellishment of an expressed figure like *rasavat*[13] ; the Rasa is not considered on its own account, but because it helps to emphasise or constitute the charm of a particular figure. Hence Pratīhārendurāja remarks that the question as to the nature of Rasa and Bhāva, and as to how far they may stand as the very 'soul' of poetry is not discussed by Udbhaṭa at all, partly for fear of prolixity and partly because it is irrelevant[14].

Rudraṭa, on the other hand, seems to be the earliest writer who explicitly includes Rasa in his treatment of Poetics, and devotes four chapters to its discussion. At the beginning of his work, he praises the poets who have won eternal fame by composing Kāvyas enlivened by Rasa. In ch. xii he speaks of ten Rasas (adding *preyas* and *śānta* to the orthodox eight of Bharata)[15], describing *śṛṅgāra* (love) and the charac-

13 Udbhaṭa's definitions of *rasavat* etc. differ from those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin ; and he admits a new figure, namely, *samāhita*. In his view, *preyas* consists of development of emotions like love to the extent of a Bhāva and not Rasa ; *rasavat* occurs when Rasas are fully developed through *sva-śabda*, *sthāyin*, *sañcārin*, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* ; *ūrjasvi* is development of improper or incongruous (*an-aucitya-pravṛtta*) Rasa or Bhāva, which would correspond to Rasābhāsa of later writers ; *samāhita*=calming down of Rasa, Bhāva or their Ābhāsa.

14 Udbhaṭa might have been one of the commentators on Bharata, and was probably conversant with Bharata's text, as his citation of a half-line (iv. 5, though it is doubtful if this is at all a *kārikā*-verse of Udbhaṭa's) from Bharata vi. 15 and use of technical terms like *vibhāva* etc. would indicate. But it does not prove that Udbhaṭa belonged to the school of Bharata. On the other hand, Udbhaṭa in his theoretical standpoint was undoubtedly a follower of Bhāmaha.

15 If Udbhaṭa iv. 5 is a *kārikā*-verse (and not wrongly incorporated into the text from Pratīhārendurāja's commentary), then Udbhaṭa was

teristics of the hero and heroine in that connexion. The next two chapters take up the two kinds of *śṛṅgāra* (*saṃbhoga* and *vipralambha*—love in union and in separation) and questions cognate to each. This treatment is rounded off by a short chapter describing the nature and character of the diction (*rīti*) suitable to each[16]. It is not clear, however, as to what significance Rudraṭa attaches to Rasa as an element of poetry, for he is entirely silent with regard to the theoretical aspect of the question. Out of the sixteen chapters into which his work is divided, only four chapters deal with Rasa not theoretically but descriptively, while the rest of his work is taken up with the details of the poetic figures on which obviously he puts greater emphasis. Speaking of the necessity of making a poem *sarasa* from the standpoint of the reader, he says (xii. 1) that to those, who enjoy Rasa but fight shy of Śāstra, instruction in the *caturvarga* is easier to impart through the medium of delectable writing; and this is the chief motive, in his opinion, for inspiring the sense of poetry with Rasa. Rudraṭa starts with *śabda* and *artha* as the two constituents of poetry, and elaborates his views about poetic figures as embellishment of these elements; but he does not discuss how the Rasa comes into his system, a fact which may lead one to suspect that these chapters on Rasa were probably later engraftment extraneous

the first writer to admit *śānta* into Bharata's category of eight Rasas. The *preyas* Rasa of Rudraṭa is probably suggested by the poetic figure *preyas* admitted by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa. Rudraṭa appears to allude (as Nami-sādhu rightly comments) to Bharata by the term *ācārya* in xii. 4.

16 Rudraṭa defines Rīti, as we have already seen, with reference to the employment of compound words. He recommends the Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī Rītis in the cases of the four Rasas, *preyas*, *karuṇa*, *bhayānaka* and *adbhuta*, and the Lāṭīyā and Gauḍīyā in the case of *raudra*, there being apparently no fixed rule with regard to the remaining Rasas. He uses the term *aucitya* in this context, which anticipates the theory of Aucitya first elaborated by Ānandavardhana in connexion with the delineation of Rasa.

to, if not inconsistent with, his general standpoint. Rudraṭa, in his theoretical tendencies, has no affinity with the Rasa school, but belongs to the Alaṃkāra school, a fact which would distinguish him from Rudrabhaṭṭa, the keynote of whose system is to be found in the idea of Rasa. We have to this effect the testimony of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha. Ruyyaka says[17] that Rudraṭa laid special stress on *alaṃkāra*, in which were comprised the three kinds of suggestion (*dhvani*), including the suggestion of Rasa, and that in figures like *rasavat*, the *rasa* and *bhāva* implied are taken as elements which heighten the charm of the expressed idea[18].

The older writers on Poetics, therefore, before the advent of the Dhvani-theorists, content themselves with the working out of the outward form of expression, the 'body' of poetry, and hardly trouble themselves with the question of an ulterior aesthetic principle, the 'soul' of poetry ; nor do they identify, as some later writers do, this 'soul' with the psychological factor known as Rasa. Vāmana, no doubt, starts the question and offers to solve it by declaring that the diction or Rīti is this 'soul' ; but we have seen that in Vāmana's view, the Rīti is not the expression of poetic individuality but the objective beauty of representation called forth by a definite adjustment of certain fixed literary excellences. The older writers, therefore, put the greatest emphasis on the *alaṃkāra* (or poetic figure), or on the *rīti* (or diction in the objective sense), the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry ;

17 ed. Kāvyamālā p. 5. Samudrabandha agrees with this view.

18 Nami-sādhu, explaining Rudraṭa xii. 2, states that in the opinion of his author, *śabda* and *artha* constitute the 'body' of poetry, the poetic figures take the place of artificial ornaments, while Rasa resembles natural qualities like prowess and beauty (*rasās tu saundaryādaya iva sahajā guṇāḥ*). But there is nothing in Rudraṭa which will support this description of his standpoint, especially as Rudraṭa can scarcely be supposed to look upon poetic figures, which are of great importance in his view of poetry, as mere artificial embellishments of poetry. See above pp. 59-60, 61.

and, cognisant as they were of that aesthetic delectableness which must be present in all poetry and which in Sanskrit goes by the name of *rasa*, they could not harmonise it well with their theory of externals and treated it more or less as an embellishment of the language by including it in poetic figures or by allowing it to form an element of one of the excellences of diction. This was the only way in which they could recognise Rasa. It is partly for this reason that the Dhvanikāra (iii. 52) condemns earlier theories as crude and insufficient for the purpose of explaining the nature of poetry, and expounds his own system in which the suggestion of Rasa (*rasa-dhvani*) plays such an important part.

(2)

The reason why Rasa was, even thus perfunctorily, admitted into the older systems appears to have been the fact that Bharata's treatment of Rasa in the drama had already established itself, having been further elaborated by a number of commentators and writers on the subject, and it naturally influenced, to a limited extent, the enquiry of early thinkers. We have already noted that Bharata's famous *sūtra* on Rasa[19] by its ambiguity taxed the ingenuity of his followers and led to a great deal of controversy regarding its true interpretation ; and as each writer tried to explain it in his own way, it gave rise to a number of theories on Rasa. There are four such theories associated with the names of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta ; but Jagannātha (*Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 28) speaks of eight different interpretations.

Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa appears to have been one of the earliest formulators of such an explanation. His work is unfortunately lost, and very little can be gathered from the brief review

19 Viz. *vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ* (see above p. 20), the different theories starting with the different explanations given of the terms *saṃyoga* and *niṣpatti*. Besides the vagueness of these two terms, it is noteworthy that term *sthāyin* or *sthāyi-bhāva* does not occur in this dictum.

of his opinion in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata[20], which is copied more or less by all subsequent writers who deal with Lollaṭa's views[21]. But it is clear even from this summary exposition by an adverse critic that Lollaṭa, in explaining Bharata's *sūtra*, took the *vibhāva* as the direct cause (*kāraṇa*) of Rasa, which therefore is an effect (*anukārya* or *utpādya*), and the term *niṣpatti* of Bharata should be explained as *utpatti* or *puṣṭi*. The Rasa, found in characters like Rāma, is attributed to the actor, who imitates the characters in form, dress and action, and thereby charms the spectator. Mammaṭa and his followers make this interpretation of Lollaṭa's view more clear by saying that the permanent mood or *sthāyin* is directly connected (*mukhyatayā vṛttyā=sākṣāt saṃbandhena*) with the hero like Rāma, but it is recognised as existing in the actor through a clever imitation of the original character, this imitation being apparently the source of the charm to the spectator. The Rasa, therefore, resides in the hero; but the objection is that it is not clear how a mental state which belongs to the hero can be transferred to the actor, and how the spectator can be charmed by a feeling which does not exist in him. The spectator's mere apprehension of the feeling imitated by the actor cannot produce even a semblance of the original feeling and consequent delight in the mind of the spectator ; otherwise such a delight would be brought about even on witnessing a love-affair in the ordinary world, as distinguished from the world of poetry[22]. It is

20 Abhinava's review of the opinions of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, which is followed by Mammaṭa and all later writers, is extensively reproduced by Hemacandra (pp. 57-66) and Māṇikyacandra (pp. 40f, ed. Ānandaśrama). This portion of Abhinava's commentary will be found in the article already mentioned above on the *Theory of Rasa* (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta 1959). Detailed references, therefore, are not as a rule given here.

21 See for instance, Mammaṭa ch. iv, Hemacandra p. 57, Mallinātha on Vidyādhara p. 85, Govinda on Mammaṭa p. 63 etc.

22 Govinda criticises Lollaṭa's view thus: *tad apeśalam, sāmājikeṣu*

also argued that this cause-and-effect theory of Lollaṭa cannot satisfactorily explain the relation of the *vibhāvas* etc. to the Rasa. An effect may exist even when its efficient cause is destroyed ; but as the life of the Rasa is circumscribed by the exhibition of the *vibhāvas*, it disappears when the latter disappear, a fact which goes to prove that the Rasa must not be taken as an ordinary *laukika* effect[23]. Again, the cause and the effect cannot be contemporaneous ; if the Rasa is supposed to be an effect, its relish cannot be, as it actually is, contemporaneous with the appearance of the *vibhāvas*. Hence Viśvanātha remarks (p. 86) that if the Rasa is an effect, having for its cause the perception of the *vibhāvas*, then at the time of the relish of Rasa the *vibhāvas* would not be perceived ; for we do not find the simultaneous perception of a cause and its effect. The perception of the touch of the sandalwood unguent and the perception of the pleasure produced thereby cannot take place simultaneously, however rapidly the one may succeed the other.

Śaṅkuka, the next important writer on this subject mentioned by Abhinavagupta and others[24], therefore rejects this interpretation of the *utpatti-vādins*, who are said to follow, in their peculiar theory, the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophers. Lollaṭa's view does not deal with Rasa as a matter of the spectator's feeling. Śaṅkuka, on the other hand, thinks that the Rasa is not *produced* as an effect, but *inferred* by the spectator, and the inferred feeling is relished by him as Rasa. The permanent mood of the hero is inferred to exist in the actor (though not actually existing in him) by means of the *vibhāvas* etc., cleverly exhibited by him in acting, so as to produce an illusion of identity with the

tadabhāve tatra camatkārānubhava-virodhāt, na ca tajjñānam eva camatkāra-hetuḥ, laukika-śṛṅgārādi-darśanenāpi camatkāra-prasaṅgāt (ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 63).

23 Govinda p. 69, Mallinātha pp. 87, 93-4.

24 The reference to Śaṅkuka's views is to be found in Mammaṭa and others, as cited above in fn 21.

feelings of the hero[25]; and the mood thus inferred, being sensed by the spectator through its exquisite beauty, adds to itself a peculiar charm[26], and thus develops into a relishable condition of his own mind which is called Rasa. The realisation of Rasa, therefore, is a process of logical inference, and the *niṣpatti* of Bharata's *sūtra* is explained as *anumiti*, the *vibhāvas* standing to Rasa in the relation of *anumāpaka* or *gamaka* to *anumāpya* or *gamya*. But the mood itself, though inferred in this way from the relation of logical major and middle terms, is yet cognised as different from the objects of ordinary inference, being inferred, as it were, by force of its connexion with the *vibhāvas*, which factors, though artificial in themselves, are not then recognised as such. This cognition or knowledge is characterised as being based on what is called *citra-turaga-nyāya* (or the analogy by which a horse in a picture is called a horse), and should be differentiated from the true ('he is Rāma'), the false ('he is Rāma' with a following negation 'he is not Rāma'), the doubtful ('he may or may not be Rāma') knowledge, as well as from the knowledge of similarity ('he is like Rāma')[27]. The theory, however, has been discredited by later schools on the ground (as Govinda concisely puts it[28]) that it disregards the well-recognised fact that the inference of a thing can never produce the same charm as direct cognition. It has also been pointed

25 *rāmādyabheda-bhāvitena naṭe tat-prakāśitair eva vibhāvādibhir anumitaḥ*, Mallinātha p. 85.

26 *vastu-saundarya-balād rasanīyatvena sthāyinām anyānumeya-vailakṣaṇyāt* Govinda p. 65, practically paraphrasing Mammaṭa.

27 As interpreted by Mammaṭa as well as Abhinava p. 241. Hemacandra expanding the exposition of Abhinavapupta and Mammaṭa puts it in this way: *na cātra nartaka eva sukhīti pratipattiḥ, nāpyayam eva rāma iti, na cāpyayaṃ na sukhīti, nāpi rāmaḥ syād vā na vāyam iti, na cāpi tat-sadṛśam iti, kiṃ tu samyaṅ-mithyā-saṃśaya-sādṛśya-pratītibhyo vilakṣaṇā citra-turagādi-nyāyena yaḥ sukhī rāma asāvayam iti pratītir asti* (p. 59).

28 *pratyakṣam eva jñānaṃ sa-camatkāraṃ nānumityādir iti loka-prasiddhim avadhūyānyathā-kalpane mānābhāvaḥ*, p. 65.

out that the Rasa is not capable of being cognised by the ordinary means of arriving at knowledge, for the feeling of a hero like Rāma, being past, cannot be cognised directly by the organs of sense belonging to the present.[29] The *anumāna*-theory is criticised elaborately in connexion with the theory of 'suggestion', coming topically within the province of the suggestion of Rasa (*rasa-dhvani*). We shall have occasion to deal with this aspect of the theory in its proper place; but the general argument with which it is sought to be discarded is that the *vibhāvas* cannot be taken as the middle term in proving the *sthāyin*, because the former do not stand in the same relation to the latter as the middle term (*sādhana*) does to the major term (*sādhya*), but are simply its suggestors (*vyañjaka*).

The *vibhāvas*, therefore, do not constitute either the efficient cause (*kāraka-hetu*) or the logical cause (*jñāpaka-hetu*) of Rasa, as held respectively by Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka. Apart from technicalities, Lollaṭa's view appears to be that the spectator ascribes to the well-trained actor the same mental state as belonged to the hero, and his apprehension of this imparted feeling *produces* a similar feeling in his mind, causing delight. Śaṅkuka thinks that the well-trained actor so cleverly simulates the action of the hero that the spectator apprehends the actor to be identical with the hero, and *infers* from this illusion the actual feeling of the hero in his own mind, being moved by the extraordinary beauty of the represented action. In both these theories, however, the difficulty remains, viz. that if Rasa is an objective entity, produced or inferred, how can it bring about a subjective feeling of relish in the audience in whom these factors (*vibhāvas* etc.) are presumably absent? If, on the other hand, it is supposed that the Rasa exists in the audience also, the question still remains as to how the particular feeling of a particular hero (like Rāma, who is different from or superior

29 Vidyādhara p. 94.

to the spectator himself) can be relished or realised as his own by the spectator? These objections are thus ably set forth by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka[30], as interpreted by Abhinavagupta in his °*Locana* (pp. 67-8): "If the *rasa* is perceived as belonging to another person, then it is a case of *tāṭasthya* i. e. one would not himself be personally affected by it. It is also not perceived as belonging to oneself out of poetry dealing with the deeds of heroes like Rāma. If it is perceived as belonging to oneself, then origin of *rasa* in self is admitted. But this is not reasonable, for there is nothing there which can operate as a *vibhāva* for the audience. If it is objected that the generalised idea of the beloved (*kāntātva*), which lies dormant and awakens in us germs of latent impressions, operates in the capacity of a *vibhāva*, then how can it be applied to the description of a deity and the like ? The recollection of one's own beloved does not intervene in one's consciousness. How can *vibhāvas*, like the construction of a bridge over the sea, which form the attributes of an extraordinary hero like Rāma, become generalised (in the mind of an individual spectator) ? One does not recollect only Rāma's energy, because it has no resemblance (to one's own energy). The *rasa* is not perceived when one learns it from a verbal composition, because a man would learn it in the same way from the direct observation of a pair of lovers. If it is assumed that *rasa* is produced, then a man would feel disinclined to tragedy, inasmuch as he finds only pain following upon the production of the pathetic mood (*karuṇa*) "[31]

30 Another objector to Śaṅkuka's view appears to be Bhaṭṭa Tauta, whose opinions are summarised by Abhinava (who refers to him simply as *asmad-upādhyāya*) in a passage which is substantially reproduced by Hemacandra at p. 59 under Bhaṭṭa Tauta's name. See also Māṇikyacandra p. 43 who draws also upon Abhinava's exposition of Tauta's view.

31 *Raso yadi para-gatatayā pratīyate, tarhi tāṭasthyam eva syāt. Na ca sva-gatatvena rāmādi-caritamayāt kāvyād asau pratīyate. Svātma-*

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, attempts to refute these earlier theories and set up a peculiar doctrine of aesthetic enjoyment (*bhoga*) which makes the relish of Rasa possible. He argues (as interpreted by Mammaṭa and others) that (i) Rasa cannot be produced as an effect, because the causes (namely, the *vibhāvas*), being non-realities, cannot bring about a real effect ; (ii) it cannot be inferred, because the real character (e. g. Rāma), not being before the audience, his feeling does not exist, and what does not exist cannot be inferred (*na tattvato rāmasya smṛtiḥ, anupalabdhatvāt*). Nor is it a case of revelation (*abhivyakti*) of something potentially existing (*śakti-rūpa*); for in that case, the potential emotions, once awakened, would occupy their field of action in diverse degrees, thus contradicting the nature of Rasa as one. Moreover, there would be the same difficulty as to whether the Rasa is revealed in oneself or in another person. To solve these and other difficulties, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (as interpreted by Abhinavagupta) maintains that Rasa is enjoyed in connexion with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the enjoyer (*bhojaka*) and the enjoyed (*bhojya*). This school[32] postulates three different functions of a word, namely, *abhidhā* (already admitted by the Mīmāṃsakas and grammarians), *bhāvakatva* and *bhojakatva*, and thus ascribes to a poem threefold potency of its own, namely, the powers

gatatvena ca pratītau svātmani rasasyotpattir evābhyupagatā syāt, sā cāyuktā, sāmājikaṃ praty avibhāvatvāt. Kāntātvaṃ sādhāraṇaṃ vāsanā-vikāsa-hetur vibhāvanāyāṃ prayojakaṃ cet, devatā-varṇanādau tad api katham? Na ca sva-kāntā-smaraṇaṃ madhye saṃvedyate. Aloka-sāmānyānāṃ ca rāmādīnāṃ ye samudra-setu-bandhādayo vibhāvās te kathaṃ sādhāraṇyaṃ bhajeyuḥ? Na cotsāhādi-mātraṃ smaryate, ananurūpatvāt. Śabdād api tat-pratipattau na rasopajanaḥ, pratyakṣād iva nāyaka-mithuna-pratipattau. Utpatti-pakṣe ca karuṇasyotpādād duḥkhitve karuṇa-prekṣāsu punar apravṛttiḥ syāt, tan na.

32 Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views are set forth and criticised by Abh. on Bh. p. 244, °*Locana* p. 68, Mammaṭa ch. iv, Hemacandra pp. 61 f., Govinda p. 66.

of denotation, of generalisation and of enjoyment.[33] The *abhidhā* is not merely the actual Denotation of a word, but is given an extended meaning so as to include *lakṣaṇā* or Indication in its scope (*abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*),[34] thus embracing the two functions already analysed by previous speculation. It is meant probably that the Denotation (as postulated by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka) also gives to the expressed sense a metaphorical significance as the basis of Rasa. The *bhāvakatva* (or *rasa-bhāvanā*), which, as Abhinavagupta suggests, is apparently derived from Bharata's general definition of *bhāva*, is described as the power of generalisation which makes the *vibhāvas* as well as the *sthāyi-bhāva*, sensed in their general character without any reference to their specific properties. The *vibhāva*, Sītā, for instance, is understood through this power not as a particular individual but in the general character of a woman, and the *sthāyi-bhāva* (here Rāma's love towards her) is taken as love in general without any reference to the agent or the object. In this way the audience can appropriate the *vibhāvas*, as well as the *sthāyi-bhāva*, as universal. After the Rasa is thus generalised, comes its enjoyment. By the third function of *bhojakatva*, the *sthāyin* is enjoyed in this general form, accompanied by the *vibhāvas*, sensed also in a general form ; and this enjoyment is described as a process of delectation similar to the enlightened, self-sufficient and blissful knowledge, arising (in the language of the Sāṃkhya philosophers, which is borrowed by these theorists) from the prominence

33 T. R. Cintamani would prefer the terms signification, idealisation and illumination.

34 T. R. Chintamani (*JOR* i, 1927, p. 275 fn) would read *abhidhā-vilakṣaṇaiva*. He thinks that having been a Mīmāṃsaka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka would not include Lakṣaṇā in Abhidhā. But K. P. Trivedi (*Ekāvalī* p. 425) reads as we do: *abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*. V. Raghavan appears to agree (*JOR* vi, 1932, p. 211 fn) that Abhidhā is "here used not in its restricted sense of Śakti but in its larger and more general meaning, viz., the poet's expression as a whole."

of the attribute of goodness (*sattva*) in a man, and different from what is known as wordly happiness, being divested of personal relations or interests. It is differentiated from the two kinds of knowledge, *anubhava* and *smaraṇa* ; and consisting of the qualities of melting, pervading and expanding the mind, it is compared to the indescribable bliss of divine contemplation (*brahmāsvāda-sacivaḥ*). According to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, Rasa consists in the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the permanent mood, experienced in a generalised form in poetry and drama through the powers of *abhidhā* and *bhāvakatva*, and enjoyed by a blissful process, known as *bhoga*, till it is raised to a state of pleasurable relish, which is not wordly (*a-laukika*) but disinterested and which is akin to the philosophic meditation of Brahma.

It will be noticed that these different theories about Rasa, though applied to drama and poetry, are yet generally tinged with the doctrines of the various schools of Indian philosophy. Lollaṭa, it is clear, is a Mīmāṃsaka who believes in the far-reaching function of the Denotation of a word and thinks that it is capable of expressing all other implied or suggested sense in the shape of the Rasa. Śaṅkuka, on the other hand, is a Naiyāyika or logician who would demonstrate the Rasa by means of syllogistic reasoning. He believes that the implied Rasa can be reached by the logical process of inference from the expressed sense, although he has to admit that the inferred mood is cognised differently from the objects of ordinary inference, being sensed by the spectator through the force of its exquisite charm. In Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka we mark a further development. In his theory there is not only a transition from what may be called the objective to the subjective view of Rasa, and an understanding that the whole phenomenon should be explained in terms of the spectator's inward experience, but also the fact that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his peculiar theory of aesthetic enjoyment (*bhoga*) is substantially following the teachings of the Sāṃkhya philosophers.

We need not enter here into the details of Sāṃkhya psychology or metaphysics, but we may indicate briefly the application of its main teachings to the conception of poetry and the artistic delight resulting from it[35]. The purpose of evolution in Sāṃkhya is the attainment of *bhoga* (experience of pleasure and pain) and *apavarga* (spiritual emancipation through right knowledge). The enjoyer of Rasa in poetry is like the knower of Brahma, but the aesthetic attitude is different from the philosophic. The aesthetic attitude is indeed one of *saṃvit* (or *cit-svabhāvā*), i.e., pure contemplation dissociated from all personal interests, and results in *viśrānti* or composure ; but in the philosophical attitude there is complete detachment or aloofness from pleasure and pain and egoistic impulses, for the knower becomes impersonal by transcending his *buddhi*. This comes about through the predominance of the *sāttvika guṇa* in both cases ; but in the spiritual attitude the *buddhi*, which contains in it *vāsanās* or acquired impulses, modifying its intrinsic *sāttvika* charactor, is purged of all its egoistic tendencies, and the true knower, realising the intrinsic disparateness of *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, transcends the empirical plane. Such complete detachment is not possible in the aesthetic attitude. The world of poetry, being idealised, is different from the natural world and does not evoke egoistic impulses ; for the objects contemplated in poetry have no reference to any one in particular but are entirely impersonal. These impersonalised forms, therefore, afford to the enjoyer of poetry escape from the ills which arise from personal relations, but they are the means only of *temporary* release from the natural world, for he cannot, like the ordinary man, transcend his *buddhi* altogether. The three stages in the appreciation of poetry which lead ultimately to the aesthetic experience of Rasa indicate that the apprehension of the meanings of words

35 M. Hiriyanna, Indian Aesthetics, in *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, vol. ii, has dealt with the subject at some length.

(*abhidhā*) is not important in itself but only as a means of apprehending the generalised conceptions which are unrelated to any one in particular, the *bhāvakatva* being the process of such generalising, by which the factors of the feelings, as well as the feeling itself, become impersonalised. These idealised creations of poetry lead to enjoyment or *bhoga*, which implies that the condition produced is one of pleasure, as distinguished from the case of the natural attitude which is not always pleasurable, as well as from the spiritual attitude which is neither pleasurable nor painful.

(3)

If we may judge from the somewhat elaborate criticism levelled against Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory, it seems to have produced a greater impression than earlier theories, and paved the way, no doubt, for the later theory of Abhinavagupta to whom belongs the credit of explaining the new aesthetic system of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana.

The Dhvanikāra, however, in his exposition of *rasa-dhvani* and *rasa*, seems to have been greatly influenced by the Dramaturgic Rasa school. Bharata had declared that the business of the drama was to evolve one or more of the eight Rasas ; and therefore a more or less elaborate psychology of human sentiments had been analysed in the service of the dramatic art even before poetic theories began to be seriously discussed. Bharata's ideas on these psychological processes and on Rasa, which is the final internal experience consisting in the consciousness of a certain condition of the ego, were elaborated by his commentators and followers, until the Dhvanikāra, followed by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, came into the field. From the earlier drama and dramatic theory, the idea of Rasa was naturally taken over to poetry and poetic theory ; and as the transition from naïve to sentimental poetry was accomplished, the theorists went a step further and erected Rasa into one of its essential foundations. Ānandavardhana is quite explicit on this point.

when he says (p. 181): *etac ca rasādi-tātparyeṇa kāvya-nibandhanaṃ bharatādāvapi suprasiddham eva.* In other words, what was already well established in the drama by Bharata and others thus found its way into poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of the Kāvya[36]. From his extensive literary and philosophical studies as well as from his interest in the work of Bharata and his followers, Abhinavagupta goes further and lays down: *nāṭyāt samudaya-rūpād rasaḥ, rasa-samudayo hi nāṭyaṃ ; na nāṭya eva ca rasaḥ kāvye'pi nāṭyāmāna eva rasaḥ kāvyārathaḥ.* These theorists realised that no system of Poetics, as no system of Dramaturgy, can ever ignore the feelings, moods and sentiments, and must find an important place for Rasa, the manifestation of which is as much the business of poetry as of the drama. Gradually stress came to be laid on the emotional mood, as well as on the imaginative thought, which the poet succeeds in communicating to us ; the outward expression, on which the older writers pinned their faith so much, being regarded only as a means of suggesting or pointing to the implicit significance of such a mood in poetry.

The insufficiencies of the earlier theories on Rasa are obvious and are therefore rightly criticised by Abhinavagupta ; but it was a happy idea to elaborate the theory in such a way as not only to supply these deficiencies but also to fit it well into the theory of 'suggestion' or *dhvani* formulated by the new school. It is not necessary for us here to enter into the details of the Dhvani-theory, which will be treated in its proper place ; but we may for convenience and continuity of treatment indicate here generally how the idea of Rasa was worked up into them. The Dhvani school, in its analysis of the essentials of poetry, found that the contents of a good poem may be generally distinguished into two parts. The one

36 Rudrabhaṭṭa states (i. 5) in the same way that Bharata and others have already discussed Rasa in connexion with the drama, while his own object is to apply it to the case of poetry. Cf M. Lindenau, *Rasalehre*, p. 2.

is that which is expressed and includes what is given in so many words ; the other content is not expressed but must be added to it by the imagination of the reader or listener. The unexpressed or suggested part, which is distinctly linked up with the expressed and which is developed by a peculiar process of suggestion (*vyañjanā*), is taken to be the 'soul' or essence of poetry. To the grammarians and learned writers, it perhaps seemed paradoxical to state that the very essence of poetry was that which was not even expressed. On the other hand, some form of symbolical speech, in which wisdom demands that one should express oneself more in hints and suggestions than in actual words, was always in vogue, and the poets had been more or less partial to the method of speaking in metaphor or wrapping up their ideas in transparent allegory. But suggestive poetry is something different from the merely metaphorical, which Vāmana had already amply recognised and on which the Alaṃkāra and the Rīti schools had put so much emphasis. The metaphorical or the allegoric, however veiled it may be, is still in a sense express d and must be taken as such ; but the suggestive is always unexpressed, and is therefore a source of greater charm by its capacity of concealment. This unexpressed or inexpressible is called into being by a particular function of suggestion, appertaining to words and their meanings, which this school postulates.

Now the unexpressed, through the suggestive power of sound or sense, may be an unexpressed thought or matter (*vastu*), or an unexpressed figure of speech (*alaṃkāra*), but in most cases it is a mood or feeling (*rasa*) which is directly inexpressible. The Dhvani school, therefore, took up the moods and feelings as an element of the unexpressed and tried to harmonise the idea of *rasa* with the theory of *dhvani*.[37] It was realised that poetry was not, as Daṇḍin thought, the

37 Ānandavardhana himself says (*Dhv.* p. 163) that his object is not merely to establish Dhvani but also to harmonise it with Rasa.

mere clothing of agreeable ideas in agreeable language ; the feelings and moods play an important part in it. But the feelings and moods are in themselves inexpressible. We can give a name to them, but naming a mood or feeling is not equivalent to expressing or developing it. At best, therefore, we can suggest it. What the poet can directly express or describe are the *vibhāvas* etc.; but with the help of these expressed elements which must be generalised and conceived, not as they appear in the natural *(laukika)* world, but as they may be imagined in the world of poetry, the poet can awaken in us, through the power of suggestion inherent in words and their meanings, a particular *alaukika* (dissociated) condition of the soul in which the relish of the feeling is possible. It is true that the poet cannot rouse the same mood or feeling as, for instance, Rāma whom he describes felt, but he can call up a reflection of it, which is similar in some respects ; and the condition of the reader's soul in the enjoyment of such feeling is in poetry and drama the relish of Rasa, which can be brought into consciousness only by the power of suggestion inherent in words or ideas.

Here comes in the new colour given to the Rasa-theory by the exponents of the Dhvani school. They interpret Bharata's central dictum to mean that the Rasa is *suggested* by the union of the *sthāyin* with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the suggested (*vyaṅgya*) and the suggestor (*vyañjaka*) ; the *niṣpatti* of Bharata, therefore, should mean *abhivyakti*.

The elaboration of the Rasa-theory, however, by this school in the direct tradition of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is associated by Mammaṭa and others with the name of Abhinavagupta[38]. Commenting on Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory, Abhinava points out that there is no need, as there is no authority, for assuming the two powers of *bhāvakatva* and

38 There is some difference in the general theoretical positions of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta which will be noticed later.

bhogīkaraṇa ; for they are implicitly included in the idea of *rasa-vyañjanā* and its ultimate *āsvāda*. Bharata's dictum *kāvyārthān bhāvayantīti bhāvaḥ* implies that *bhāvakatva* is an inherent capacity of all *bhāvas*, as the means of bringing into consciousness the sense of poetry, the term sense indicating here the principal sense consisting of the relish of Rasa. Hence the *sthāyin*, together with the *vyabhicārin*, being *bhāvas* themselves, bring into existence through this inherent power the extraordinary relishable sense of poetry, cognised in a general or impersonalised form. In this way, the *sthāyin* may be regarded as the *bhāvaka* or *niṣpādaka* of Rasa ; and this so-called *bhavakatva*, according to Abhinava, consists in nothing more than a suitable use of Guṇa and Alaṃkāra (*samucita-guṇālaṃkāra-parigrahātmakam*) for the ultimate purpose of awakening Rasa through the suggestive power of word and sense. Thus, partially admitting *bhāvanā* or *bhāvakatva* but explaining it somewhat differently, Abhinava turns to the other power assumed as *bhoga* or *bhogīkaraṇa* by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. He remarks that beyond *pratīti* or perception of Rasa, he is not aware of any other process called *bhoga*. If it is relish or enjoyment, it is already admitted as the essence of Rasa, and nothing is gained by giving it a new name. Abhinava thinks that the *bhoga* supposed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nothing more than the *āsvāda* or relish of Rasa, based on permanent moods like *rati* etc., and made possible by the suggestive power of poetry. It falls naturally, therefore, within the domain of suggestion and need not be taken as a separate function (*bhogīkaraṇa-vyāpāraś ca kāvyātmaka-rasa-viṣayo dhvananātmaiva*).

This *prātīti* of Rasa, Abhinavagupta maintains, results from its *abhivyakti* or manifestation by the power of suggestion, and consists of a state of relish known as *rasanā*, *āsvāda* or *carvaṇā*. What is manifested is not the Rasa itself, but its relish ; not the mood itself but its reflection in the form of a subjective condition of aesthetic enjoyment in the reader. This taste or relish partakes, no doubt, of the nature of cogni-

tion ; it is nevertheless different from the ordinary *laukika* forms of the process, because its means (viz. the *vibhāvas*) are not to be taken as ordinary or *laukika* cause[39]. Although Rasa requires these three factors for its manifestation and cannot exist without them, it cannot yet be regarded as an ordinary effect, and the cause-and-effect theory is inapplicable ; for in the transcendental sphere of poetry, it is

39 This will make it clear why the Rasas like *karuṇa, bībhatsa* and *bhayānaka*, which cause pity, disgust or horror, can be termed Rasas in which enjoyment is essential. The relish of Rasa is supposed to be an extraordinary bliss, dissociated from personal interests, and not to be likened to ordinary pleasure and pain in which personal or egoistic impulses predominate. The mind is so entirely lost in its contemplation that even when the sentiment of grief or horror relished in such a state, pain is never felt, and even when felt it is a pleasurable pain. This fact is borne out by the common experience that when grief is represented on the stage, the spectator says 'I have enjoyed it'. Hence Abhinavagupta says: *samājikānāṃ harṣaika-phalaṃ nāṭyaṃ na śokādi-phalam.* Viśvanātha similarly remarks (iii. 6-7 and Vṛtti) that those very things which are called causes of pleasure and pain in the world (e.g. banishment of Sītā in the forest), when consigned to poetry and drama, possess the right to be called, in consequence of their assuming such an impersonalised form, *alaukika vibhāvas* etc., and from them only pleasure ensues, as it does from bites and the like in amorous dalliance. If pain were really felt, no one would have been inclined to poetry and drama (*kiṃ ca teṣu yadi duḥkhaṃ na ko'pi syāt tad-unmukhaḥ*). It is also maintained that tears constitute no proof that anything but pleasure is felt in poetry ; for the tears that are shed by the reader are not those of pain but those of sentiment. Jagannātha's remarks in this connexion are interesting. He says (p. 26) that the shedding of tears and the like are due to the nature of the experience of particular pleasures, and not to pain. Hence in a devotee tears arise on listening to a description of the deity ; in this case there is not the slightest feeling of pain. Such is the power of detachment which poetry produces that even unpleasant things like sorrow generate dissociated pleasure ; and this pleasant relish of impersonalised or idealised artistic creations should be distinguished from the ordinary experiences of life.—The *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, however, sets forth a theory (pp. 158-59) that Rasa has a touch of sorrow in it, and Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* says: *rasā hi sukha-duḥkhāvasthā-rūpāḥ*. See V. Rāghavan. *Number of Rasas* (Adyar 1940), p. 155.

said, the connexion between cause and effect gives place to an imaginative system of relations, which has the power of stirring the reader's soul into Rasa. The resulting Rasa cannot be identified with the constituent *vibhāvas*, for the latter are not experienced separately, but the whole appears as Rasa, which is thus simple and indivisible. At the time of relish nothing else but the Rasa itself is raised to our consciousness. The writers on Poetics are fond of explaining this phenomenon under the analogy of a beverage which, made up of black pepper, candied sugar, camphor and other ingredients, gives us yet a taste different from that of its constituents. The result, therefore, is an indissoluble unity of taste from which every trace of the constituent elements is obliterated.

Abhinavagupta goes a step further also in maintaining that the permanent mood (*sthāyin*) inferred from its *laukika* causes (e.g. women, garden etc.) remains in the hearts of the appreciating audience in the subtle form of latent impressions, the idea of *vāsanā* or latent impression having been already admitted by the philosophers. On reading a poem or witnessing a drama, this permanent mood, remaining in the form of latent impression, is suggested by the depicted *vibhāvas* etc., which cease to be called *laukika* causes but go by the name of *vibhāvas* etc. in poetry and drama, and which are taken in their general form without specific connexions. The *vibhāvas*, therefore, are generalised or impersonalised in the minds of the reader, and do not refer to particularities, not through the power of *bhāvakatva*, as supposed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, but generally through the suggestive power of sound and sense and specifically through a skilful use of Guṇa and Alaṃkāra in poetry, and clever representation in the drama. In the same way, the *sthāyi-bhāva*, which is the source of Rasa[40], is also generalised, because the germ of it is already

40 The *sthāyin* is so called because, in spite of its being transient like all feelings, its impression in the form of *vāsanā* or *saṃskāra* is

existent in the reader's mind in the form of latent impressions ; and this, together with the beauty of the generalised representation of the *vibhāvas* ete., removes all temporal and spatial limitations. The mood is generalised also in the sense that it refers not to any particular reader but to readers in general, so that the particular individual, while relishing it, does not think that it is relished by him alone, but by all persons of poetic sensibility. This subjective relish in the mind of the spectator or reader is known as Rasa in poetry and drama.

To state it briefly and without any technicality, there is in the mind a latent impression of feelings which we once went through (or which we acquired from previous births), and this is roused when we read a poem which describes similar things. By universal sympathy or community of feeling we become part and parcel of the same feeling and imagine ourselves in that condition. Thus the feeling is raised to a state of relish, called *rasa*, in which lies the essence of poetic enjoyment. It will be noticed that these theorists presuppose latent impression of experience *(vāsanā)* and univeral sympathy (*sādhāraṇya* ar *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*). Those who have not experienced the feeling of love, for instance, and have therefore no impression of experience left in them, as well as those who have no sense of community of human feelings, can never relish Rasa. The *vāsanā*, we are told, is natural (*naisargikī*) and may have been left in our mind through the *saṃskāra* of previous births, but it may also be acquired by

more or less permanent, being called up when the Rasa is cognised. Cf *Prabhā* p. 61: *antaḥkaraṇa-pravṛtti-rūpasya ratyāder āśu-vināśatve'pi saṃskārātmanā cirakāla-sthāyitvād yāvad-rasa-pratīti-kālam anusaṃdhānāc ca sthāyitvam.* But possibly it was originally called *sthāyin* because it constituted the permanent mood or sentiment in the composition, which nothing akin to it or opposed to it could overcome, but which could only be strengthened by other *bhāvas*. But the *sthāyin* itself is not *rasa* ; it must be *vyakti-viśiṣṭa* and *vibhāvādi-melaka*, and thus made *carvaṇopayogī* or relishable, Govinda p. 62. The ultimate relish of *rasa* is free from the contact of the *sthāyin*, as it is of the *vibhāvas*.

study and experience. The writers on Poetics, therefore, are merciless in their satire on dull grammarians and old Mīmāṃsakas, to whom such relish of Rasa is denied, and they declare unanimously that the *rasika* alone is capable of realising the *rasa* ; for Rasa is not an objective entity which can reside in the hero or the actor, but a subjective condition realised by the reader's own capacity of aesthetic enjoyment. Thus, a degree of culture, experience and aesthetic instinct is demanded in the critic, the *rasika* or *sahṛdaya*, in conformity with this subtle conception of poetry. As Abhinavagupta puts it, *adhikārī cātra vimala-pratibhāna-śāli-hṛdayaḥ*, and describes such a *sahṛdaya* (°*Locana* p. 11) as *yeṣāṃ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsa-vaśād viśadībhūte mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmayībhavana-yogyatā te hṛdaya-saṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ*.

It may be pointed out here that this subtle conception of Rasa makes it difficult to express the notion properly in Western critical terminology. The word has been translated etymologically by the terms 'flavour,' 'relish,' 'gustation,' 'taste,' 'Geschmack' or 'saveur'; but none of these renderings seems to be adequate. The simpler word 'mood', or the term 'Stimmung' used by Jacobi may be the nearest approach to it, but the concept has hardly any analogy in European critical theories. Most of the terms employed have association of subtle meanings of their own, and are therefore not strictly applicable. For instance, the word 'taste' or 'relish' though literally correct, must not be understood to imply aesthetic judgment, 'good or bad taste,' but must be taken to indicate an idea similar to what we mean when we speak of tasting food. At the same time, this realistic description must not lead us to drag it down to the level of a bodily pleasure ; for this artistic pleasure is given as almost equivalent to the philosophic bliss, known as *ānanda*, being lifted above worldly joy.

This peculiar condition of the mind, the *rasa*, is realised, according to Abhinavagupta, through the characteristic func-

tion of *vyañjanā* or suggestion inherent in word and sense. The idea is elaborated by later theorists who take pains to shew that it does not not come under the province of Denotation (*abhidhā*), nor of Import (*tātparyā*), nor of Indication (*lakṣaṇā*), nor of Perception (*pratyakṣa*) nor of Inference (*anumāna*), nor of Reminiscence (*smaraṇa*), which means of knowledge are admitted by philosophers and grammarians. Into these technicalities which properly come under the discussion of the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, we need not enter; but it may be noted here that Abhinava describes this *abhivyakti*, which is taken as synonymous with *carvaṇā*, as *vītavighna-pratīti* or realisation freed from obstacles. Jagannātha and the author of the °*Prabhā* commentary on *Kāvya-pradīpa* describe *vyakti* as *bhagnāvaraṇā cit.* Both these terms constitute a link connecting the present theory with the teachings of the Vedānta. The dismissal of the *avidyā* and the elimination of *kāma* and *karman* (interest and activity) lead us to a point of detachment where we realise the intrinsic identity of self with Brahma and apprehend the bliss or *ānanda* resulting from such a realisation. The idea of Vedāntin's Mokṣa, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest by the removal enveloping obstacles, finds an analogy in the idea of the manifestation of Rasa, implied in its *abhivyakti*, which consists not in the expression of anything new but in the revealing of something already existing. The *brahmāsvāda* is likened to the *rasāsvāda* because in both cases the intimate realisation comes after the limitations of the ego-centric attitude are transcended, and all separate existence is merged in the unity or harmony realised. This happens in the case of *rasāsvāda* when the poetic sentiment, which remains in his heart in the form of latent impression, is made to shine forth, and the spectator's mind is purged of all egoistic impulses by the force of the idealised or generalised creations of poetry, consisting of the *vibhāvas* etc, which are therefore termed *vighnāpasārakas* or removers of obstacles. It is, therefore,

alaukika, being unlike the taste of interested worldly happiness and being incompassable by the ordinary processes of knowledge. Its essence consists in its relish or taste, *āsvāda*, *carvaṇā*, or *rasanā* ; but it is a relish in which the Rasa alone, apart from its constituent elements, is raised to consciousness. It is, therefore, described as a relish in which the contemplation of anything else but Rasa is lost (*vigalita-vedyāntara*), or which is free from the contact of aught else perceived (*vedyāntara-sparśa-śūnya*), like the state of mind lost in the philosophic contemplation of Brahma. It is not capable of proof or designation and cannot be made known, because its perception is inseparable from its existence; or in other words, it is identical with the knowledge of itself. The only proof of its existence is its relish itself by the *sahṛdaya* or the man of taste (*sakala-sahṛdaya-hṛdaya-saṃvedana-sākṣika*) ; and the *sahṛdaya* to whom alone this bliss is vouchsafed, is like the *yogin* or devotee who deserves this preference through his accumulated merits (*puṇyavantaḥ pramiṇvanti yogivad rasa-saṃtatim*)[41].

This, in its general outline, is the Rasa-theory as finally fixed by the Dhvani school ; and all later writers, from

41 The artistic attitude is, therefore, different from the natural, and more akin to the philosophic. But art affords only a *temporary* release from the ills of life by enabling one to transcend his personal relations or practical interests, and restores equanimity of mind (*viśrānti*) by leading him away from the common world and offering him another in its place. This is an attitude of pure pleasure, of disinterested contemplation (*saṃvit*), but not of true enlightenment which comes to the knower who, no longer on the empirical plane, transcends *completely* the sphere of pleasure as well as of pain. The attitude is variously termed *camatkāra-nirveśa* (awakening of poetic charm), *rasanā* (relish), *āsvāda* (taste), *bhoga* (fruition), *samāpatti* (accomplishment), *laya* (fusion) and *viśrānti* (repose), which terms indicate the philosophical colouring given to the doctrine. For the idea of *camatkāra* involved in Rasa, see S. K. De, introd. to *Vakrokti-jīvita* (2nd ed. 1928) p. xxxvi, fn 33 and below under Jagannātha (ch. vii). See also V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts*, pp. 268-71.

Dhanañjaya to Jagannātha, accept, more or less, this new interpretation and attempt to work it out in detail. Even Mahimabhaṭṭa, who tried to demolish the Dhvani-theory, acknowledges the importance of Rasa and declares that on this point there is no difference of opinion between himself[42] and the Dhvanikāra, the only difference existing with regard to the function *par excellence* which manifests the Rasa. Thus, an endeavour was made by the Dhvani-theorists not only to explain the concept of Rasa in terms of inward experience, but also to absorb this idea of aesthetic delectation into the new theory of Dhvani, and make it applicable to poetry as well as to the drama; and the Rasa school, properly so called, began to merge from this time onwards into the dominant Dhvani school, to the consideration of which we now turn, leaving the treatment of the later development of the Rasa-theory to a subsequent chapter.

42 *kāvyasyātmani saṅgini (aṅgini ?) rasādi-rūpe na kasyacid vimatiḥ*, p. 22.

CHAPTER V

THE DHVANIKĀRA AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

(*The Dhvani System*)

The origin of the Dhvani school, like that of other schools of Poetics, is lost in obscurity ; but the first clear formulation of its theory of *dhvani* as a whole is to be found in the memorial verses of the Dhvanikāra, whose date is unknown but who could not have been very far removed from the time of his commentator Ānandavardhana. It is possible, however, that the Dhvanikāra himself is following a much older tradition. The fact that he shows himself conversant with some theory of *rasa*, *alaṃkāra* and *rīti* need not be cited to the credit or discredit of this conjecture ; for these systems themselves cannot be traced back to any definite period of time, and there is also no conclusive evidence that the Dhvanikāra was aware of the particular views of Bharata, Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin, with whom we begin the historic period of growth of these systems. But the very first line of the first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* itself states that the theory that *dhvani* is the essence of poetry was traditionally maintained by earlier thinkers (*kāvyasyātmā dhvanir iti budhair yaḥ samāmnāta-pūrvaḥ*). Accepting this statement of the Dhvanikāra, it is difficult, however, to explain why the *dhvani*-theory did not in the least, as the *rasa*-theory did to a certain extent, influence such early writers on Poetics as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin or Vāmana. It is easy to maintain, on the other hand, that the *vyañjanā* as a function must have been evolved by the school which set up a theory of *vyaṅgya artha* or *dhvani*, as this function is not traceable in philosophers or philosophical grammarians before the time of Ānandavardhana. Bhāmaha[1],

1 See above ch. ii, pp. 52f.

Vāmana (iv. 3. 8) and other early theorists discuss or show themselves cognisant of such a 'suggested sense' in general ; but they never use the terms *vyañjanā*, or *vyaṅgya artha* or *dhvani*, as they probably would have done if it had been so universally known or accepted as the Dhvanikāra's statement would apparently imply. But this non-recognition by other schools need not be taken as a serious argument, as it admits of several reasonable explanations. It is well known that the philosophers refuse to recognise the *vyañjanā* as a Vyāpāra *sui generis*[2], and even after it was put forward by the Ālaṃkārikas, they would explain it by another recognised function as *anyathā-siddha* ; it is not surprising, therefore, that orthodox grammarians or philosophers should entirely ignore it. The absence of any direct reference to *dhvani* in early writers on Poetics may be explained by the not unlikely supposition that probably the Dhvanikāra himself, who summed up and uttered the theory in a definite form, was contemporaneous with these writers, as we cannot put him much later if we are to leave sufficient margin between him and his commentator, as well as make room for intermediate scholastic activity evidenced by the recapitulation-stanzas cited by Ānandavardhana in his Vṛtti[3]. Even leaving aside this conjecture, the cases of such non-recognition are actually explained by the Dhvanikāra himself, in the verse we have already cited, as constituting really cases of *half*-recognition ; for he seems to indicate that these early writers were cognisant of *dhvani*, but not having understood its nature they naïvely and uncritically looked at it from other points of view, some comprehending it in other elements of poetry, some thinking it incomprehensible, and others (like the poet Manoratha cited by Ānandavardhana) going to the extreme of denying its existence altogether. One of the objects of the Dhvanikāra in this statement was, no doubt, to indicate that he was not putting forward something entirely

2 See Jacobi in *ZDMG*, lvi, 1902, p. 397 fn 2, and p. 398 fn 1.

3 See vol. i. p. 108, and *BSOS* i, 4, 1920, pp. 7-8.

new, and to find an authority for his procedure in the implied attitude (real or imaginary) of certain older writers; but, apart from this, it is clear that although there is nothing explicit in the older writers, one can never affirm that some kind of 'suggested sense' was not known to them.

It would be extraordinary indeed that a work like Dhvanikāra's could have sprung into existence without having had a previous history, although such earlier forms of the theory as might have enabled us to trace directly its origin and growth were either not committed to writing or had disappeared in course of time; for at its first appearance as we have it in these Kārikās, we find the theory in a relatively complete shape, the outlines of which, definitely settled, may require considerable filling up but no important or substantial modification. This is probably implied by Abhinavagupta's gloss on the word *paramparā* in Ānandavardhana's explanation of the phrase *samāmnāta-pūrvaḥ* used by the Dhvanikāra with reference to the previous existence of the theory. Abhinava explains (p. 3) that the theory was stated in unbroken tradition by previous thinkers without its being discussed in particular books (*avicchinnena pravāheṇa tair etad uktam, vināpi viśiṣṭa-pustakeṣu vivecanāt*). It is true that Mukula refers (p. 21) to a theory of *dhvani* being newly described by some men of taste (*sahṛdayair*[4] *nūtana-tayopavarṇitasya*) as something not comprehensible by the recognised function of *lakṣaṇā*, and does not discuss it for its over-subtlety (*etac ca vidvadbhiḥ kuśāgrayā buddhyā nirūpaṇīyam...ityalam*

4 The word *sahṛdaya* here cannot be taken (see vol. i, p. 105f) as a proper name referring to the Dhvanikāra; nor is it to be taken as a title of the propounder of the *dhvani*-theory. As in most of the places, it refers in general to the critics or men of taste who established the new theory, or in particular to the Dhvanikāra or Ānandavardhana; and there is no need to go beyond this ordinary meaning of the term in Alaṃkāra literature. Possibly the reference is directly to Ānandavardhana who was a contemporary of Mukula's father Kallaṭa (see vol. i, p. 74).

ati-prasaṅgena) ; but he may in this passage be directly referring to the Dhvanikāra, who for the first time probably summed up in his memorial verses the floating traditions, or to Ānandavardhana to whom belonged the credit of fixing the theory into a new and complete shape.

This conjecture about the traditional existence of the *dhvani*-theory in some form or other even before the Dhvanikāra receives support from the fact that the theory in its essence derived its inspiration from the works of early grammarians and their semi-philosophical speculations on speech. Originating as a theory of expression, the theory of *vyañjanā*, no doubt, received no recognition from orthodox grammarians ; but not choosing to appear as an entirely novel theory, it sought the protection of the grammarian's authority by pretending that it was founded on the analogy of their ancient *sphoṭa*-theory. We have already noted[5] the great influence of the older science of grammar on poetics, and Ānandavardhana himself is careful in noting that the system demonstrated by him is built on the system of the grammarians, who were the earliest theorists to apply the term *dhvani* to the spoken letter which reveals the *sphoṭa*[6]. Abhinavagupta commenting on this passage, perhaps goes too far in following up, after the authority of the *Vākyapadīya*, all the details of the *sphoṭa*-theory, but there is hardly any doubt that the writers on Poetics had this theory before them when they

5 See vol. i, pp. 6-7.

6 *prathame hi vidvāṃso vaiyākaraṇāḥ, vyākaraṇa-mūlatvāt sarva-vidyānām. Te ca śrūyamāṇeṣu varṇeṣu dhvanir iti vyaharanti. Tathaivānyais tan-matānusāribhiḥ sūribhiḥ kāvya-tattvārtha-darśibhir vācya-vācaka-saṃmiśraḥ śabdātmā kāvyam iti vyapadeśyo vyañjakatva-sāmyād dhvanir ity uktaḥ* (pp. 47-8). See °*Locana* on this. Cf also : *pariniścita-nirapabhraṃśa-śabda-brahmaṇāṃ vipaścitāṃ matam āśrityaiva pravṛtto'yaṃ dhvani-vyavahāra iti taiḥ saha kiṃ virodhāvirodhau cintyete* (p, 199). In this last passage, the reference is not to Vedānta, as some would think, but to the grammatico-philosophical theory of *śabda-brahma*. See Jacobi's note on this passage in *ZDMG* lvii, 1903, p. 56 fn 1.

elaborated their own system of *dhvani*. The *sphoṭa*, which has been likened to the neo-platonic *logos*, is often translated by the terms 'expression,' 'concept' or 'idea'; but none of these terms brings out its essential nature. Some philosophers propounded and the grammarians took it for granted that a word has intrinsically a word-prototype corresponding to it. The *sphoṭa* is not exactly this word-prototype, but it may be explained as the sound of a word as a whole, and as conveying a meaning apart from its component letters (*varṇas*). The *sphoṭa* does not contain exactly the sounds of the word in the order peculiar to the letters, but the sounds or something corresponding to them are blended indistinguishably into a uniform whole. When a word is pronounced, its individual sounds become reflected in some degree in the order of the *sphoṭa* in which the particular sounds are comprised ; and as soon as the last sound dies away, the *sphoṭa*, in which the idea corresponding to all these sounds is comprised, becomes manifest and raises to our consciousness the idea thus associated. The sounds of a word as a whole, therefore, and apart from those of the constituent letters, reveal the *sphoṭa*.

Taking their cue from this somewhat mystical conception, the Ālaṃkārikas developed the idea of *dhvani* by analogy. The several expressed parts of a poem, they held, reveal the unexpressed deeper sense, which is something singular and different from the denotātive and indicative elements both in order and in essence, and which is termed the *dhvani* (lit. 'sound', 'echo', 'tone') or *vyaṅgya artha* (suggested sense) in poetry. The word *dhvani* itself, as Ānandavardhana pointed out, is sometimes used by the grammarians for the word or letters which reveal the *sphoṭa*. Mammaṭa's remarks in this connexion are pertinent. In his Vṛtti on the definition given by him of *dhvani* (i. 4), he says that the *dhvani* is, according to the grammarians, that word which reveals the all-important *sphoṭa*, inasmuch as through it arises the knowledge of the word's meaning. Others, by whom he signifies the writers on the *dhvani*-theory in Poetics, carry this doctrine of the gram-

marians a step further and apply the term *dhvani* to the meaning, as well as to the word which is capable of suggesting a meaning superseding the one which is directly expressed. Intrinsically the two theories have scarcely any mutual connexion; but what the Ālaṃkārikas really wanted was an authority for their assumption of the power of *vyañjanā*, which the great grammarians did not acknowledge. The *sphoṭa*-theory of the grammarians, however, presupposed something similar, for the *varṇas* of a word reveal, as it were, the ideal word. Hence it afforded an analogy which could at least boast of the authority of the Vaiyākaraṇas, the *prathame vidvāṃsaḥ*, and which could therefore be seized upon by the Ālaṃkārikas as the foundation of their own theory of suggestion. It may also be pointed out that the sense of 'manifestation' which exists in the *vyañjanā* is an idea which, we have already noted[7], is not unfamiliar to Indian philosophical speculation. The *vyañjanā* does not consist in the utterance of something new, but in the manifestation of something already existing; it is, to use a familiar illustration from Indian philosophical systems, like the revealing of the already existing jar by the lamp. Although the general concept of *dhvani* connects itself with such half-mystical currents of thought, Ānandavardhana yet takes care to point out (pp. 232-4) that this *dhvani* is not, as often supposed, something mystical but it is something that can be properly defined and grasped; and he has no sympathy with those schools which would dismiss it, as Kapila has dismissed the *sphoṭa* from the philosophical realm, on the ground that it is something inexplicable (*anākhyeya*).

Although it accepted, with some modifications, the grammarian's analysis of the nature and function of speech and based its theory of *dhvani* on the analogy of the theory of *sphoṭa*, the school really started independently with a distinct theory of expression of its

7 See vol. i, p. 9.

own, which demonstrated a function of *vyāñjanā* and *vyaṅgyārtha* untraceable in earlier speculative literature. But the influence of other schools of Poetics on the composite work on the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana cannot be ignored. The latter, if not the former, appears to be perfectly familiar with the views of Bharata, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Vāmana, most of whom are cited directly by name; but even the Dhvanikāra must have known the theories of the Rasa, Alaṃkāra and Rīti schools in some form or other. For, the *Dhvanyāloka* has two professed objects in view, viz., (1) the establishment of the theory of Dhvani and demonstration that this idea cannot be comprehended by the theories of earlier or contemporaneous schools of Poetics, and (2) an examination of the existing ideas of *rasa, alaṃkāra, rīti, guṇa* and *doṣa* with a view to correlate them with the idea of *dhvani*, and thus by synthesis to evolve a complete and systematic scheme of Poetics. It succeeded so far in realising both these objects that not only was the concept of *dhvani* accepted inplicitly by almost all later writers, but the systems, which emerged after Ānandavardhana and of which Mammaṭa may be taken as the first and foremost representative, cannot be regarded strictly as constituting independent schools, nor can they be affiliated readily and entirely with the older Rasa, Alaṃkāra or Rīti schools. They constitute in substance a new aesthetic scheme in which the ideas of all these schools are worked and harmonised into a comprehensive doctrine, the outlines of this new adjustment being first clearly marked and the foundations firmly laid by Ānandavardhana.

Starting with a theory of expression, the Dhvani school concerns itself, first of all, with the grammatico-philosophical problem about the function of words and their meaning, or in other words, about the relation of a word to that which is expressed by it. The grammarians, logicians and the Mīmāṃsakas had already laid down that the function by which the primary or intrinsic meaning (*mukhya* or *śakya artha*) of a word is known as *abhidhā*, generally translated by the term

Denotation, which gives it its conventional significance (*saṃketita artha*). Thus, the concept of the cow is given by the word 'cow' by its power of Denotation. It has been defined as that power of a word which conveys to the understanding the meaning attached to it by convention, without the intervention of any power. This convention (*saṃketa*) consists in a particular word conveying a particular meaning (*asmāc chabdād ayam artho boddhavya ityākāraḥ śakti-grāhakaḥ samayaḥ*), which is comprehended by observing what takes place in the world (*vyavahāra*). We need not concern ourselves with the question whether this *śakti* is *īśvarecchā* or *icchāmātra* (divine or human will) ; but there are several theories as to where this convention is to be understood, held respectively by the grammarians, logicians, Saugatas and Mīmāṃsakas. The writers on Poetics maintain, after the grammarians[8], that it has reference either to genus (*jāti*), individual (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*) or action (*kriyā*).

When this *abhidheyārtha* or the primary meaning of a word is incompatible, another power called *lakṣaṇā* or Indication (i. e. transference of sense) is communicated, whereby another meaning connected therewith is apprehended, either through usage (*rūḍhi*) or from some special motive (*prayojana*). Thus, one can say 'the country rejoices', but since the country itself cannot rejoice, it is indicated that the people of the country rejoice. This power really belongs to the sense (*artha-vyāpāra*), as later analysis points out, but it is attributed to words and is thus an *āropita-śabdavyāpāra*. That is to say (as other writers explain it) we have first *śabda* or the word, then its *vācyārtha* or direct denoted meaning, after which or in connexion with which comes the *lakṣyārtha* or indicated meaning through the power or Indication. It is thus *sāntara* (and not *nirantara* like *abhidhā*), having the

8 Both Mukula and Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vyāpāra°*, p. 2) point out that this view of the Ālaṃkārikas is based on the dictum *catuṣṭayī śabdānāṃ pravṛttiḥ*, occurring in the *Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn p. 19, l. 20).

vācyārtha coming in between ; for the *lakṣaṇā* is resorted to when the primary sense is incompatible (*bādhita*) and is so far *artha-niṣṭha* as based on the expressed sense[9]. Hence the three essential requisites of the *lakṣaṇā* are the incompatibility (or exhaustion) of the primary sense, the connexion of the indicated sense with the primary sense, and the reason or motive (*prayojana*) for resorting to it. As the Denotation is dependent on worldly convention (*vyavahārika saṃketa*). so is the Indication (as Mammaṭa points out) upon the special convention based on these three requisites ; and as there can hardly be any indicated or transferred sense without the primary sense, the Indication is sometimes called the tail, as it were, of Denotation (*abhidhā-pucchabhūtā*). In fact, writers like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as we have seen[10], would include *lakṣaṇā* under *abhidhā*, of which it is supposed to be an extension.

The *lakṣaṇā* being thus of a derivative nature, its relations to *abhidhā* have been summarised differently in different works. The *Nyāya-sūtra* gives an exhaustive list of the relations on account of which a word is used in a secondary or transferred sense for another (ii. 2. 63), corresponding to the *lakṣaṇā* of the Ālaṃkārikas ; but Mukula quotes the authority of Bhartṛmitra[11] who summarises them in a verse

9 *śakya-vyavahita-lakṣyārtha-viṣayatvāc chabde āropita eva sa vyāpāraḥ, vastuto'rtha-niṣṭha evety arthaḥ, tad uktam—'sāntarārtha-niṣṭhaḥ' iti*, °*Pradīpa*, ed. N.S.P., 1912, p. 27.

10 See above ch. iv, p. 124.

11 *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā* p. 17. The verse is also quoted anonymously in Mammaṭa's *Śabda-vyāpāra* p. 8, in *Kāmadhenu* p. 133 and in many other works. Abhinavagugta (°*Locana* p. 56) alludes to it, and discusses these five categories.—Mukula Bhaṭṭa's work consists of 15 Kārikās with prose Vṛtti. Its object is to examine the principle which should regulate words in their meanings. It includes Lakṣaṇā in Abhidhā, for it says that the functions of Abhidhā are twofold, direct and indirect, both of which lead to the understanding of the import of words. Mukula discusses Abhidhā only, but Mammaṭa on his *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya* establishes three distinct functions of words, of which the last is Dhvani.

into five categories, viz. *saṃbandha* (connexion), *sādṛśya* (similarity), *samavāya* (inherence), *vaiparītya* (contrariety) and *kriyā-yoga* (association through action). 'The fat Devadatta does not eat in the daytime' (*pīno devadatto divā na bhuṅkte*), 'the lad is a lion' (*siṃho māṇavakaḥ*), 'the herd-station on the Ganges' (*gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ*); 'this fool is a Bṛhaspati' (*bṛhaspatir ayaṃ mūrkhaḥ*) and 'in a great war thou art a Śatrughna' (*mahati samare śatrughnas tvam*) are given as respective instances of the usage. We need not further dilate upon these niceties of analysis, nor enter into the elaborate classifications of *lakṣaṇā*, but we may note here that the *lakṣaṇā* or transferred expression lies at the root of figures like metaphor and of metaphorical mode generally, which consist of the fancied transference of the qualities or action of one object to another. It has been pointed out that the transferred expression, resolving into the metaphorical, is the source of a particular beauty, because the special motive (*prayojana*) with which the poet chooses the transferred expression becomes realised along with it, without being directly or at all expressed. When we say, for instance, 'youth is the springtime of life', we mean to imply at once, without directly expressing it, the beauty, vigour or enjoyments of spring-time. The *prayojana* or motive, though unexpressed, is yet apprehended. This is supposed to be one of the reasons, as we shall see, why we should admit, besides Denotation and Indication, a third function of *vyañjanā* or Suggestion, by which something not expressed is revealed.

But there is a limited class of writers who postulate another function, called *tātparya* or Purport, which leads us to apprehend the connexion among the meanings of the constituent words in the form of the import of the whole sentence. This function conveys the connected meaning of the several words and therefore differs from *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā* which convey the meaning of a particular word, the *tātparyārtha* being manifested, not by word, but by a whole sentence, and therefore remaining distinct from the meanings

denoted or indicated by individual words The words have, according to this view, the power of denoting or indicating things and not the connexion (*anvaya*) among things, which is known not from the import of words as such, but from their relations of compatibility (*yogyatā*), proximity (*saṃnidhi*) and expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*). When the logical connexion or *anvaya* is thus known, a special sense arises which is called *tātparya*. Mammaṭa explains (ii. 1, Vṛtti) the position of these Abhihitā-nvaya-vādins, as they are called, thus[12]: "When the meanings of the words, to be hereafter explained, are connected in accordance with expectancy, compatibility and proximity, another sense arises, called purport, which has a distinct form and which, though not constituting the sense of words is yet the sense of the sentence—this is the view of the Abhihitān-vaya-vādins". The theory of this school is rejected by another school of Mīmāṃsakas, called the Anvitābhidhāna-vādins, who deny the necessity of postulating a special function like *tātparya*; for they hold that words have a power to denote not only things but also their purport or connexion along with them. To put it in another way, words do not express their sense generally but connectedly. In ordinary life, for instance, we first understand meanings from sentences, and words convey ideas not absolutely but relatively, i e., as having a connexion with one another. *Mutatis mutandis*, the theory would remind one of Berkeley's denial of abstract ideas.

The formulators of the *dhvani*-theory do not enter into these minute discussions but appear to recognise them implicitly, although most writers from the time of Mammaṭa (who deals with these questions in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* as well as separately in his *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*) start with a preliminary analysis of word-function ; and some later works like Appayya's *Vṛtti-vārttika* are devoted specially to the

12 *ākāṅkṣā-yogyatā-saṃnidhi-vaśād vakṣyamāṇa-svarūpāṇāṃ padār-thānāṃ samanvaye tātparyārtho viśeṣa-vapur a-padārtho'pi vākyārthaḥ samullasatīty abhihitānvaya-vādināṃ matam.*

subject. All writers from Ānandavardhana's time accept as a rule the *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, but they are not unanimous with regard to the *tātparya* as a separate function, which they take as included in the *vyañjanā vṛtti*, this being the third and most important function established by the Dhvani school as the theoretical foundation of *dhvani* or the 'suggested sense' in poetry. The *vyañjanā* or power of suggestion is generally defined as that function of a word or its sense by which a further meaning comes into being, when the other functions, viz. *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, are exhausted in their scope. Ideas or notions are what are conveyed by words through their powers of Denotation and Indication ; these, put together in a sentence, convey a complete thought through the supposed power of the sentence, styled Purport. Now, another power is postulated by which a deeper sense, the *vyaṅgya artha*, is revealed, consequent upon but distinct from the simple thought[13]. All good poetry, called *par excellence* the *dhvani-kāvya*[14], must have such a sense implicit in it, a sense which can only be realised by the *vyañjanā-vṛtti* or power of suggestion postulated by this school.

Now the question has been animatedly discussed as to whether it is necessary to postulate this separate function of *vyañjanā*, or whether it may not be comprehended in other recognised functions like *abhidhā* or *lakṣaṇā*, and in other

13 A word (or its sense), in virtue of these three powers, is called respectively the expressive (*vācaka*), the indicative (*lakṣaka*) and the suggestive (*vyañjaka*) ; and the sense which arises is termed respectively an expressed (*vācya*), indicated (*lakṣya*) and suggested (*vyaṅgya*) sense.

14 The word *dhvani* (lit. 'echo' or 'tone') is used almost synonymously (cf. Hemacandra p. 26) with the word *vyaṅgyārtha* (suggested sense), and sometimes wrongly as co-extensive with *vyañjañā*, which term properly designates the process manifesting it. The *dhvani-kāvya* is so-called because the *vyaṅgyārtha*, which predominates in it over the *vācyārtha*, is 'echoed' *par excellence* in this class of poetry. Viśvanātha (p. 198) explains the term etymologically thus: *vācyād adhika-camatkāriṇi vyaṅgyārthe dhvanyate'sminn iti vyutpattyā dhvanir nāmottama-kāvyam.*

intellectual processes like *anumāna* or inference. Jayaratha cites (p. 9) a verse which enumerates twelve different ways in which the problem of Suggestion may be and perhaps was explained away ; but broadly speaking, we need notice, as Ānandavardhana and his followers have done, only the principal attempted explanations. The first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* summarises these antagonistic views into three groups. One sceptical school entirely denies the suggested sense in poetry. A second school, which is agnostic in this respect, holds that it is beyond the province of words (*kecid vācāṃ sthitam aviṣaye tattvam ūcus tadīyam*), and can only be perceived by a man of refined discernment (*sahṛdaya-hṛdaya-saṃvedyam*, Ānanda p. 10). A third school would try to trace it back to the recognised functions like *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā* and *tātparya*, or to some such means of knowledge as *anumāna* or syllogistic reasoning. These three schools naturally divide themselves into two distinct standpoints: the one absolutely denies or ignores the concept of *dhvani* and thus does away with the necessity of *vyañjanā* ; the other admitting the *dhvani*, attempts to explain away the necessity of *vyañjanā*, as it is sufficiently accounted for by the ordinary recognised functions.

Against the attack of the systems which deny the existence of the suggested sense, the old argument that nothing can be denied which is not apprehended is applied ; but apart from such purely scholastic objections, the real grounds for postulating the suggested sense are, the consideration, in the first place, that being a profound verity, it can positively be established by an examination of aesthetic facts as well as facts of experience ; and in the second place, that there are some elements of poetry (e. g. the Rasa) which cannot be satisfactorily explained as revealed by *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā*, *anumāna* or similar other means.

This brings us to the consideration of the views of those who accept the concept of *vyaṅgya artha* but dispense with the necessity of such a separate and unauthorised Vṛtti as

vyañjanā, which is regarded as included in other functions of sound and sense. Some Mīmāṃsakas hold, for instance, that the so-called suggested sense is conveyed by the *abhidhā-vṛtti* or the denotative power of a word. In this connexion, the *dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādins*[15] are said to have maintained that as a single arrow, discharged by a strong man, destroys by a single movement, called velocity, the armour of the enemy, pierces through his body and takes away his life, so a single word, used by a good poet, brings before us by a single power, called *abhidhā*, the sense of the word, teaches us its logical connexion (*anvaya*) and makes us apprehend the suggested sense. The substance of this graphic description appears to be that such is the more and more expanding function of *abhidhā* that it is not to be measured in the balance and confined to the single business of making us understand the *saṃketita artha*, but it is competent to express whatever sense is apprehended after a word is heard. But it is urged in reply that the *abhidhā* has not the power to give us the perception of a matter (*vastu*), an imaginative fact (*alaṃkāra*) or an emotional mood (*rasa*), because it ceases, in the orthodox opinion, after conveying the conventional (i. e. literal) sense, and the Rasa etc. are not matters of mere convention. Nor is the denoting, for instance, of component *vibhāvas*, which give rise to Rasa, a denotation of the Rasa itself ; for it is acknowledged that the Rasa is not realised by a mere naming thereof but partakes of the nature of a self-manifested joy, the development of which can at most be suggested. These facts cannot be satisfactorily explained unless we assume with the *dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādins* an all-comprehensive power for the *abhidhā*, for which there is hardly any authority. Moreover, if we assign such extensive powers to Denotation, why even admit the power of Indication, since the sense conveyed by the latter might be understood from the Denotation itself ?

15 This view is sometimes ascribed to Lollaṭa ; but see on this question vol. i, p. 36-7.

Admitting the denoted sense, therefore, strictly as that conveyed by convention, it cannot be said to be manifold, for it exhausts itself after conveying the particular conventional concept ; the suggested sense, on the other hand, becomes varied in accordance with the diversity of the occasion, the speaker and similar other factors. The denoted meaning is shown to differ from the suggested (1) in point of *form*, for the suggested sense may sometimes be quite the opposite of the negative or positive (as the case may be) expressed sense, (2) in point of *location*, for the expressed sense resides in words alone, while the suggested sense may be found in the words, in their position, in their denoted meaning itself, in the affixes or suffixes, in the arrangement of letters and so forth, (3) in its *effect*, for the denoted sense brings a mere cognition, the suggested a surprise, (4) according to the nature of the speaker, the addressee, or the perceiver. The attempt to maintain that the suggested sense is conveyed by the *tātparya* or Purport, as some Naiyāyikas hold, is similarly shown to be insufficient ; for the function of the Purport is exhausted by simply making us apprehend the logical connexion of the ideas in the sentence itself and cannot, therefore, take us to the *vyaṅgyārtha*, which arises after the sentence is understood.

Nor is the *lakṣaṇā-vṛtti* sufficient to explain the subtle power of Suggestion. Those who maintain, however, that the suggested sense is no other than the *lakṣya* or indicated sense are asked (°*Locana* p. 51) whether they consider the non-difference of Suggestion and Indication to mean (1) that the two functions are identical (*tādātmya* or *tādrūpya*), (2) that they consider the Indication to be the constant differentiating property (*lakṣaṇa* or *vyāvartaka-dharma*) of Suggestion, or (3) that the Indication is an occasional differentiating mark (*upalakṣaṇa* or *taṭastha lakṣaṇa*) of Suggestion in special cases. The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana discuss these views generally (pp. 50-9), but Abhinavagupta deals with them somewhat elaborately.

With regard to the first of these views, viz. the *tādrūpya* or identity of *dhvani* and *bhakti* (by which term *lakṣaṇā* is meant), the Dhvanikāra lays down that Suggestion cannot be identical with Indication, because both have properties peculiar to themselves (i. 17). Indication is based upon the consideration of the barring of the expressed sense, and consists merely in *upacāra* (*upacāra-mātraṃ tu bhaktiḥ*, Ānanda p. 51), or, as Abhinavagupta expresses it, in the secondary application of a word (*guṇa-vṛtti*). The suggested sense, on the other hand, though essentially distinct in character, does not yet cancel the expressed sense altogether. The later writers[16] explain further that it is not a mere secondary application of a word through usage or special motive. For, if you say that in such a sentence as 'a herd-station on the Ganges', the supposed motive, viz. the coolness and purity of the site, is not suggested but indicated, then the notion of 'the bank', which is the real indicated sense, would become the primary meaning of the word 'Ganges' (for the motive and the secondary sense of 'bank' cannot both be indicated), and consequently would be cancelled, since there can be no Indication without the primary sense being cancelled. We must, therefore, acknowledge another indicated motive for the indication of the first motive (for there can be no indication without the supposition of an indicated motive), and a third motive again to this second indication, and so on *ad infinitum*. In fact, as already noted before, the *prayojana* or special motive is not expressed at all; if it is left unexpressed, how is it then apprehended, unless we suppose that it is suggested? It has also been demonstrated that Suggestion is based on the peculiarity of the speaker, the addressee and various other circumstances; and there is a difference as well in location, the Indication resides in a word only, the Suggestion in a word, its parts, its sense and in the style. Mammaṭa adds that Suggestion cannot be said to be co-extensive with Indication and Denotation combined;

16 e.g. Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* pp. 247-48.

for it is seen to come into existence from mere letters without any specific Denotation.

The second view that Indication is the *lakṣaṇa* or the constant differentiating characteristic of Suggestion is shewn by the Dhvanikāra to be vitiated by the logical fallacies of too wide (*ativyāpti*) or too narrow definition (*avyāpti*). This is more or less a scholastic objection, and is based on the characteristic notion of Suggestion defined by its champions ; for both Ānandavardhana and his commentator shew that Indication sometimes covers a much wider, sometimes a much more limited, field than Suggestion. The *vyañjanā*, for instance, is not accepted when the *prayojana* of the Indication is not charming ; on the other hand, in cases of *vivakṣitānya-para-vācya dhvani*, there is scope for Indication, for the Suggestion here is expressly based on Indication. The third view that Indication may be an occasional distinguishing mark (*upalakṣaṇa*) of Suggestion is not denied by the Dhvanikāra, for Suggestion may sometimes rest ultimately on Indication, e. g. those cases which are admitted by Dhvani-theorists as based on *lakṣaṇā* (*lakṣaṇā-mūla dhvani*) ; but this does not prove the opponent's position that Indication is identical with Suggestion.

Some of the oldest and most aggressive objectors to the admission of the *vyañjanā-vṛtti* are the adherent of the *anumāna*-theory, whose views are refuted at some length by Ānandavardhana himself. They are represented to us in later literature by Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyakti-viveka*, a work which was written with the avowed object of establishing that the suggested sense can be arrived at by the process of syllogistic reasoning. Most of these controversies belong to the realm of scholastic speculation and are far removed from actual Poetics. We shall deal with Mahimabhaṭṭa's theory in its proper place ; it will suffice here to set forth the theory in its general outline as it obtained in Ānandavardhana's time and notice the arguments with which it is sought to be disproved.

From Ānandavardhana's repudiation (pp. 201 f) of the views of this school, it appears that its essential position consisted in establishing that the cognition of the unexpressed or suggested sense is nothing more than the cognition of the object of a logical conclusion, so that the relation of the suggestor and the suggested is that of the syllogistic middle and major terms (*vyaṅgya-pratītir liṅga-pratītir eveti liṅga-liṅgi-bhāva eva teṣām, vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāvo nāparaḥ kaścit*). One of the alleged reasons for this assumption is that the Dhvani school itself admits suggestivity as depending upon the intention of the speaker, which intention is always an object of logical conclusion. Ānandavardhana, however, demonstrates that this does not affect the general position of his school. He shews that words have two different aspects, the one inferable (*anumeya*) and the other communicable (*pratipādya*). The first, consisting of intention (*vivakṣā*), may either be the wish to utter a sound or the wish to express an idea by a word ; the former, being a common characteristic of all animals, does not come within the sphere of speech. The communicable is something different from this, and consists of the idea itself which forms the object of the speaker's need of communication (*pratipādyas tu prayoktur artha-pratipādana-samīhā-viṣayīkṛtaḥ*). It may be either expressed (*vācya*) or suggested (*vyaṅgya*) ; for the speaker sometimes wishes to communicate the idea directly by its Denotation, or sometimes he wishes to do so in such a way that it is not conveyed directly in words. This last-named inner content, Ānandavardhana maintains, cannot be recognised in the form of a syllogistic conclusion, but can be by some other artificial or natural relation ; for words, in the form of a logical middle term, can convey that an unexpressed idea is the object of intention, but cannot convey the unexpressed idea itself (*vivakṣā-viṣayatvaṃ hi tasyārthasya śabdair liṅgatayā pratīyate, na tu svarūpam*). If the contrary is maintained, then, as every idea could be logically established, there would be no dispute about the correctness or falsity of an idea, any

more than about any other conclusion from a logical syllogism (*yadi hi liṅgatayā śabdānāṃ vyavahāraḥ syāt, tac-chabdārthe samyaṅ-mithyātvādi-vivādā na pravarteran*). It is only when the unexpressed takes the form of the intention of the speaker that it may be a matter of ordinary inference ; but the inner content of the idea itself, when unexpressed, can be communicated only by the supposition of another power like Suggestion ; for the natural mode of direct expression, as well as inference, is out of the question.

With the establishment, against such hostile views, of the suggested sense and the function of Suggestion in poetry, which is variously termed *vyañjanā* (revealing), *dhvanana* (echoing), *gamana* (implication) or *pratyāyana* (acquainting), we are introduced to the special doctrine of the system. The unexpressed or the suggested sense (*vyaṅgya artha*), to which the name *dhvani* is appled when it is predominant, is definitely posed as the 'soul' or essence of poetry[17], and poetry is classified into three kinds in relation to the suggested sense. The best kind, specifically called *dhvani-kāvya*, is supposed to be that in which the suggested sense predominates and supersedes the expressed. It is thus defined by the Dhvanikāra (i. 13):

17 But the verse i. 2, in which this view is set forth appears, when literally taken, to state that "the sense which is praised by men of taste and which has been established as the soul of poesy, has two subdivisions, viz. *vācya* or the expressed, and *pratīyamāna* or the suggested", implying thereby that the *artha* itself is the 'soul' or essence of poetry and that it includes the *vācya* as well, as one of its varieties. The Dhvanikāra, therefore, apparently declares that the expressed sense is also the essence of poetry, although this, as Viśvanātha objects, is opposed to his own statement in the first line of his work, which speaks of the suggested sense alone as the essence of poetry in accordance with the tradition of ancient thinkers. Abhinavagupta tries to reconcile these two apparently conflicting dicta by supposing that the real object of the Dhvanikāra in i. 2 is to distinguish between the *vācya* and the *pratīyamāna* sense, and not to establish both as the 'soul' of poetry. The objection is really over-fastidious ; for it can be easily shown that in the elaboration of the theory, the suggested sense alone is throughout taken as the *ātman*.

"The learned call that particular kind of poetry *dhvani* in which the (expressed) word and sense, subordinating themselves, manifest that (other suggested) sense"[18]. This is *par excellence* Suggestive Poetry, and therefore pointedly called *dhvani*[19]. The second class of poetry, in which the suggested sense is not predominant but subordinate, is called *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya* or Poetry of Subordinated Suggestion[20]. This Subordination consists in the suggested sense being either of equal or inferior prominence. It has been classified elaborately, if not logically, on the hint furnished by the *Dhvanyāloka* itself, into eight varieties, according as the suggested sense is (1) ancillary, (2) hinted by tone or gesture, (3) subservient to the completion of the expressed sense, (4) of doubtful prominence, (5) of equal prominence, (6) obscure, (7) unconcealed, or (8) not charming. That poetry, which is without any suggested element, is reckoned as the third and lowest kind, being merely 'pictorial in word' or 'pictorial in sense', and is called *citra* or Pictorial Poetry[21]. In it could be included all verse which, on account of sound or magnificence of pictorial representation, or some such mechanical means, flatter the ear and is considered worthy of admiration. Under it also comes the whole body of expressed poetic figures (*alaṃkāra-nibandho yaḥ sa citra-viṣayo mataḥ*, cited p. 221), which, containing no suggestive element, appeal by their turns of

18 *yatrārthaḥ śabdo vā tam artham upasarjanīkṛta-svārthau / vyaṅktaḥ, kāvya-viśeṣaḥ sa dhvanir iti sūribhiḥ kathitaḥ / /*. Here *tam arthaṃ* refers to *artha* defined in one of the pravious verses, e.g. in i. 4.

19 For the etymology of the word, see above footnote no. 14.

20 *Dhvanyāloka*, iii. 35.

21 Ānandavardhana describes *citra-kāvya* thus : *rasa-bhāvādi-tātparya-rahitaṃ vyaṅgyārtha-viśeṣa-prakāśana-śakti-śūnyaṃ ca kāvyaṃ kevala-vācya-vācaka-vaicitrya-mātrāśrayeṇopanibaddham ālekhya-pra-khyaṃ yad avabhāsate tac citram* (p. 220). Abhinavagupta derives the word in different ways: *vismayakṛd-vṛttādi-vaśāt...kāvyānukāritvād vā citram, ālekhya-mātratvād vā, kalā-mātratvād vā* (p. 34). In deference to Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa speaks of *citra* as the third and lowest kind of poetry; but Viśvanātha altogether rejects its claim as poetry.

expression alone (*vaicitrya*) and which are characterised by Ānandavardhana as mere *vāg-vikalpa*. Ānandavardhana makes it clear that the *citra-kāvya* is not really fit to be called poetry, it is an imitation or copy thereof (*kāvyānukāraḥ*); for, strictly speaking, there can be no poetry in which there is no suggestion. It is admitted by him, however, to the category of poetry, because the poets, who are unfettered in their mode of expression, have, as a matter of fact, been found producing poetry of this kind, in which there is no intention of developing a suggested sense, but which is wholly taken up with the object of bringing about a strikingness of sound and sense.

These three types of poetry are then elaborated and classified with somewhat minute and subtle ingenuity. In this treatment, we find the characteristic passion for reducing everything to a formula and the scholastic delight in indulging in fastidious refinements ; but at the same time there is a sincere effort to do justice to all the aesthetic facts, so far as they have been recognised, and to unify the various currents of ideas obtaining in different schools by synthesising them with the central principle of suggestion in poetry. We see throughout the speculations of this school an anxiety to protect itself from the reproach of being too theoretical, of ignoring or doing violence to facts ; and this anxiety made the theorists evolve a scheme which should not overlook the inherited stock of notions but find a place for them in a comprehensive system. We need not take the Dhvani-theory here in all its minute details, and go through the five thousand, three hundred and fifty-five subdivisions[22] of suggestive poetry, the object of which was possibly to mark out not

22 Viśvanātha gives this number. Vidyānātha in his *Pratāparudrīya* gives 1326 as the number of Śuddha varieties of Dhvani, which with Miśra varieties mentioned by him, comes up to a total of 5304. Abhinavagugta works out the possible number as 7420, and indicates that this number will increase infinitely if infinite varieties of Alaṃkāra are taken into account.

distinct classes, but distinct properties or circumstances. But we shall attempt to trace here briefly the effort made by this school to dispose of the already accumulated matter of Poetics, represented by the notions of *rasa, rīti, guṇa, doṣa* and *alaṃkāra,* into the *dhvani*-system itself, by means of different arrangements or classification of the idea of suggestion.

The true poetry, the *dhvani-kāvya,* is divided into two broad classes, viz., *avivakṣita-vācya* and *vivakṣitānyapara-vācya,* which two designations, clumsy as they are[23], respectively indicate their nature. In the first case, the expressed sense is not meant ; in the second case, it is certainly meant but ultimately amounts to something else, viz., the unexpressed, The first is obviously based on *lakṣaṇā* or Indication, which the poet employs with the conscious purpose of bringing the unexpressed into comprehension ; and the question involved is about words and expressions which are taken not in a literal but in a transferred sense. This poetic transference, as we have already noted before, is at the root of metaphorical expression generally, the importance of which both the Alaṃkāra and Rīti schools amply recognised and industriously examined, and which Daṇḍin specifically included in the *samādhi-guṇa,* and Vāmana treated under the special figure *vakrokti.* As such, therefore, it could not be very well ignored, and by including it, as the Dhvani-theorists did, in one of the principal divisions of good poetry, they rightly assigned to it a prominent place in the new system.

The second division of suggestive poetry, the *vivakṣitānya-para-vācya,* in which the expressed is meant but is made to resolve itself into the unexpressed, is obviously based on *abhidhā* or Denotation, and embraces the more important matter of Rasa, which has already been worked out by the

23 Mahimabhaṭṭa criticises both these terms, holding that the former is nothing more than a case of *bhakti* or *lakṣaṇā,* and the latter contains an inherent contradiction (i.e., if a thing is *vivakṣita* or *pradhāna,* it cannot be *anyapara*).

Rasa school in the sphere of the drama. Two possible cases of this division are enumerated, viz. (1) that in which the suggested is of imperceptible process (*asaṃlakṣya-krama*), i.e., where the expressed denotation brings the suggested sense imperceptibly into consciousness, and (2) that in which the suggested is of perceptible process (*saṃlakṣya-krama*). Under the first group comes the suggestion of *rasa* and *bhāva*, for it is made clear that these emotional states can be suggested only in this way. Under the second group are included the suggestions of matter (*vastu*) and of figure (*alaṃkāra*) by matter and figure in turns, based respectively on the power of word, or its sense, or both. Thus, the unexpressed, which is raised to comprehension by the suggestive power of a word, or its sense or both, can be an unexpressed fact or matter, an unexpressed imaginative mood which may be put into the shape of a poetic figure ; but in most cases—and these cases are of primary importance in poetry—it is an unexpressed emotional mood (*rasa*) or feeling (*bhāva*), which is directly inexpressible, but which can only be *suggested* by an expressive word or its sense. We have already seen[24] that the poet can at best directly express the three factors which bring about the Rasa, viz., the *vibhāva*, the *anubhāva*, and the *vyabhicāri-bhāva*, but not the Rasa itself as a mood which is inexpressible in its nature. At the most, we can give a name to it, e.g. we can call it love, sorrow or anger, but the mere naming of the Rasa in poetry is not capable of awakening the mood itself in the reader which consists of a self-manifested state of the mind. Therefore, with the denotation or description of these factors, the poet can only *suggest* the Rasa ; in other words, he can call up a reflection of the mood which the reader realises as a particular condition of his own mind[25]. The expressed factors, the *vibhāvas*

24 See above ch. iv, p. 130.

25 Abhinava explains (see above ch. iv, p. 132f) that the reader realises the feeling depicted because the artistic creations are generalised, and in this generalised form the reader realises them as his own, through

etc., are thus the suggestor or *vyañjaka* of the Rasa, which is the suggested or *vyaṅgya*. The suggested, no doubt, depends for its manifestation on the expressed (*vācyārthāpekṣa*), which consists of a denotation of the factors which suggest it, but it is in no way produced from it as an effect and differs entirely in essence. This suggestion is said to be 'of an imperceptible process', because the perception of the suggested Rasa by means of the various factors necessarily involves a process, but from its quickness the process is not perceived, like the process, as one writer graphically puts it, of the apparently simultaneous piercing of a hundred lotus-leaves placed one upon another. At the moment of relishing a poetic mood or feeling we are so absorbed in it that we do not perceive the process which suggests it, and this subtle suggestion may fittingly be described as one of 'imperceptible process'.

By the side of the *dhvani-kāvya*, the true poetry, in which the suggested sense is predominant, we have poetry of second-rate excellence, designated *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya*, in which the unexpressed plays a subordinate part, in so far as it serves to emphasise or embellish the expressed. Here was an opportunity of including some of the results of earlier investigations of the Alaṃkāra and Rīti schools, which indirectly recognised a suggested sense but comprehended it, consciously or unconsciously, in some expressed poetic figures. Thus, in *samāsokti* was admitted the apprehension of a suggested matter, in *dīpaka* of another suggested figure, in *rasavat* of suggested Rasa. But in all these cases the expressed sense is meant to predominate and constitute the charm of the particular figure, the suggested sense being there only to emphasise or embellish it. Thus, in the much discussed figure *rasavat*, which was recognised by old Poetics and which helped to smuggle in, as it were, the idea of Rasa into their systems,

a certain community of human feelings, and because the germs of the feelings already remain in a latent form in his mind.

the moods and feelings were supposed to have been roused, not for their own sake, but only to embellish the expressed thought. But this was not doing full justice to the fundamental significance of Rasa, and the point was bound to be re-examined. The Dhvani-theorists did not reject but justified this kind of poetry, in which the Rasa is suggested not directly but secondarily, and included it in their second class of poetry. The other important case of this kind, known to earlier writers, in which something remains unexpressed but is understood, occurs in very many poetic figures which depend for their charm upon another analogous figure involved in themselves. Thus, Vāmana thought that the *upamā* or comparison was involved in all figures, and Bhāmaha stated (in which Daṇḍin substantially concurred) that all figures, in order to be charming, presupposed an *atiśayokti*, which he took as being involved necessarily in what he calls *vakrokti* (in the sense of a poetic figure). Udbhaṭa assigned an apparently similar function to *śleṣa* involved in some figures. Since the *upamā*, *atiśayokti* and *śleṣa*[26] are themselves independent figures, they can be involved in other figures as something unexpressed or suggested by the latter. But as the expressed figure is here in each case prominent, and the unexpressed merely helps to bring out its charm, these cases, in the opinion of the Dhvani-theorists, may also be fittingly relegated to this second class of poetry. In the third class are included those cases where there is no borrowed charm of a suggested sense at all, and where the appeal consists in some striking mode of direct expression, as in those figures of speech, for example, which delight us by their turns of expression alone.

Thus, the suggested sense, or the unexpressed, has three different aspects ; it may either be (1) a matter or an idea (*vastu-dhvani*), (2) a poetic figure (*alaṃkāra-dhvani*), or (3) a

26 Udbhaṭa, however, is said to have held that when the *śleṣa* is involved in another figure, it predominates and dispels the apprehension of the figure itself.

mood or feeling (*rasa-dhvani*). The first occurs when a distinct subject or thought (a matter of fact) is suggested ; the second, where the suggested sense constitutes something imaginative (not a matter of fact) which, if expressed in so many words, would assume the form of a poetic figure ; and the last, where a mood or feeling, which is directly inexpressible but which can be suggested, is the principal element. The Dhvani-theory, therefore, comprehends three kinds of poetry which deal with the communication of a fact (or a thought), or of an imaginative, or of an emotional mood. Abhinavagupta points out[27] that this doctrine is not expressly taught in the Kārikās, but is clear from Ānandavardhana's treatment in his Vṛtti[28].

It appears, however, that both the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana put a special stress upon *rasa-dhvani* ; and in spite of the fact that the *citra-kāvya* or the lowest class of poetry is entirely devoid of it, it seems to afford the most weighty criterion by which a poem is to be judged. In a complete scheme, no doubt, the *alaṃkāra-dhvani* and *vastu-dhvani*, tacitly recognised by older writers and practised by the poets, must also be justified ; but the central question, which is carefully examined, is as to how a composition should help the Rasa to expression, for it is repeatedly laid down that neither the *alaṃkāra* nor mere narrative (p. 148) but the suggestion of *rasa* should be the guiding principle of the poet in his composition of word and sense[29]. In other words, the *rasa* appears to be the centre of gravity towards

27 *yas tu vyācaṣṭe—'vyaṅgyānāṃ vastavlaṃkāra-rasānāṃ mukhena' iti, sa evaṃ praṣṭavyaḥ—etat tāvat tri-bhedatvaṃ na kārikākāreṇa kṛtam, vṛttikāreṇa tu darśitam*, Locana p. 123.

28 e. g. *sa hy artho vācya-sāmarthyākṣiptaṃ vastu-mātram alaṃkārā rasādayaś cety aneka-prakāra-prabheda-prabhinno darśayiṣyate*, p. 15.

29 *ayam eva hi mahākaver mukhyo vyāpāro yad rasādīn eva mukhyatayā kavyārthīkṛtya tad-vaktyanuguṇatvena śabdānām arthānāṃ copanibandhanam*, p. 181 ; *paripākavatāṃ kavīnāṃ rasādi-tātparya-virahe vyāpāra eva na śobhate*, p. 221.

which everything else in a poem—*rīti, guṇa, doṣa* and *alaṃkāra*—should move ; and stress coming to be laid on emotion in poetry, the suggestion of Rasa came to prevail over other kinds of suggestion. No doubt, it is laid down in ii. 7 that the unexpressed, apparently in all its three forms, is the *aṅgin* or the principal element, and the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras are to be esteemed in so far as they rest upon it. But this all-important *aṅgin* is explained by Ānandavardhana practically with special reference to Rasa (*rasādi-lakṣaṇam*)[30], and the Dhvanikāra himself elesewhere discusses the merits of diction and the adjustment of words, letters and sentences with regard to their capacity of awakening the Rasa, a theme from which a theory of *aucitya* or propriety was evolved. Again, the Dhvanikāra lays down that the *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* class of poetry can become true poetry (*dhvani-kāvya*) from the consideration of its tendency, if any, of developing a Rasa (iii. 41). In several places, Ānandavardhana is so much carried away by his enthusiasm for Rasa that he goes almost near stating expressly that the Rasa is in fact the essence of poetry, as it is of the drama[31].

This borrowing from the Rasa-system—for the idea of Rasa, as Ānandavardhana himself says, was already well established in the drama by Bharata and others—fills the outlines of the Dhvani-theory with a fundamentally important aesthetic content, which was not yet fully recognised in the poetic art as it had been in the dramatic. And, in this sense, the Dhvani-theory has been characterised as an extension of the Rasa-theory. But in reality it was not an extension so much as a rearrangement ; for the Dhvani-theorists accept

30 The term *rasādi* should be interpreted to mean the *rasa, bhāva* etc. as the *aṅgin* ; but the word *ādi* might in every case be taken to imply strictly the other two kinds of *vyaṅgya artha*, viz. *vastu* and *alaṃkāra*, which would be as much of an *aṅgin* as the *rasa*, although such an interpretation is doubtful from the context.

31 *rasadāyo hi dvayor api tayoḥ* (=*kāvya-nāṭyayoḥ*) *jīvabhūtāḥ*, p. 182. See also the citations in fn 29 above.

the Rasa (despite the emphasis they put upon it) as only *one* of the aspects of the unexpressed in poetry. Neither the Dhvanikāra nor Ānandavardhana could, at least from the standpoint of theoretic consistency, explicitly make the suggestion of Rasa the exclusive end of poetry, inasmuch as the unexpressed may in some cases be a matter or an imaginative mood, although it can be shewn that their views practically tend to such a proposition and probably inspire later theorists to work out the thesis that the Rasa alone is the essence of poetry. The essentiality thus implicitly, if not explicitly, ascribed to Rasa by the formulators of the Dhvani-theory, is, however, expressed more definitely by Abhinavagupta, who appears to have attached little weight to mere theoretical considerations. The point will be dealt with later; it will suffice here to indicate that Abhinavagupta in many places expresses himself unambiguously that the Rasa is in fact the essence of poetry; and, admitting that the unexpressed may also take the form of Vastu or Alaṃkāra, he thinks that these two forms of suggestion terminate ultimately in the suggestion of Rasa[32]. We shall see that this opinion probably inspired the somewhat extreme theory of Viśvanātha that the Rasa alone constitutes the essence of poetry; but the considerations, which had wisely restrained the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* from expressing it in clear terms, could not, as Jagannātha's criticism of Viśvanātha's view shews, be easily put out of the way, and recognition was refused to any further development of the theory out of itself.

The Dhvanikāra's idea was probably to make his conception of poetry wide enough to cover those varieties of

32 *rasa eva vastuta ātmā, vastvalaṃkāra-dhvanī tu sarvathā rasaṃ prati paryavasyete*, p. 27. An almost similar view is expressed in his comment on the word *ucita* in Ānandavardhana's exposition of the Dhvanikāra's remark on the essence of poetry: *ucita-śabdena rasa-viṣayam eva aucityaṃ bhavatīti darśayan rasa-dhvaner jīvitatvaṃ sūcayati*, p. 13.

poetry which develop no Rasa, or, which develop it imperfectly, although his real leaning to Rasa possibly betrayed itself in a different end, from which theorists like Viśvanātha drew the inevitable logical conclusion. Nevertheless, we have here an honest attempt to do justice to facts ; not only to set forth what poetry ought to be but to establish the actual facts of poetry as they appeared to these theorists. They could not ignore the fact that the matter (*vastu*) or the imagination (*alaṃkāra*) played an important part in some kinds of poetry, although they were alive to the consideration that the emotion (*rasa*) was in most cases the important criterion. This attitude towards empirical analysis is also exemplified by the anxiety which made them never spare themselves the trouble of going so far as to classify the cases of the unexpressed into more than five thousand different aspects, taking into consideration all conceivable facts and circumstances, which can be made out by a careful analysis of the forms of poetic speech. This fidelity to facts did not also allow them to ignore the aesthetic ideas of earlier speculation ; for though these were found insufficient for explaining the whole problem, the concepts of *rasa*, *rīti*, *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* had to be examined and their place properly defined in the new system before it could be established as a complete scheme. One of the triumphs of this school was, no doubt, the admission of the old idea of Rasa to its full importance in the art of poetry, as in the cognate art of the drama ; but the school did not forget at the same time to harmonise the other important elements into its comprehensive theory.

The justification of the Rīti is shown to consist in its relation to the suggestion of Rasa, and it is recognised in so far as it serves as a means to that end. The Dhvani-theorists, however, dispense with the somewhat useless classification of the varieties of Rīti (iii. 52, Vṛtti)[33], the nature of which

33 The numbering of this verse is wrong in the printed text: it should have been iii. 47. It is correctly given in the 4th ed. (1935).

is not discussed by Ānandavardhana, but which, Abhinava points out, is explained by the position assigned to the Guṇas (*rīter hi guṇeṣveva prayavasāyitā*)[34]. The function of the Guṇas is justified only by their part in the development of the Rasa in the theme ; and from this standpoint, as we shall see presently, their minute classification is needless, Ānandavardhana admitting only three Gūṇas corresponding roughly

34 Abhinava says (p. 231): *yad āha—'viśeṣo guṇātmā'* (Vāmana i. 2. 3) *guṇāś ca rasa-paryavasāyina eveti hy uktaṃ prāg guṇa-nirūpaṇe 'śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ'* (*Dhva.* ii. 8, p. 79) *ity atreti.* Vāmana has laid down that the *rīti* is nothing more than a particular arrangement of words (*viśiṣṭa-pada-racanā*) and that the essence of this particularity of arrangement consists in the *guṇas.* The nature and scope of the *guṇas,* therefore, determine those of the *rīti.* Now the Dhvanikāra has pointed out in ii. 8f how the three Guṇas, viz. *mādhurya* (in *śṛṅgāra*), *ojas* (in *raudra*) and *prasāda* (in all the *rasas*) contribute to the development of the Rasas ; and his remarks regarding the Guṇas apply to the Rīti, which need not be taken separately. Roughly speaking, his three Guṇas correspond, therefore, to the three Rītis of Vāmana. Ānandavardhana speaks of the Guṇas as having *saṃghaṭanā-dharmatva* (p. 5), but this is probably only giving an exposition of the view of Udbhaṭa who, according to Abhinavagupta (p. 134), had held that the Guṇas are *saṃghaṭanā-dharmāḥ.* He might mean, as Mammaṭa does, that particular combinations of letters or compounding of words produce particular Rasas (see ii. 8f). No doubt, in iii. 5f, both the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana speak of *saṃghaṭanā* in connexion with the Guṇas ; but they define *saṃghaṭanā* as depending on the length or shortness of compounds (which would correspond to the definition of Rīti given by Rudraṭa). The appropriateness of the *saṃghaṭanā* depends on the ultimate object of manifesting the Rasa, as well as on the speaker and the theme. The question, therefore, resolves itself into a theory of suitability or propriety (*aucitya*) with regard to the disposition of words, letters and sentences, having a special reference to the Rasa (*rasa-niyama*), as well as to the theme in hand (*vācya-* or *viṣaya-niyama*) and to the temper and character of the speaker (*vaktṛ-niyama*). Ānandavardhana expressly lays down (p. 135) that the Guṇas are not equivalent to *saṃghaṭanā* (*na guṇāḥ saṃghaṭanā-svarūpāḥ*), nor do they depend on *saṃghaṭanā* (*na ca saṃghaṭanāśrayā guṇāḥ*) ; on the other hand, the *saṃghaṭanā* depends on the Guṇas. See S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 91-94.

to the three Rītis of Vāmana[35]. The relation of the Guṇas to the Rasa is further made clear by drawing a sharp line of distinction between them and the Alaṃkāras, which also serve to embellish poetic expression. Expanding the dictum of Ānandavardhana in his Vṛtti on ii. 7, the later writers explain that the Guṇas are the inseparable attributes of the Rasa[36] without which they cannot exist, and are defined in terms of their having *rasa-dharmatva, rasāvyabhicāri-sthititva* and *rasopakārakatva.* If we sometimes speak of them as belonging to a word and its sense, it is said in a secondary or figurative way (*upacāra*), and the old distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa* must be regarded in this light. The Alaṃkāras, on the other hand, belong essentially to *śabda* and *artha*, and through these means indirectly embellish the Rasa. Mammaṭa describes their nature thus: "Poetic figures, like alliteration, simile and the rest, are those which sometimes help the existing (*rasa*), through the parts or members (i.e. *śabda* and *artha*), just as a necklace and the like (do to the human soul)"[37]. The Vṛtti explains[38]: "Poetic figures are those which help the principal existing *rasa*, through the excellence of the parts, consisting of the expressor

35 A similar function is assigned to the *vṛttis* recognised by Udbhaṭa. See p. 142, and also Abhinava's remarks on pp. 5-6.

36 Ānandavardhana says (ii. 7 Vṛtti): "The *guṇas* depend on that sense which is the principal existing content (*aṅgin*) in the form of *rasa* etc. Those, again, which rest upon the parts or members (*aṅga*), namely the expressed word and sense, are considered to be *alaṃkāras.* The former may be compared to qualities like bravery, and the latter to ornaments like bracelet". Mammaṭa uses the term *acala-sthiti* (interpreted by Govinda as *apṛthak-sthiti*) to indicate the relation of Guṇa to Rasa.

37 *upakurvanti taṃ santaṃ ye'ṅga-dvāreṇa jātucit | hārādivad alaṃkārās te'nuprāsopamādayaḥ | |*

38 *ye vācya-vācaka-lakṣaṇāṅgātiśaya-mukhena mukhyaṃ rasaṃ saṃbhavinam upakurvanti te kaṇṭhādyaṅgānām utkarṣādhāna-dvāreṇa śarīriṇo'py upakārakā hārādaya ivālaṃkārāḥ. Yatra nāsti raso tatrokti-vaicitrya-mātra-paryavasāyinaḥ, kvacit tu santam api nopakurvanti.*

(word) and the expressed (sense), just as a necklace and the like add to the excellence of the soul through the adornment of a part of the body like the neck. Where there is no *rasa*, these end in mere strikingness of expression (*vaicitrya*) ; and sometimes when the *rasa* is existing, they do not help it". The Alaṃkāras, therefore, have only an indirect relation to the Rasa through their capacity of embellishing the expressed *śabda* and *artha*, and add to its excellence only secondarily. They can exist without the Rasa in the form of mere strikingness of expression (*ukti-vaicitrya*) ; and even when the Rasa is present, the poetic figures are not invariably necessary[39]. As to how the Alaṃkāra may sometimes help the Rasa, the question is discussed by the Dhvanikāra in ii. 19-20, and four possible circumstances are said to occur (1) when the poet, not dealing with it as the main point, intends its subordination to the main theme, e.g. the Rasa (*tatparatvena, nāṅgitvena*), (2) when he accepts or rejects it as suiting the occasion (*kāle graha-tyāgayoḥ*), (3) when he does not want to carry it out effectively to the end (*nāti-nirvāhe*), and (4) when accomplished effectively, it is still made subservient (*nirvāhe'-pyaṅgatve*)[40].

The comparatively subsidiary position thus assigned to the Alaṃkāra[41] must not, however, be taken to indicate any

39 This is explained by the following commentary: *guṇā rasaṃ vinā nāvatiṣṭhante: guṇā rasam avaśyam upakurvanti alaṃkārās tvavaśyaṃ nopakurvanti* ; *guṇā rasa-dharmā ataḥ sākṣād rase tiṣṭhanti, alaṃkārās tu na rase sākṣāt tiṣṭhanti kiṃ tu tvaṅga-dvāreṇa.*

40 Cf Hemacandra p. 17.

41 In Mammaṭa's much criticised definition of poetry, therefore, the Alaṃkāra is taken as an accident, not as an essential ; and though technically the phrase *analaṃkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi* is open to the objections brought forward by Viśvanātha and Jagannātha, the views of the latter on the point under discussion does not differ substantially from those of Mammaṭa. In Mammaṭa's definition there is no direct mention of *vākyārthībhūta rasa* or of the *vyaṅgya* sense other than the Rasa (which are there by implication), but the Guṇas and Doṣas are expressly mentioned. The explanation of these peculiarities of the definition must

tendency to minimise its importance, for Ānandavardhana himself admits that poetry depends on it for its operation (*kāvya-vṛttes tadāśrayāt*). But the Alaṃkāra is accepted only in connexion with the *aṅgin* or the principal element in poetry, which in most cases takes the form of Rasa; and Alaṃkāras, other than such, which are devoid of or unconnected with the suggestion of Rasa and therefore unpoetic, are in Ānandavardhana's opinion, mere *vāg-vikalpas*, and should be included in the *citra-kāvya*, which is no poetry but an imitation thereof. The authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* ignored these because their system had no place for them; but the poet may sometimes intend not to awaken Rasa or anything else unexpressed, but to produce mere strikingness of expression in the form of a poetic figure. Such cases, therefore, should be acknowledged and analysed. We shall see that followers of the Dhvani-system like Ruyyaka realised this deficiency in the treatment of the Dhvanikāra and tried to supply it by admitting the significance of such figures for poetry and analysing their content after the indication given by Kuntaka.

The view indicated above regarding the nature of the Guṇas necessarily dispenses with their endless multiplication and differentiation. Mammaṭa and his followers, accepting the standpoint of the *Dhvanyāloka* in this respect, admit only three Guṇas, viz., *mādhurya* (sweetness), *ojas* (energy) and *prasāda* (lucidity), out of the ten recognised since Bharata's time. They shew elaborately that these ten are either included in the three mentioned above, or else constitute mere absence of defects, while some of them are even positive defects. In fact, these three Guṇas are defined broadly enough to include most of the ten Guṇas of Bharata, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Thus, the *mādhurya*, found chiefly in the Erotic, the Pathetic and the Quietistic moods, is described

be sought in the historical development of these ideas in the earlier schools, and not in any attempt to invent an original definition. See below ch. vii.

generally as that excellence which brings delight (*āhlāda*) to the mind and makes it melt, as it were (*druti-kāraṇa*); the *ojas*, arising in the Heroic, the Furious and the Disgustful moods, is that property by which the mind is brilliantly expanded (*vistāra-kāraṇa*); while the *prasāda*, found in all poetic moods, causes them to pervade the mind (*vyāpti-kāraṇa*), like fire pervading dry fuel, or water pervading a pure piece of cloth. As they are related to the main poetic mood Rasa in the composition and made suitable to its particular kind, the classification, as given here, naturally proceeds on a psychological basis having reference to their influence on the reader's mind (so as to lead up to the particular mood), and supersedes the old differentiation resting on an adjustment of sound and sense. It will be also seen from the somewhat comprehensive definitions of the three Guṇas that the *śleṣa, samādhi* and *audārya* of older writers may be included in *ojas*, and the *artha-vyakti* in *prasāda*; while *saukumārya* and *kānti* are essentially the opposites of the defects of harshness (*pāruṣya*) and vulgarity (*grāmyatva*) respectively, and *samatā* or uniformity of diction may sometimes be a positive defect.

Consistently with this view of the Guṇas, the Doṣas or defects of a composition are recognised in so far as they are the repressors of the Rasa, as well as of the expressed sense. The Doṣas, therefore, convey a positive significance, like the Guṇas, in relation to the Rasa, in spite of the admitted fact that some Doṣas approach *guṇābhāva* (negation of Guṇas) and some Guṇas approach *doṣābhāva* (negation of Doṣas). The *punarukta* or tautology, for instance, is generally a fault, but it may sometimes be an excellence if there is an apprehension of the charm of the suggested Rasa through it. The justification of the distinction between invariable (*nitya*) and non-invariable (*anitya*) fault lies in the fact that in the case of some poetic moods, we can generalise the avoidance of particular combinations as being always damaging for the effect. Thus, the Dhvanikāra points out that when love or *śṛṅgāra*

is the principal suggested mood, one should always avoid faults like unmelodiousness (*śruti-duṣṭa*), although it is not a fault in the case of the Heroic or *raudra-rasa.*

The attempt, therefore, to estimate the worth of a poem by analysing two kinds of meaning the one explicit and the other implicit, and judging it by a reference to the latter rather than to the former, explains in a new light the nature and function of the Guṇas and Doṣas, as well as of the Alaṃkāras which were admitted by previous speculation, but over which there had been so much controversy. The explicit, or expressed word and sense, in which poetry is clothed constitutes its mere vesture, but this external or accidental feature alone appealed to earlier thinkers, whose attention was practically confined to the expressed *śabda* and *artha.* The Guṇas and Doṣas (along with the so-called Rīti), as well as the Alaṃkāras, are only certain forms of these, being merely turns given to *śabda* and *artha* in expression, and are justified as such. They cannot, therefore, be taken as essential, for they do not touch the essence of poetry which consists of the implicit or unexpressed meaning. But at the same time, they cannot be ignored because they are the means by which the unexpressed is suggested, the expressed word and sense being the *vyañjaka* of the deeper *vyaṅgya* sense. In classifying the implicit or the unexpressed, again, into communication of a fact (*vastu-dhvani*), or suggestion of an imaginative mood (*alaṃkāra-dhvani*), or manifestation of an emotional state (*rasa-dhvani*), the theorists recognised the truth that the essence of poetry may consist of fact, imagination or feeling as the predominant implicit factor, the outward expression being important as a means of pointing to this implicit significance. But it is also perceived that the emotional mood, which the poet succeeds in communicating to us, is of the highest importance in poetry ; and stress came to be laid on this emotional mood to the extent even of ignoring the imaginative or the realistic, and poetry came to have a deeper significance as a means of emotional realisa-

tion. This the Dhvani-theorists did by emphasising the *rasa-dhvani* in poetry.

This, in brief, is an outline of the new system which attempts to take into consideration all the known facts and dogmas and build a compact theory of poetry on their basis. But its chief merit consists in its elaboration of the most necessary and fundamental principle of all higher poetry, viz., the art of suggestion, which should lead the reader through diverse routes from that which is distinctly expressed to that which is left unexpressed. With the arrival at this point, one discovers the real significance of a poem and appreciates the taste or relish of the underlying poetic sentiment, which is in reality inexpressible. The ornamental fitting out of thought or word, as well as the literary excellences of structure or style, everything contributes towards this end. In this connexion, we must not mistake this suggestion to be a form of quiet hinting, or of absolute silence, such as we find in some modern poetic mystics, or that particular train of thought which holds that all things have their being in the unexpressed and resolve themselves into the indeterminable. Sanskrit poetry does not aim at leaving the unexpressed to be darkly gathered, nor does the theory of Poetics regard it as indeterminate. The unexpressed is bound up by means of definite links with the expressed, without which it cannot exist; but it is wrapped up in such a manner as to make it possible only for the initiated in the poetic hieroglyphics to comprehend it in its subtlety. The unexpressed is not understood by those who know grammar and lexicon, but only by men of taste and literary instinct who know the essence of poetry. It is the province of the *sahṛdaya*, the connoisseur, who is expert in discerning through the intricate meshes of veiled word and sense into the aesthetic relish of deeper significance, in which the pleasure of the beautiful is mixed up with the pleasure arising from the fineness of the problem itself.

This general scheme of Poetics outlined by the Dhvani

school, in spite of the loopholes that may be detected in the doctrinal edifice, is accepted as canonical by all important writers coming after Ānandavardhana. Here and there an isolated theorist arose who dared to question the general creed, but he was at once put down as a heretic and condemned to neglect and oblivion. The immediately following systems of the Vakroktijīvita-kāra and the Vyaktiviveka-kāra were, in spite of their able and ingenious efforts, unable to supplant the Dhvani-theory ; and, finding no strong adherents, themselves languished and died out. These views are taken notice of by later writers only for the purpose of refuting them. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, judging from the long quotations from his lost work in Abhinavagupta and others, seems to have made a greater impression ; but even he does not appear to have been very successful. All these writers, no doubt, accept the concept of a suggested sense, but when they endeavour to explain it in a different way, they could hardly find a patient hearing. Even Viśvanātha's attempt to push the theory to its logical extreme did not meet with universal approval. The labours, therefore, of all later writers, typified by Mammaṭa, consisted generally in working out the details of the Dhvani-theory and the scheme of Poetics standardised on its basis ; and they spent all their fine scholastic powers in refining and explaining but hardly in adding anything of abiding interest. No other work on Sanskrit Poetics has indeed exerted so much influence as the *Dhvanyāloka*, which brought to a focus the tentative efforts of earlier thinkers, and by its thoroughness and masterly exposition eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating, as it did, thoughts of generations of theorists even down to the present time.

CHAPTER VI

ABHINAVAGUPTA AND THE REACTIONARY SYSTEMS

(1)

Abhinavagupta

The importance of Abhinavagupta as a writer on Sanskrit Poetics lies in his learned exposition of the Dhvani-theory in his well known commentary on the text of Ānandavardhana ; and his erudition, reputation and influence as a great scholar and philosophical writer of his generation, no doubt, added weight to his championship of the theory, and contributed a great deal to its ultimate exclusive acceptance in later Poetics. His theoretical standpoint, however, does not differ, except in one material point which will be dealt with presently, from that of the formulators of the Dhvani-system ; and he may be fairly regarded as belonging to that group of faithful commentators who are more anxious to interpret than to incorporate new ideas into the system they comment upon. On the other hand, Abhinavagupta was also greatly interested in the dramaturgic work of Bharata and wrote an elaborate and stupendous commentary on this encyclopaedic text. From this interest in dramaturgy, we have seen[1], he came to be deeply interested in the various theories about the origin and function of Rasa, not only in the drama but also in poetry ; and one of the latest and most important theory on Rasa is directly associated with his name by Mammaṭa, Hemacandra and others. In expounding this theory, he tried to explain clearly how the *vyakti* or *vyañjanā* of the Dhvani-theorists could be applied to the case of the manifestation of Rasa, thus correlating the Rasa-

1 See ch. iv, p. 128.

doctrine with the Dhvani-theory. He defined the concept of Rasa and its place in poetic theory, and furnished a brilliant aesthetic explanation of a phenomenon which had already taxed the ingenuity of many a previous thinker on the subject.

Having realised the importance of Rasa in poetry, Abhinava, however, went a step further than the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana in boldly setting it up as the only essence or aesthetic foundation of poetry, a view which has greatly influenced all later speculation on the subject. From the earlier drama and dramatic theory the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* had admittedly worked up the idea of Rasa into poetry and poetic theory ; but as the emotional mood in poetry, which the fact of Rasa emphasises, came to be more and more prominent, the Rasa stood out more and more in relief as its essential aesthetic basis. We have seen[2] that Abhinava's predecessors in the Dhvani school consider Rasa only as one of the elements of the unexpressed, which may take other forms in the shape of an unexpressed matter (*vastu*) or an unexpressed imaginative mood (*alaṃkāra*). No doubt, their theory puts great emphasis on the *rasa-dhvani* or suggestion of Rasa in poetry ; but both the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana are yet careful in taking into account other kinds of suggestion and do not, as they could not, erect the Rasa into the very 'soul' of poetry. No doubt, it may be thought that they show a decided partiality to *rasa*, which would practically lead to a conclusion of its essentiality ; but they could not, having regard to theoretical consistency give exclusive preference to it ; for in their complete scheme of Poetics the *rasa-dhvani*, which is only one of the three forms of the unexpressed, plays as much part as the *vastu-* and *alaṃkāra-dhvani*. They had to recognise that the centre of gravity in a poem may lie in its material and its imagination, as much as in its emotional element. Abhinavagupta appears to have attached little weight to these theoretical considera-

2 See ch. v, p. 166.

35

tions, which had restrained his predecessors from explicitly stating what they practically implied ; and brushing them aside, he carries their theory to its utmost logical consequence by declaring the essentiality of Rasa (*rasenaiva sarvaṃ jīvati kāvyaṃ*), without which, in his opinion, there could be no poetry (*na hi tac chūnyam*, i. e. *rasa-śūnyam*, *kāvyaṃ kiṃcid asti*, p. 65). He attempts, however, to explain the theoretical discrepancy by saying that the two other aspects of suggestion, concerned respectively with *vastu* and *alaṃkāra*, resolve themselves ultimately into the suggestion of *rasa*, which is in fact the essence of poetry (*rasa eva vastuta ātmā, vastvalaṃkāra-dhvanī tu sarvathā rasaṃ prati paryavasyete*, p. 27). This opinion, no doubt, influenced the view of later thinkers to a great extent ; for, although Mammaṭa carefully follows the cautious attitude of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, Viśvanātha, developing their theory (after Abhinavagupta) further out of itself, pushes it to its extreme limit and builds up his own scheme of Poetics on the basis of the theory that poetry consists of a sentence of which the 'soul' is Rasa (*vākyaṃ rasātmakaṃ kāvyam*). But we shall see that the considerations which led the Dhvanikāra and his commentator to leave their view on this point wisely unstated could not be easily put out of the way, and they are repeated substantially by Jagannātha in his criticism of Viśvanātha's view. All later writers, however, agree in thinking that the *rasa-dhvani* is certainly the most important point for consideration in poetry ; and even if they do not explicitly state with Abhinava that the *vastu-* and *alaṃkāra-dhvani* resolve ultimately into *rasa-dhvani*, they yet show a decided partiality to the latter element.

This, in brief, is the general position of Abhinavagupta as a champion of the new system established by Ānandavardhana. The final dominance of this system in later speculation is due not only to the intrinsic worth of the theory itself and its masterly formulation by Ānandavardhana, but also probably to the authority which Abhinava's exposition as well as his

reputation lent to it. We find in the immediate followers of the system, however, not the extreme position of Abhinavagupta, but the theory and the scheme as finally outlined by Ānandavardhana. With Ānandavardhana, the Dhvani-theory, which was itself ancient, came to prevail; but with him also was evolved a more or less complete scheme of Poetics in which the divergent gleams of earlier thought and the accumulated stock of recognised ideas meet and are rationally adjusted. This scheme, with the concept of *dhvani* (especially *rasa-dhvani*) at its centre, was summed up and uttered in the concise form of a systematic text-book by Mammaṭa, another Kashmirian, whose influence perhaps was not less potent than that of Abhinavagupta in raising it to almost exclusive authority in later times. This system, which for convenience we have called the Dhvani-system, absorbed and overshadowed all previous schools and systems, and came to reign supreme, only to be improved in detail by the large crowd of its followers who form the bulk of post-dhvani writers on Poetics. Jagannātha, one of the latest writers of this group, very aptly remarks, therefore, that the authors of *Dhvanyāloka* settled the path to be followed by later writers on Poetics (*dhvanikṛtām ālaṃkārika-saraṇi-vyavasthāpakatvāt*, p. 425).

But it must not be supposed that the theory or system of Dhvani could obtain universal acceptance without some vigorous opposition. Before we take up the post-dhvani followers of Ānandavardhana, it will be necessary to consider here some of the reactionary writers who either follow and develop other traditions of thought, or who refuse to acknowledge the new theory. Adherents of other schools, such as Pratīhārendurāja (pp. 79f) who commented on Udbhaṭa, or Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla (p. 72) who commented on Vāmana, carry on the older tradition and do not fail to criticise the new theory. Says Mukula, Pratīhārendurāja's Guru: *lakṣaṇā-mārgāvagāhitvaṃ tu dhvaneḥ sahṛdayair nūtanatayopavarṇitasya vidyata iti...etac ca vidvadbhiḥ kuśāgrīyayā buddhyā nirūpaṇīyam, na tu jhagity evāsūyitavyam ity alam ati-*

prasaṅgena (p. 21). But more hostile opposition or attack came from some really thoughtful writers who urged new systems, or new explanations of the Dhvani-theory in terms of old ideas. Most of these theorists lived near enough in time to Abhinavagupta ; and coming later than the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*, they accept or show themselves cognisant of the general concept of *dhvani*, but attempt to formulate other explanations of it. All of them, however, agree that the *vyañjanā vṛtti* need not be postulated or proved for explaining the suggested sense of poetry, and conservatively maintain that the suggested sense can be reached from the expressed sense by some of the recognised means or processes of knowledge (e. g. *anumāna*). None of these writers, therefore, is what the Dhvanikāra would call an *abhāva-vādin*, i.e., none of them would deny the existence of Dhvani, but they would try to explain it in terms of already recognised concepts or processes. These theorists are: Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who probably preceded Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka who was probably the latter's contemporary, and Mahimabhaṭṭa who was either a younger contemporary or lived immediately after Abhinavagupta. It will also be convenient to take up in this connexion the school of opinion represented by the writer on Poetics in the *Agni-purāṇa* and by Bhoja, which stands in many respects apart from the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana and which appears to have been entirely untouched by the implications of the Dhvani-theory.

(2)

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

It is unfortunate that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* is now lost. From the citations of Abhinavagupta and others, the conjecture is likely that it was not a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*[3] but an independent work written in prose and verse (i.e., with verse-*kārikā* and prose-*vṛtti*) and

3 See vol. i, pp. 40f.

resembling Mahimabhaṭṭa's later *Vyakti-viveka* written in the same style and with the same object. Like the latter work, it was composed, if not for establishing a new theory of Poetics, at least for controverting the position of the *Dhvanyāloka* and formulating a different explanation of Dhvani, especially of *rasa-dhvani*. When Mahimabhaṭṭa later on took upon himself the task of "demolishing" the Dhvani-theory, he boasted at the outset of his elaborate attack that he had composed his *Vyakti-viveka* without looking into the *Darpaṇa*[4] (presumably *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, as explained by his commentator), which was therefore obviously written with the same object of *dhvani-dhvaṃsa*. No doubt, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was one of the four writers (mentioned by Abhinava, Mammaṭa and others) who formulated explanations of Bharata's original *sūtra* on Rasa ; but this in itself is no reason to take him as a commentator on Bharata's text[5].

4 It is curious that Mahimabhaṭṭa says that in composing his own work he has not also looked into the *Candrikā*, which was apparently an adverse commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*. It is probably the same work as is referred to and criticised frequently by Abhinavagupta in his °*Locana* and as, he says, was composed by one of his ancestors. Abhinava's references and criticism also confirm the idea that it criticised the text of the *Dhvanyāloka* adversely on many points. This *Candrikā* is also apparently cited by Māṇikyacandra and Someśvara in their commentaries on Mammaṭa. See vol. i, p. 101.

5 The question has been already discussed by us in vol. i p. 40. There is a passage, already referred to by us, in the *Abhinava-bhāratī* ch. i, which appears (see Sovani's article on the Pre-dhvani Schools in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 390 ; *contra* in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 450-52) to indicate that the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* was a commentary on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. The passage runs thus (commenting on *brahmaṇā yad udāhṛtam* in Bharata i. 1): *bhaṭṭa-nāyakas tu brahmaṇā paramātmanā yad udāhṛtaṃ kṛta-nidarśanaṃ.........tad anena pāramārthikaṃ prayojanam uktam iti vyākhyānaṃ hṛdaya-darpaṇe paryagrahīt*. This passage is indeed important, for the *relevancy* of any comment on Bharata i, 1, is difficult to explain in a work which *ex hypothesi* is not a commentary on the text. But it appears to militate against those references to and passages from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work (prose as well as verse) which Abhinava cites and criticises in his °*Locana* (pp. 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 27,

On the other hand, Abhinava's references in °*Locana* make it reasonably clear that the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, like the *Vyakti-viveka*, had the special object of criticising in detail the text of the *Dhvanyāloka* as well as its theory ; and its discussion of Rasa might have come in topically in connexion with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's general views regarding poetry and poetic expression.

The question, however, cannot be definitely settled so long as we get only glimpses of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views set forth in the brief exposition and adverse criticism of Abhinava and others. We have already considered at some length Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views regarding the origin and function of Rasa in poetry[6]. We have seen that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka regards *rasa-carvaṇā* as the essence of poetry, but he is apparently not prepared to accept the function of *vyañjanā* as its means of manifestation[7]. It is possible that he admits a suggested sense, as he accepts

28, 29, 33, 63, 67-68) and which consist mostly of direct criticism of the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Either of two explanations is possible: (1) that the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* was in fact a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's criticism of the *Dhvanyāloka* might have constituted incidental discussions in it. But this does not explain the presence of *verses* in it, which later writers, including Abhinavagupta, quote from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in their exposition of his views ; or (2) that it was an independent work in prose and verse, consisting of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's propounding of his own views in opposition to those of the *Dhvanyāloka* ; and the discussions of Rasa-theory and of Bharata's text are not altogether inexplicable, as they might have been topical in connexion with his general theory. This latter explanation, which we have already discussed vol. i, seems to be more likely.

6 See ch. iv, pp. 123f.

7 Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's objection to the *abhivyakti*-theory is thus summarised by Abhinavagupta (°*Locana* p. 68): "If the potentially existing *śṛṅgāra* is supposed to be manifested by *abhivyakti*, then it would occupy its field of action in diverse degrees (*viṣayārjana-tāratamya-pravṛttiḥ*), i.e., thus contradicting the nature of Rasa as one. There would also be the difficulty mentioned before, namely, whether the Rasa is manifested as existing in oneself or in another person."

the suggestion of Rasa as the essence of poetry (*rasa-dhvanis tu tenaivātmatayāṅgīkṛtaḥ*, °*Locana* p.15) ; but from Abhinava's twitting him on this score it is probable that he denied *vastu-dhvani* (*kiṃ tu vastu-dhvaniṃ dūṣayatā rasa-dhvanis tad anugrāhakaḥ samarthyata iti suṣṭhutarāṃ dhvani-dhvaṃso'yam*, p. 20). Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka maintains in a verse attributed to him by Abhinava (p. 27), Hemacandra (p. 4), Māṇikyacandra (p. 4) and Jayaratha (p. 9) that the distinction between various kinds of literary composition lies in the fact that in the Śāstra *śabda* predominates, *artha* in the Ākhyāna (=probably *itihāsa*), while in the Kāvya, both *śabda* and *artha* are subordinated (*guṇībhūta* or *nyagbhāvita*). Elsewhere he is represented by Abhinava (p. 68) as saying that the verbal composition (*śabda*) which makes up poetry is different from other species of verbal composition by the fact that it possesses three elements. Of these elements, *abhidhā* or Denotation belongs to the province of expressed meaning, *bhāvakatva* or power of generalisation to that of Rasa, and the *bhojakatva* or the power of enjoyment to the appreciating audience ; thus we have three functions attributed to the three elements of poetry. If Denotation, among these, is taken by itself (i.e. without the other two), then what is the essential difference, he asks, between the poetic figures and the dogmas which form the method of Śāstras? Or, if this manifold distinction of functions is without importance (metaphorically as well as intrinsically), then why avoid faults like unmelodiousness (*śruti-duṣṭa*)? These considerations, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka thinks, would give us the second function, viz. *bhāvakatva*, by which generalisation is accomplished of poetry as well as of its factors (*vibhāvas*). It is on account of this function that *abhidhā* or Denotation is also Indication (*lakṣaṇā*), i.e., the Denotation can give to the expressed sense a secondary or metaphorical significance as the basis of Rasa. After the Rasa is thus generalised (*bhāvita*), comes its enjoyment or *bhoga* which, we have seen, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka represents, after the Sāṃkhya philosophers, as a process of distinterested

contemplation akin to the philosophic contemplation of Brahma.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka thus postulates a function of *bhoga*, beyond those of *abhidhā* and *bhāvakatva*, inherent in poetry, in order to explain the working of Rasa. He seems to imply that the Rasa, which the Dhvani-theorists would take as the suggested emotional sense of poetry, is, in his opinion, purely *sva-saṃvedya* and therefore transcending definition. In other words, he belongs to that class of objectors to the Dhvani-theory regarding whom the Dhvanikāra says that they do not deny *dhvani* but think that its essence lies beyond the province of words (i. 1c). In a verse attributed Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka by Abhinava (pp. 15, 11) and Jayaratha (p. 9), he speaks of *kāvyāṅgatva* and not *kāvya-rūpatā*[8] of what is known as *dhvani* ; a statement which would indicate that having assumed the concept, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's object was to establish an explanation different from that of the Dhvani-theorists. Ruyyaka thinks that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka would regard what is called *vyaṅgya-vyāpāra* to be an element (*kāvyāṃśatva*) and not an essence of poetry, being reached by the bold utterance of the poet (*prauḍhokti*). In this sense, the *kavi-karman* or act of imagination on the part of the poet (indicated by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as Jayaratha points out, by the word *vyāpāra*), which makes *śabda* and *artha* subservient to itself, is the most important thing in poetry ; a view which approximates Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory to that of Kuntaka, who makes *kavi-karman* the source of what he calls *vakrokti* in poetry.

(3)

Kuntaka

Kuntaka, author of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, on the other hand, had no direct intention of attacking or disproving the Dhvani-

8 Read in the verse *kāvyāṅgatvaṃ na rūpatā*, as given by the reading of MS *ga* indicated in °*Locana* p. 15.

theory. He appears to have accepted the fact of a suggested sense in poetry but, following the tradition of Bhāmaha's *vakrokti*, he develops a system of *vakrokti* of his own, in some aspects of which he includes all ideas of *dhvani* and *rasa*. Nearly the whole of his long lost work has been recently recovered, and a part of it (chs. i, ii and a part of iii) has been published by the present writer[9]; it is now possible, therefore, to depend no longer on the references to Kuntaka in later literature for an account of his views, but gather it independently from his own statements[10].

The central idea in Kuntaka is that the *vakrokti* is the essence (*jīvita*) of poetry ; and by Vakrokti he understands a certain striking or charming (*vicitra*) mode of expression (*vinyāsa-krama*), which is different from or excels the common or matter-of-fact expression of words and ideas in the Śāstras and the like (*śāstrādi-prasiddha-śabdārthopanibandha-vyatireki*). It is, therefore, a deviation from the established mode of speech for the purpose of attaining a certain strikingness (*vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*), or an imaginative turn of words and ideas (*bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti* or *bhaṇiti-prakāra*) peculiar to poetry, and abhorrent of common speech in which facts are more or less simply stated. This is the *vakratva* or *vakra-bhāva* underlying all poetic speech. A distinction, therefore, is implied not only between the method of the sciences and the scriptures (*śastrādi*), on the one hand, and that of poetry, on the other, but also between what may be called the "naturalistic" and the "artistic" mode of expression[11].

Kuntaka, therefore, holds that *sālaṃkṛta śabda* and *artha* or embellished word and sense alone constitute poetry, and this embellishment consists of Vakrokti. The so-called embellishments, which go by the name of poetic figures

9 In the Calcutta Oriental Series, 2nd revised and enlarged ed. 1928. The work consisted probably of four chapters. See vol. i. p. 128 above.

10 An account of Kuntaka's theory of poetry is given in the introduction to the above edition, which see for detailed references.

11 See above ch. ii, pp. 48-49.

(*alaṃkāras*) in orthodox Poetics, are merely aspects of this Vakrokti, and can be properly included in its comprehensive scope. So can also the ideas of *dhvani* and *rasa*. This Vakrokti being the only possible *alaṃkāra* and being essential as such, Kuntaka finds fault with the common statement that the *alaṃkāra* belongs to poetry ; for such a statement would imply that poetry may exist without it (i. 7, 11).

Kuntaka then explains that the Vakrokti charms us by the skill of the poet, and is therefore called *vaidagdhya-bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti*[12]. It rests ultimately on the conception (*pratibhā*) of the poet, or on his skill (*kauśala*), or on an act of imagination on his part, which is termed *kavi-vyāpāra* or *kavi-karman*. Kuntaka does not exactly define this *kavi-vyāpāra*, which is the ultimate source of poetry, perhaps because he is conscious of the fact that it is in its nature undefinable ; but he analyses it elaborately, and distinguishes and classifies its function in six different spheres, namely, in the arrangements of letters (*varṇa*), of the substantive and terminal parts of a word (*pada-pūrvārdha* and *pada-parārdha*), of a sentence (*vākya*), of a particular topic (*prakaraṇa*), and of the composition as a whole (*prabandha*). He devotes

12 The word *vidagdha* is used in opposition to the word *vidvat* to signify a man versed in *belles-lettres* as distinguished from a scholar ; and the *Dhvanyāloka* often speaks of an appeal to *vidagdha-vidvat-pariṣad* (pp. 201, 239). Avantisundarī is cited in *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* p. 46 as saying *vidagdha-bhaṇiti-bhaṅgī-nivedyaṃ vastuno rūpaṃ na niyata-svabhāvam*. The *vaicitrya* is discussed by Ānandavardhana at p. 243, in which connexion he uses the term *bhaṇiti-kṛtam vaicitrya-mātram*. Abhinava speaks of infinite variety of *upamā-vicchitti* (*upamā-vicchitti-prakārāṇām asaṃkhyatvāt*, °*Locana* p. 5), and uses it also synonymously with *cārutva* (p. 8). It would appear from the verse quoted by Ānanda-vardhana at p. 130, the word *vicchitti*, used in this sense in poetic theories, is applied analogically from the same word used to signify a certain feminine charm or elegance derived from carelessness in dress and decoration (Bharata xxii. 16). See on this point Haricand Sastri, *L'art poétiqne de l'Inde* pp. 64-65. The word *bhaṅgī* in the sense of a turn of expression is used in *Dhva*° pp. 139, 241, Etymologically it appears to have the same meaning as *vicchitti*.

nearly the whole of his work, with the exception of the introductory portion of the first chapter, to the definition, classification and illustration of these varieties of *kavivyāpāra-vakratā*, which thus form the different categories into which poetic speech may be analysed.

It is clear from this brief exposition that Kuntaka cannot admit as poetry a composition involving mere *svabhāvokti*, which he takes to be plain description without the requisite strikingness; and he consequently develops Bhāmaha's indication that a kind of *atiśaya* is involved in *vakrokti-vaicitrya*. This *atiśaya*, if it is taken in the sense of the *lokātikrānta-gocaratā* of Bhāmaha's *atiśayokti*, would imply a kind of heightened charm of expression which is *lokottara* or dissociated from personal interests and relations. The dissociation, therefore, which is supposed in the artistic attitude involved in the relish of Rasa[13], is also implied in Vakrokti; and on this point Kuntaka appears to agree with the main position of the Rasa-theorists. Kuntaka also thinks that the ultimate test of this *lokottara vaicitrya* is *tadvidāhlāda* or pleasure of the appreciating *sahṛdaya*, who plays here apparently the same part as he does in the Rasa-theory or in poetic theories generally. It seems, therefore, that the exponents of the different theories approach ultimately the same standard, albeit through different avenues of thought, and agree in holding that *vaicitrya* or *camatkāra* (in Alaṃkāra or Rasa) must be finally subjected to the taste of the *sahṛdaya*.

Thus a new turn was given to the Alaṃkāra-system of Bhāmaha; or rather, what was implicit or naïvely expressed in it was developed to its logical consequence by Kuntaka's systematic analysis of its implications.[14] In spite of the obviously extreme nature of his central theory and his some-

13 See above ch. iv.

14 The Vakrokti-system of Kuntaka may properly be regarded as an off-shoot of the older Alaṃkāra-system (ch. ii).

what quaint nomenclature, his work is of great value as presenting a unique system, or rather as systematising the Alaṃkāra-theory of earlier writers in a refreshingly original way. The Dhvani-theorists had either dismissed the poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*) as mere *vāg-vikalpas*, or considered them only as heightening the charm of the unexpressed element in poetry. They speak of the relation of the Alaṃkāra to the principal suggested element of poetry (e.g. in the shape of Rasa); but there might arise cases where the poet's obvious intention is not to awaken Rasa or anything else unexpressed, but simply to produce a strikingness in the form of an expressed poetic figure. In these cases, the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* think that all such figures which, in connexion with an involved unexpressed element, possess a peculiar charm, belong to the class of poetry called by the *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*; if there is no such unexpressed element involved, the figures have a pictorial effect merely, and may be included in the lowest class of poetry, called by them *citra* and described by them as no poetry but an imitation thereof. In other words, they take into consideration such poetic figures as being connected with the unexpressed possess a peculiar charm, and thus justify their position in poetry; the figures unaccompanied by the unexpressed or in no way connected with it are condemned to the level of no-poetry, as phases of speech which is of infinite variety. As Ānandavardhana says: *anantā hi vāg-vikalpās tat-prakārā eva cālaṃkārāḥ*. Kuntaka, on the other hand, justifies the significance of such figures in poetry *as figures*, and shews that this significance is independent of all considerations of their connexion with the unexpressed; for it consists in the very *vaicitrya* or strikingness involved in them, which is sufficient in itself, and does not borrow its power of appeal from elsewhere.

But he justifies the *alaṃkāra* as such only when it involves the *vaicitrya*, *vicchitti* or *vakratva* and becomes a phase of Vakrokti. He admits that the poetic figures are particular forms of speech, aspects of the expressed denotation

(*abhidhā-prakāra-viśeṣāḥ*), in which there need not be any connexion with the unexpressed; but he supposes at the same time a specific differentia in them which consists in a peculiar turn of expression resulting in a characteristic strikingness (*vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*) and depending upon an act of imagination on the part of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartita*). Thus, the so-called *alaṃkāras* of orthodox Poetics are admissible when they are found on analysis to possess these characteristics of peculiar charm imparted to them by the fertile imagination of the poet; and these, therefore, constitute the elements which go to make up the being of a poetic figure[15]. Kuntaka in this way not only supplies a remarkable deficiency in the teaching of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, but also justifies the existence and fixes the conception of a poetic figure as distinguished from a mere speech-figure. It is no wonder, therefore, that later followers of the Dhvani school, who form the bulk of post-dhvani writers on Poetics, readily accept Kuntaka's analysis, and regard the two characteristics, viz. *vicchitti* and *kavi-vyāpāra*, as forming the ultimate test of a poetic figure. Mammaṭa lays down that where there is no suggested Rasa, the poetic figures simply result in *ukti-vaicitrya* or charmingness of expression, and states generally that Alaṃkāra is charmingness itself (*vaicitryam alaṃkāraḥ*). We shall see that Ruyyaka was the first writer who accepts Kuntaka's test of a poetic figure and applies it systematically to a detailed examination and classification of individual poetic figures.

On Rīti Kuntaka puts greater stress than Bhāmaha, and gives a more elaborate classification of Guṇas. He is aware of the classification of Mārga or Rīti made by Daṇḍin and

15 Hence, the word "poetic figure" or *kāvyālaṃkāra*, instead of "figure of speech." See above ch. ii. pp. 74. In a formal scheme of Poetics they no doubt correspond, but this point of view of its involving poetic charm would be entirely omitted in a treatise of rhetoric. It is, therefore, misleading to translate Sanskrit Alaṃkāra as Sanskrit Rhetoric. See *ZDMG*, lvi, 392 fn.

Vāmana, but he does not accept it. He does not also believe that a particular Rīti is determined by Deśa-dharma (regional characteristics) or that it should be named after a particular locality ; for in that case one has to admit infinite varieties of Rīti, as there is infinite number of countries. The classification of Rītis into good (Uttama), bad (Adhama and indifferent (Madhyama) is also futile, for the best kind of mode alone is acceptable, and there is no point in admitting or framing rules for the so-called Adhama or Madhyama mode. In Kuntaka's opinion, it is Kavi-svabhāva alone which furnishes the criterion, and Rītis (Kuntaka employs the term Mārga) should be classified according to the essential difference in the power (Śakti), culture (Vyutpatti) and practice (Abhyāsa) of particular types of poets. One class of poets has special fitness for composition characterised by what he calls Saukumārya, while others prefer Vaicitrya, these being the two extreme modes of composition admitted by him. But there may still be other poets who would prefer to steer a middle course, thus favouring a mixed mode. In the Sukumāra Mārga the natural powers of the poet find an unfettered scope in describing the Svabhāva of things, and consequently whatever ornamentation is required is effected with the least effort ; while in the Vicitra Mārga, favoured by all good poets, the art is chiefly decorative, and the Kavi-Kauśala is Āhārya, being characterised by more deliberate and greater skill. Each of these Mārgas, according to Kuntaka, should contain four sets of excellences or Guṇas, which are designated by the same name but defined differently. In the Vicitra-mārga, we have Mādhurya=compactness of skilful structure avoiding laxity of form ; Prasāda=lucidity due to the use of expressive words and easy syntax ; Lāvaṇya=beauty due to the arrangement of short and long syllables ; and Ābhijātya=elevatedness which is neither too soft nor too hard. In the Sukumāra Mārga, there should be Mādhurya=sweetness due to the fewness of compounds ; Prasāda=perspicuity ; Lāvaṇya=beauty arising out of proper

arrangement of letters and words ; and Ābhijātya=smoothness. The Madhyma Mārga, which stands midway, combines the excellences of both (*ubhāyātmaka*). To these characteristics Kuntaka adds Aucitya (i. 53-54) and Saubhāgya (i. 55-56) as excellences common to the three Mārgas. The Aucitya emphasises fitness of words and ideas, which Saubhāgya arises out of the realisation of all the resources of a composition[16].

It follows from the prominence given by Kuntaka to Vakrokti in poetry that all ideas of Dhvani and Rasa should be comprehended in certain aspects of *vakratā,* just as the Vṛttis of Udbhaṭa, connected with *anuprāsa,* as well as *anuprāsa* itself and *yamaka* of orthodox writers, are taken as kinds of *varṇa-vinyāsa-varkratā* or *vakratā* depending upon the peculiar arrangement of letters. The idea of Dhvani is included partly in *rūḍhi-vaicitrya-vakratā*, where Ānandavardhana's own verse *tāla jaaṃti guṇa,* as well as the verse *snigdha-śyāmala-kānti°* cited by Ānanda as an example of *arthāntara-saṃkramita-vācya dhvani* (i. e. suggestion where the expressed sense passes into another sense), is given as instances. Other aspects of Dhvani are ackowledged in *upacāra-vakratā*, where the verse *gaaṇam ca mattameham*, cited by Ānanda as an instance of *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya dhvani* (i. e. suggestion where the expressed sense disappears entirely), is given as an example. From Kuntaka's treatment it appears that he takes *upacāra* in the sense of a supposed or fancied identification of two objects, however distinct, on the basis even of the slightest resemblance. As such, therefore, it is admittedly involved in figures like metaphor (*rūpaka*) and forms the basis of metaphorical expression generally. This would come under the comprehensive domain of transferred expression known as *lakṣaṇā*, and would be included by Dhvani-theorists under *lakṣaṇā-mūla-dhvani*, i. e. suggestion

16 See Har Dutt Sharma, Kuntaka's Conception of Guṇas in *Proc. A.I.O.C*, Patna 1933, pp. 581-91.

based on transference or Indication[17]. Kuntaka would thus belong to that group of writers regarding whom the Dhvanikāra says that they do not deny the existence of *dhvani* but regard it as *bhākta* (*bhāktam āhus tam anye*), i. e. depending on a transference of sense or Indication.

Regarding *rasa-dhvani* which comes under *asaṃlakṣya-krama-vyaṅgya* (i. e. suggestion of an imperceptible process), it is clear that Kuntaka, who admits not the essentiality of Rasa but that of Vakrokti, can comprehend Rasa only as an element in some aspects of Vakrokti. In the third chapter of his work, dealing with *vākya-vakratā*, he discusses how poetry may be made charming by delineating appropriate Rasas. In this connexion he examines in some detail such figures as *rasavat*, *preyas* etc., in which Rasa was admitted as an element by early theorists, whose system, maintaining the importance of Alaṃkāra in poetry, could not otherwise recognise Rasa independently. The special poetic figures like *rasavat* etc., constituted the back-gate, as it were, for the admission of the idea of Rasa in the Alaṃkāra-systems. When, however, the theory of Rasa assumed its proper importance in the schools, the necessity naturally arose of explaining how Rasa, which is essential and therefore fit to be embellished (*alaṃkārya* or *upakārya*) can itself be regarded as a means of embellishment (*alaṃkāra* or *upakāraka*) in figures like *rasavat*. We find accordingly in the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana an attempt to comprehend the *rasavat* etc. under the class of poetry called by them *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, in which the suggested sense (in this case the suggested Rasa) is subordinated to the expressed sense. The theory was put into shape by distinguishing the sphere of *asaṃlakṣya-krama dhvani* from that of figures like *rasavat* on the ground that when the Rasa is predominant and forms the essence of the poem in question, it constitutes the principal suggested

17 It is for this reason that Ruyyaka thinks that the Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra comprehended all ideas of *dhvani* in *upacāra-vakratā* and the like (p. 8 with Jayaratha thereon).

element, and as such it is *alaṃkārya* ; but when it is subordinate to the expressed sense, it constitutes mere *alaṃkāra* or embellishment (*Dhva°* ii. 4 f). The *Pradīpa* puts this concisely by saying: *yatra pradhānaṃ rasādis tatra dhvaniḥ, yatra tvapradhānaṃ tatrālaṃkāra iti bhāvaḥ.* Logically following this view, Mammaṭa does not regard the cases of *rasavat* etc. as poetic figures at all, but only as a variety of *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* poetry[18].

18 Later writers and commentators, however, unwilling to depart from the authority of the "ancients," attempt to explain the problem of *rasavat* in various ways by a method of ingenious interpretation, which keeps to the letter but changes the spirit of the old dictum. Most of these views are discussed by Viśvanātha. One school holds that the designation *alaṃkāra*, given to figures like *rasavat* merely because they help the development of Rasa, is a purely secondary application of the term (*bhākta*) ; for they are not really *alaṃkāras* but should be accepted as such in deference to the practice of ancient writers (*rasādyupakāra-mātreṇehālaṃkṛti-vyapadeśo bhāktaś cirantana-prasiddhy-aṅgīkārya eva*). These theorists admit a difference between *rasavat*, on the one hand, and *alaṃkāras* properly so called (such as *upamā*), on the other ; for in the one case the Rasa directly embellishes another Rasa, while in the other case, the Rasa is indirectly embellished through the form of word and sense. But they maintain at the same time that there is one thing in common between the two kinds, viz. that both of them embellish the Rasa, either directly or indirectly, by being subservient to it. On account of this similarity of function, the designation *alaṃkāra*, which is properly applicable to such figures as *upamā*, is applied to the *rasavat* by an extension of the sense (*bhakti*) ; and this usage has the sanction of ancient and respectable authority to which we must bow. But this explanation is rejected by others as being too fine. The difference between *alaṃkāras* like *upamā*, on the one hand, and the *rasavat*, on the other, which is supposed to be due to the fact of direct and indirect embellishment, is admitted to be true, but is explained away as purely accidental and immaterial ; and, strictly speaking, we should designate both as *alaṃkāras* instead of indulging in fine distinctions. A third view, which altogether rejects this distinction between direct and indirect embellishment, maintains that the general definition of *alaṃkāra* as that which embellishes the Rasa through word and sense is applicable as much to *rasavat* as to regular figures like *upamā*.

Kuntaka takes up the *rasavat* topically under *vastu-vakratā*, which may relate to both *sahaja* and *āhārya vastu*, the delineation of Rasa coming apparently under the latter head, which is described as *kavi-śakti-vyutpatti-paripāka-prauḍha*. He criticises the definitions of *rasavat* given by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others, and holds that it is neither *darśita-spaṣṭa-śṛṅgārādi-rasam*, nor *rasa-saṃśrayam*, nor again *rasa-peśalam*, but *rasena tulyaṃ vartamānam* ; and consequently it is not an *alaṃkāra* but an *alaṃkārya*. In other words, the Rasa is awakened in these cases for its own sake, and not for the purpose of embelishing the expressed word and sense. If not theoretically invulnerable, this view is interesting as indicating that the importance of Rasa, first advocated in poetic theories by the Dhvanikāra, appears to have influenced thinkers belonging to other traditions of thought. The Dhvanikāra attempts to reconcile the older idea of *rasavat* as involving the idea of Rasa secondarily, by admitting it in his second division of poetry ; but Kuntaka brushes aside even the view of his predecessor Bhāmaha in this respect, and thinks that this case should be regarded as one in which the poet has an opportunity of creating a kind of *vakrokti* in which the Rasa supplies the principal charm. But he allows Rasa to play the greatest part in what he calls *prabandha-vakratā*, i. e. in *vakratā* occurring in the composition as a whole which, he thinks, must be accomplished chiefly by the aid of pleasing Rasas (*rasāntareṇa ramyeṇa yatra nirvahaṇaṃ bhavet*). It is not the mere matter or plot, but the beauty imparted to it by the continuous sense of Rasa in it which can make the words of a poet live (*nirantara-rasoddhāra-garbha-saundarya-nirvarāḥ* / *giraḥ kavīnāṃ jīvanti na kathāmātram aśritāḥ*). Kuntaka even accepts the *Dhvanyāloka's* judgment that in the *Mahābhārata*, the *śānta-rasa* is the *aṅgin* or predominant Rasa and constitutes its principal charm, although he thinks that it is ultimately the *kavi-pratibhā* which is the all-important thing in poetry.

(4)

Mahimabhaṭṭa

Mahimabhaṭṭa begins his *Vyakti-viveka*, whose very name implies that it is a consideration of the theory of *vyakti* or *vyañjanā* established by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*, with the proposition that his object is to comprehend all ideas of *dhvani* in the process of *anumāna* or syllogistic reasoning (*anumāne'ntarbhāvaṃ sarvasyaiva dhvaneḥ prakāśayitum*). He proceeds, therefore, to consider in detail the text as well as the theory of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. He criticises minutely the definition of *dhvani* given in *Dhva*° i. 13 which, if properly considered, applies, he thinks, to *anumāna*. He considers (especially in the third chapter) most of the examples given in the *Dhvanyāloka* and tries to demonstrate that they are really cases of *anumāna*. Indeed, throughout his work he proceeds by an elaborate process of destructive criticism and makes the definition of *dhvani*, propounded by its advocates, conform to his definition of what he calls *kāvyānumiti* as the process through which another sense is revealed by the expressed sense, or by a sense inferred from it connectedly (*vācyas tad-anumito vā yatrārtho'rthāntaraṃ prakāśayati*/, *saṃbandhataḥ kutaścit sā kāvyānumitir ity uktā*, p. 22).

This being his main position, he accepts only two senses of *śabda*, namely, the actually expressed (*vācya*) and the inferable (*anumeya*), including under the latter both *lakṣya* and *vyaṅgya* senses, whose independent existence he does not admit. He says (p. 7) ; "Meanings are of two kinds, the expressed and the inferable. Of these, the expressed belongs to the function of a word, and is alone called the primary sense of a word..... From it, or being inferred from it, as from a logical *hetu* or middle term in a syllogism, another sense which is inferred, is called the inferable sense. This again is threefold, consisting of mere matter (*vastu*), the poetic figures (*alaṃkāra*) or the mood and sentiments (*rasa*). The first

two of these varieties can also become the expressed, the last is always inferable". It is clear enough from this that Mahimabhaṭṭa apparently accepts the recognised concept of a suggested sense in the shape of a *vastu*, *alaṃkāra* and *rasa*, but maintains that these are not revealed by *vyakti* or suggestion but by *anumāna*[19]; for the expressed sense and the so-called suggested sense stand in the relation of *liṅga* and *liṅgin*, the middle and the major terms of a syllogism (p. 12).

Mahimabhaṭṭa maintains, by analysing many examples taken from the *Dhvanyāloka*, that the expressed sense does not really suggest the unexpressed sense, but that between the two, inferences are possible and do occur. The *vyakti*, as Ānandavardhana himself admits (p. 192), is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested, and which becomes manifest along with that which manifests it, just as a jar in a dark room becomes visible along with the light which makes it visible. The *vastu*, *alaṃkāra* and *rasa*, which are the three suggested elements in the opinion of the Dhvani-theorists, are not manifested in this way ; for they are not comprehended along with the expressed which suggests them, but only afterwards. The interval between the perception of the expressed *vibhāvas* and the suggested *rasa*, for instance, is indeed very short, and is therefore called by the Dhvani-theorists themselves a process of imperceptible sequence (*asaṃlakṣya-krama*) ; but this very nomenclature shows that the existence of a *krama* or sequence cannot be denied, and that the expressed and the unexpressed, therefore, are sequential. Being such, they must bear the relationship of a logical premise and its conclusion (pp. 11 f). Even in the case of the indicated sense, as in the phrase *gaur bāhīkaḥ*, what one first understands is that the two (*go* and *bāhīka*) are not identical, and from this the conclusion arises that

19 This is the only important point of his disagreement with the *Dhvanyāloka* ; in other respects, he says, there is hardly any disagreement (*prāṇabhūtā dhvaner vyaktir iti saiva vivecitā/yat tvanyat tatra vimatiḥ prāyo nāstīty upekṣitam//*).

they are meant as possessing similar qualities ; the indicated sense here is ultimately reached by *anumāna* (p. 24). Thus, *artha* is merely a ground of inference and not a *vyañjaka*. The process of Anumāna or inference is very wide in its scope, much wider than that of Dhvani which is naturally included in it (*tasya*, i.e. *anumānasya, ca tad-apekṣayā mahāviṣayatvāt* p. 12). With regard to *śabda*, it cannot be taken as the *vyañjaka* or suggestor of anything else but its literal meaning. As it exhausts itself after expressing its literal or primary sense, even the secondary indicated meaning (*lakṣya artha*) has admittedly to be inferred, not from itself but from the latter ; how can it be supposed to suggest any deeper sense? But such words, through their expressed sense, can well become the ground or source of inference (*anumāpaka*), pp. 27 f.

The process of inference in poetry by which the unexpressed may be thus reached is presumably the ordinary process of syllogistic reasoning, which consists in the invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) of the middle (*liṅga*) and the major (*liṅgin*) terms. The Dhvani or suggested sense is the *liṅgin*, and its suggestors (viz. word and sense) are apparently its *liṅga*. The invariable concomitance is ascertained in three ways, viz. by *anupalabdhi* (non-cognition), *tādātmya* (identity) and *tad-utpatti* (causation). In reply to Mahimabhaṭṭa's position, it has been shewn that none of these means of proving a syllogism is applicable to establishing the invariable concomitance between the *liṅga śabdārthau* and the *liṅgin dhvani*. The non-cognition of word and sense does not prove the existence of *dhvani* ; for non-cognition only proves that *liṅgin* which consists of the absence of something. That a jar is absent can be proved from its non-cognition. But here the *liṅgin dhvani* does not consist of the absence of anything. Therefore the *hetu* is vitiated, and the non-cognition of word and sense can only prove *their* absence, but not that of Dhvani. There can be no identity (*tādātmya*), again, between the suggested sense (*dhvani*) and that which suggests it (*śabda* and *artha*); for the suggested meaning is essentially different from

the expressed, and comes out prominently by keeping the latter in subordinate position. Similarly, the test of *tad-utpatti* or causation does not apply, for here the word and sense cannot be regarded as being caused by the suggested sense, in the same way as the smoke, which proves the existence of fire, can be taken as being produced from the fire itself.

Viśvanātha puts the objections in another way. Inference is the knowledge of the *liṅgin* by means of the *liṅga*, qualified by its existence in the subject (*pakṣa-sattva*), its existence in similar instances (*sapakṣa-sattva*) and its exclusion from opposite instances (*vipakṣa-vyāvartatva*). For example, we conclude in the subject, e. g. a smoky hill, the existence of the *liṅgin* fire by the *liṅga* smoke, which we see existing in it, as well as in similar instances (such as in the culinary hearth, where there is no doubt as to the existence of fire), and which we see absent from opposite instances (e. g. such places where the absence of fire is certain). But this syllogistic method is not strictly applicable to establishing the suggested sense from the expressed ; for logical inference, Viśavnātha points out, has nothing to do with works of imagination. Take, for instance, the following verse :

dṛṣṭiṃ he prativeśini kṣaṇam ihāpy asmad-gṛhe dāsyasi
prāyeṇāsya śiśoḥ pitā na virasāḥ kaupīr apaḥ pāsyati ||
ekākiny api yāmi satvaram itaḥ srotas tamālākulaṃ
nīrandhrās tanum ālikhantu jaraṭha-cchedā nala-granthayaḥ||

"O neighbour, will you cast your eyes for a moment here on our house? The father of this child will scarcely drink the tasteless water of a well. Though alone, I go quickly hence to the river whose banks are covered with *tamāla*-trees. Let the densely swarming knots of reeds with their hard projections scratch my body". Here the reed-knot's scratching the woman's body and her going alone to the quiet river-side may be taken as the *liṅga* of her enjoyment with a lover, which is the suggested sense (*liṅgin*) here. But these alleged reasons, though they help to reveal the unexpressed sense, are not

invariable; for dalliance with a gallant is not, from the logical point of view, universally predicable of a woman going alone to a river-side or from her being scratched by the reed-k nots.

It is noteworthy that Mahimabhaṭṭa relies (p. 26) also upon the arguments of those objectors of the Dhvani-theory who think that *dhvani* is identical with *bhakti*[20]; but he opposes alike the views of those Mīmāṃsakas who believe in the single pervasive power of the expressed sense[21], as well as the view of the Vakroktijīvita-kāra. His objection to the latter system is naturally based on his own idea of the importance of Rasa and unimportance of Dhvani. In his opinion, any deviation from common usage involving charmingness of expression, such as Kuntaka upholds, may take either of two forms, viz. (1) it may resolve itself more or less into a theory of propriety (*aucitya*)[22], or (2) it may mean the manifestation of an implied sense other than the expressed sense. If the first alternative is meant, it is superfluous to one who admits Rasa in poetry, as no theory of Rasa can dispense with a theory of propriety or suitability with regard to the adjustment of its factors. To admit the other alternative is to bring in the idea of *dhvani* in a more or less disguised form.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's work is undoubtedly a masterpiece of

20 See above ch. v, pp. 152f.

21 See above ch. v, 168 fn.

22 Mahimabhaṭṭa treats the question of *aucitya* (already dwelt upon in the *Dhvanyāloka*) in the second Vimarśa of his work. He divides the subject of impropriety, which may be *śabda-viṣaya* and *artha-viṣaya*, into two heads according as it concerns the matter or form of poetry. The former, called *antaraṅga anaucitya*, consists in improper employment of the *vibhāvas* etc. in the manifestation of Rasa. It has already been dealt with in the *Dhvanyāloka*. The formal impropriety, called *bahiraṅga anaucitya*, is chiefly concerned with the occurrence of five defects, viz. *vidheyāvimarśa* (pp. 37-58), *prakrama-bheda* (pp. 58-66), *krama-bheda* (pp. 66-69), *paunaruktya* (pp. 69-84) and *vācyāvacana* (pp. 84-109). The question of *aucitya* will be dealt with in the next chapter.

scholastic argumentation, exhibiting much fastidious criticism and great learning of a miscellaneous kind ; but its avowed object is polemical and it does not pretend to set up a new system. Mahimabhaṭṭa possesses all the qualifications of a subtle controversialist and enters into his task with a decided animus, which constitutes the source at once of his weakness as well as of his strength. A fine product of a scholastic age, he cannot yet look beyond the pettiness of immediate issues ; and whatever might be the value of his peculiar proposition, he hardly ever adds to its limited interest any independent treatment of the larger problems of Poetics. This is perhaps one of the reasons why even his logical acumen and his erudition failed to keep the interest of his work alive ; but the chief reason why his book was forgotten in later times and was cited only to be condemned —a fate which it shared with the *Vakrokti-jīvita* of Kuntaka—was that it pitted itself against the more formidable theory of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana which was destined to supersede it by attracting away the best thinkers of later times. The *anumāna*-theory of Mahimabhaṭṭa, like the *vakrokti*-theory of Kuntaka, appears to have never received any liberal recognition in the hands of later theorists, nearly all of whom, since Mammaṭa's time, accepted without question the system of the *Dhvanyāloka*. In attempting to explain away the new theory of Vyañjanā in terms of the already recognised idea of Anumāna, or reviving Bhāmaha's old position in the face of the more widely received theory of the new aesthetic school, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kuntaka were apparently fighting on behalf of a cause already doomed.

(4)

Bhoja and the Agni-purāṇa

The school of opinion, represented in Poetics by the *alaṃkāra*-portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* apparently follows a tradition which departs in many respects from the orthodox

systems, and which we find developed by Bhoja in his own way in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*[23].

This apocryphal Purāṇa of uncertain date is ambitiously cyclopaedic. There is hardly any doubt, however, that the *alaṃkāra*-portion of this work, as we have already remarked, is chiefly a compilation, in a somewhat eclectic fashion, by a writer who was himself no theorist but who probably wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular orthodox school, but gathering its material from all sources. This will be borne out not only by its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from various old writers.

Taking the Alaṃkāra-section of the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* side by side, one is struck at once by some fundamental characteristics which are common to both. The most peculiar feature of the *Agni-purāṇa* theory is the absence of the doctrine of Dhvani, although the concept of *dhvani* is included casually, after the manner of ancient authors, in the figure *ākṣepa* (*sa ākṣepo dhvaniḥ syāc ca dhvaninā vyajyate yataḥ*, 344. 14). The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse (336. 1=Bhoja i. 1), which says generally that speech consists of *dhvani*, *varṇa*, *pada* and *vākya* (*dhvanir varṇāḥ padaṃ vākyam ity etad vāṅmayam matam*) ; but apparently this alludes to the grammatical word which reveals the *sphoṭa*, and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapadīya*. The work, however, recognises *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, the ideas of which were already elaborated by philosophers and philosophical grammarians. At the same time, apart from obvious borrowings or copyings from Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, this work cannot be taken as substantially following the views of any one of the schools represented by these names.

23 Much of this section was printed originally as an article contributed to *JRAS*, 1923, pp. 537-49. On *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* Purāṇa see vol. i, p. 95f and on *Agni-purāṇa* i, p. 97f, where an account of their contents is given.

There is no doubt that in one verse, which is conveniently cited by Viśvanātha in support of his own extreme view, the *Agni-purāṇa* speaks of Rasa as the "soul" of poetry in contrast with mere verbal ingenuity (*vāg-vaidagdhya-pradhane'pi rasa evātra jīvitam*, 336. 33). It devotes a somewhat lengthy chapter to the description, after Bharata, of *rasa* and *bhāva*; yet there is nowhere any central theory of Rasa or any elaboration of a system of Poetics on its basis. As to the origin of Rasa, it propounds a peculiar view that from infinite bliss (*ānanda*) proceeds self-consciousness (*ahaṃkāra*), from self-conciousness proceeds conceit (*abhimāna*), from conceit pleasure (*rati*), of which *śṛṅgāra* (love), *hāsya* (laughter) and other *rasas* are modifications (338. 2-4). It admits with Bharata four fundamental Rasas, from which are derived five others. Although partiality is thus shown to Rasa in poetry and drama, the *Agni-purāṇa* cannot be affiliated to the Rasa school; for it does not make any attempt to correlate with this central priciple the other factors of poetry, viz. *rīti*, *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra*, which are also recognised as of great, if not of equal, importance. One fact, however, worth noticing in this connexion is that although the *Agni-purāṇa* recognises nine Rasas, adding *śānta* to the orthodox eight, it extols and gives prominence to *śṛṅgāra*: a trait which is unique and which is found fully developed in Bhoja who, as we shall see presently, accepts no other Rasa than *śṛṅgāra* in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and gives almost exclusive attention to this important Rasa in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

On the other hand, although treatment is accorded to *rīti* (ch. 339) and *guṇa* (ch. 345), the *Agni-purāṇa* does not follow the tenets of the Rīti school, as represented by Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Daṇḍin classifies Rīti, which he calls Mārga, into two extreme types, *vaidarbhī* and *gauḍī*, to which Vāmana adds *pāñcālī* as an intermediate type; but the classification, according to both, depends upon the presence or absence of certain fixed excellences of diction, known as Guṇas. To

this enumeration Rudraṭa adds *lāṭī*, but by Rīti he means a definite arrangement of sentences with reference to the use of compound words of variable length. The *Agni-purāṇa* accepts this four-fold classification, but the distinction is supposed to lie not only in the length or shortness of compound words, but also in the qualities of softness or smoothness, as well as in the prominence or otherwise of metaphorical expression (*upacāra*). The Guṇas, again, are regarded as fundamental characteristics both by Daṇḍin (i. 42) and Vāmana (i. 2. 6-8), who take them as forming the essence of Rīti, and distinguish them carefully from Alaṃkāras, which, in the opinion of Daṇḍin, form the general characteristics of both the Mārgas, and, in the opinion of Vāmana, are merely accidental characteristics enhancing the charm of poetry already brought out by the Guṇas. The *Agni-purāṇa*. however, defines the Guṇas, which are nowhere connected directly with Rīti, simply as those characteristics which reflect great beauty on poetry (*yaḥ kāvye mahatīṃ chāyām anugṛhṇāty asau guṇaḥ*, 345. 3), a definition which hardly distinguishes them from Alaṃkāras, the definition of which is here almost the same: *kāvya-śobhākarān dharmān alaṃkārān pracakṣate* (341. 17)[24], and is merely copied uncritically from Daṇḍin ii. 1. The classification of Guṇas themselves, again, in this work is peculiar to itself. Ordinarily, the Guṇas are classified as either *śabda-guṇas* or *artha-guṇas*, and this procedure is sanctioned by Vāmana. The *Agni-purāṇa* brings in finer distinctions (345. 3 f.). The Guṇas are here said to be of two kinds, specific (*vaiśeṣika*) and general (*sāmānya*), the former apparently confining itself to any specific part or feature of a composition, the latter existing as common to its several component parts. The *sāmānya guṇa*, again, is in its turn classified into three subdivisions,

24 This verse is also cited by Bhoja (ch. v, p. 355) ; but he remarks: *tatra kāvya-śobhākarān ity anena śleṣopamādivad guṇa-rasa-bhāva-tadābhāsa-praśamanādīn apy upagṛhṇāti*, apparently as a commentary on Daṇḍin's view !

according as it appertains to *śabda*, *artha*, or both; the *Agni-purāṇa* (and Bhoja) admitting for the first time, so far as we know, this threefold classification. An altogether different scheme of enumeration of these Guṇas then follows. Vāmana mentions in all ten Guṇas, making each of these a *śabda-guṇa* as well as an *artha-guṇa*. The *śabda-guṇas*, according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, are seven in number, viz., *śleṣa*, *lālitya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saukumārya*, *udāratā*, *satyā*, and *yaugikī*; the *artha-guṇas* are six, viz. *mādhurya*, *saṃvidhāna*, *komalatva*, *udāratā*, *prauḍhī*, and *sāmayikatā*; the *śabdārtha-guṇas* are again six, viz. *prasāda*, *saubhāgya*, *yathāsaṃkhya*, *praśastyatā*, *pāka*, and *rāga*. The characteristics of some of these Guṇas are not very clearly marked[25]; and in Guṇas like *saṃvidhāna* and *yathāsaṃkhya* are included ideas which are credited by other writers to Alaṃkāras. Although not enumerated as such, Daṇḍin's *ojas* is reproduced (345. 10=Daṇḍin i. 80) in the course of the treatment of individual *śabda-guṇas*.

In the same way, it can be easily shown that the influence of the Alaṃkāra school, as represented by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, is not very marked in this work. The *śabdālaṃkāras* are, with some modification, developed, no doubt, on the general lines of Daṇḍin's treatment[26], but the *arthālaṃkāras* do not strictly conform to the orthodox classification or definition. The *Agni-purāṇa* gives eight varieties of the latter, viz. *svarūpa* (or *svabhāva*), *sādṛśya*, *utprekṣā*, *atiśaya*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha*, *hetu* and *sama* (343. 2-3); the figures *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *sahokti*, and *arthāntara-nyāsa* being included separately under *sādṛśya* (343. 5), and mention being made of eighteen kinds of *upamā* embracing most of

25 See V. Raghavan, Rīti and Guṇa in the Agni-purāṇa in *IHQ*, x (1934) pp. 776-79. The printed text in the Ānandāśrama ed. appears to be corrupt; Raghavan suggests corrections and interpretations.

26 It recognises nine classes of Śabdālaṃkāras, viz. Chāyā, Mudrā, Ukti, Yukti, Gumphanā. Vākovākyam, Anuprāsa (including Yamaka), Citra and Duṣkara (including Prahelikā).

Daṇḍin's numerous subvarieties of that figures (343. 9 f). The *Agni-purāṇa* is also one of the earliest known works which adds a separate chapter on the *ubhayālaṃkāras* (not recognised by earlier writer), and this includes six varieties, viz. *praśasti, kānti, aucitya, saṃkṣepa, yāvad-arthatā* and *abhivyakti* (344. 2), some of which would come under Guṇas of other writers[27]. Indeed, the classification and definition of the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras, which are not differentiated very clearly, would appear crude and unsystematic, when compared to the elaborate critical treatment of the Rīti and the Alaṃkāra schools.

From this brief outline, it will be clear enough that the *Agni-purāṇa* follows, in its general standpoint, none of the orthodox schools of Poetics, so far as they are known to us, although with regard to its material it attempts to cull, in its cyclopaedic spirit, notions, expressions and even whole verses from the authors of the different schools, without, however, connecting them with a central theory. It borrows, for instance, Daṇḍin's definition of the *kāvya-śarīra* (*iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī*), but the attempt to supplement it by adding *kāvyaṃ sphuṭad-alaṃkāraṃ guṇavad doṣa-varjitam* (336. 6-7), is merely eclectic and hardly constitutes an improvement. The same remarks apply to its definitions of fundamental notions like *guṇa* or *alaṃkāra,* which are merely copied or paraphrased uncritically from earlier writers. At the same time, mere eclecticism is not enough

27 It is noteworthy in this connexion that Daṇḍin's *samādhi-guṇa* is treated here under the context of *lakṣaṇā* with a hint apparently of identifying them.—The borrowings from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin by the Purāṇa are extensive. For instance, the definitions of the figures *rūpaka, ākṣepa, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, samāsokti* and *paryāyokta* given by the Purāṇa (343. 22 ; 344. 15, 16, 18, 17) are almost the same as those of Bhāmaha (ii. 21, 68 ; iii. 29, 8 ; ii. 79) ; while the definitions of *rūpaka, utprekṣā, viśeṣokti, vibhāvanā, apahnuti* and *samādhi* (343. 23, 24-25, 26-27, 27-28 ; 355. 18, 13) appear to have been repeated from Daṇḍin (ii. 66, 221, 323, 199, 304 ; i. 93) respectively.

to explain certain features of this work ; the peculiar treatment and arrangement, for instance, of the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* which depart very strikingly from orthodox views of the matter. In order to explain this novelty, we should, having regard to the essentially derivative nature of the work itself, admit the probable existence of an altogether different line of speculation, of which unfortunately no other early traces are preserved.

This tradition of opinion we find fully developed in Bhoja. The prominence given to *rasa* and the absence of the *dhvani*-theory in Bhoja, therefore, need not surprise us ; nor should the peculiar arrangement of the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* appear unintelligible. The same reverence to Bharata and Daṇḍin is shown throughout ; and in fact, Daṇḍin is estimated to have supplied Bhoja with more than two hundred unacknowledged quotations[28]. At the same time, Bhoja very freely incorporates definite verses and illustrative stanzas from most of his well-known predecessors, especially from Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Rudraṭa and Dhanika. He even appropriates Kārikās from the *Dhvanyāloka*[29], although he does not accept its theory. His huge compilation, like its prototype the *Agni-purāṇa*, in more or less cyclopaedic in scope and eclectic in spirit, and represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (with the exception of ignoring the *dhvani*-theory) of earlier schools in the light of a different tradition, of which another form is perhaps preserved, to a certain extent, in the two Jaina Vāgbhaṭas. But in some of the main points, similarity of his treatment to the *Agni-purāṇa* is obvious, and here the teachings of the orthodox schools are of no avail. The verbal borrowings are numerous. Thus *Agni* 341. 18 f has much in common with *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* ii, some

28 While the *Agni-purāṇa* takes no less than 160 passages from Daṇḍin.

29 As the *Agni-purāṇa* appropriates six of its Kārikās.

verses of the former being literally adopted by the latter. The *Agni* 341. 18-19, says:

ye vyutpattyādinā śabdam alaṃkartum iha kṣamāḥ |
śabdālaṃkāram āhus tān kāvya-mīmāṃsā-kovidāḥ[30] ||

This definition of a *śabdālaṃkāra* is adopted by Bhoja, with the only verbal change of the defective last line into *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃjñās te jñeyā jātyādayo budhaiḥ* (ii. 2). Such instances can be easily multiplied, and we may cite for comparison *Agni* 341. 21 and Bhoja ii. 39; *Agni* 342. 10 and Bhoja ii. 79; *Agni* 338, 11 and Bhoja v. 3, etc. Apart from this fact of literal similarity, which, however, is not conclusive, there is a striking coincidence, as we shall see presently, of treatment, as well as agreement of views on fundamental points, which is more than merely accidental. It is not suggested that Bhoja is directly copying from the *Agni-purāṇa* or the Purāṇa copying directly from Bhoja; it is quite possible that they exploit in common an unknown source. But there is hardly any doubt that they follow a common tradition which is different in many respects from that of the Kashmirian writers.[31]

30 Instead of *kāvya-mīmāṃsakā vidaḥ* in the text.

31 With regard to the relation between the Agni-purāṇa-compiler and Bhoja, our views do not appear to have been clear to P. V. Kane and V. Raghavan. We have explicitly stated them in *Poona Orientalist* ii, p. 15-17; we repeat them here. A comparative study of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-k.* and the Alaṃkāra-section of the Purāṇa would, in our opinion, indicate that (1) Both the works are more or less compilations, (2) As compilations both are eclectic, but not very well assorted and critical, (3) Both follow a tradition of opinion which is distinctive and which stands apart from that of the orthodox Kashmirian writers, (4) Bhoja is more systematic and certainly more elaborate, and the distinctive topics are found in Bhoja in a more developed form. These considerations led us to believe that there might be no question of direct mutual borrowing, but both were drawing upon a common source, and that the more elaborate and systematic Bhoja was probably chronologically later. If the Purāṇa-compiler was later and took from Bhoja, it would be strange indeed that he should present as undeveloped and

Bhoja develops the definition of poetry given by the *Agni-purāṇa* by adding expressly Rasa among its essential characteristics, which, as the commentator Ratneśvara points out, indicates the influence of the "Kāśmīrakas":

nirdoṣaṃ guṇavat kāvyam alaṃkārair alaṃkṛtam/
rasānvitam...........(i. 2).

In conformity to this definition, which mentions rather uncritically all the requisite elements, Bhoja deals in the first chapter with the Doṣas and Guṇas and devotes the next three chapters respectively to the consideration of poetic figures (Alaṃkāras) of *śabda*, of *artha*, and of both *śabda* and *artha*. In the last chapter is given a detailed treatment of Rasa, for Bhoja thinks that *rasokti* is essential in poetry (v. 8). But like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not explicit with regard to the question of correlating this aesthetic element with other elements of poetry, and his conception of Rasa bears resemblance to that of the *utpatti-vādins* whose causal theory, as Abhinavagupta points out, is accepted by earlier authors like Daṇḍin. No doubt, in one verse (i. 158) Bhoja is apparently of opinion that a poem is relished only if it contains the Guṇas, even though it may possess various kinds of poetic figures; for even excellent poetic figures in a composition without the Guṇas present an ugly aspect, as the form of a woman, destitute of youth, looks ugly even though she wears excellent ornaments. But this verse is only an unacknowledged quotation from Vāmana (iii. 1. 2, Vṛtti), and must be taken as an instance of eulogistic statements, not unusual in Sanskrit writers, made for the purpose of simply emphasising a point, or as a characteristic of the uncritical and confused nature of the work itself; for otherwise we cannot reconcile this dictum with others of a similar nature made in connexion with Rasa or Alaṃkāra.

unsystematic what was already developed and systematic in his presumed source. It would hardly make any difference if the Purāṇa-compiler is proved later than Bhoja; but as our available evidence is at best uncertain, it would be better to leave the question open.

Although Bhoja puts a great deal of emphasis on Rasa, probably in accordance with the views of the new school of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, he cannot yet be taken as an adherent of the Dhvani school, nor of the older Rasa school. Bhoja mentions here as many as twelve Rasas, adding the *śānta, preyas, udātta* and *uddhata,* to the eight orthodox Rasas mentioned by Bharata (vi. 15)[32] ; but in his treatment he follows the *Agni-purāṇa* tradition in singling out the Śṛṅgāra for almost exclusive attention. This trait is also noticeable in his other work, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa,* in which he accepts only one Rasa, the Erotic[33], thus justifying its title.

Bhoja modifies the *Agni-purāṇa's* classification of the Guṇas by dividing the general (*sāmānya*) Guṇas, according as they relate to *śabda* and *artha,* into external (*bāhya*) and internal (*ābhyantara*), on the one hand, with specific (*vaiśeṣika*) Guṇas on the other. By the last he understands those which under special circumstances are Guṇas in spite of their being essentially Doṣas or faults (i. 60 f). He carries the differentiation and multiplication of Guṇas still further, and enumerates twenty-four *śabda-guṇas* and as many *artha-guṇas,* again, of identical names. Like the *Agni-purāṇa,* Bhoja is not very precise or critical in his definitions of individual Guṇas, and he assigns to some Guṇas properties which are ascribed to Alaṃkāras by other writers. It is curious to note that the *artha-guṇa kānti* is defined, after Vāmana, as *dīpta-rasatvam* (i. 81), including Rasa therein ; and in the *śabda-guṇa gāmbhīrya* (i. 73) is incorporated the concept of Dhvani. At the same

32 Of these Śānta and Preyas are already recognised. The four additional Rasas (to orthodox eight) are meant to be associated with the four kinds of heroes, namely, Dhīra-śānta, Dhīra-lalita, Dhīrodātta and Dhiroddhata respectively. See V. Raghavan, *Number of Rasas,* pp. 121-22.

33 So says Vidyādhara, p. 98 ; also Kumārasvāmin, p. 221, and the author of *Mandāra-maranda-campū* ix, p. 107. See Vol i pp. 136-38, for a detailed account of Bhoja's conception of Rasa in *Sarasvatī-k.* and *Śṛṅgāra-pr.* See V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* pp. 418-542.

time, Rasa is taken elsewhere as a fundamental aesthetic concept, and the idea of Dhvani is omitted from his treatment. Bhoja, however, does not pay any homage to Vāmana's classification of Rīti, the elaboration of which he carries still further. He adds two more types of Rītis, viz. *āvantikā* and *māgadhī* (ii. 32), to the four mentioned by the *Agni-purāṇa*, the former of these being an intermediate kind between *vaidarbhī* and *pāñcālī*, and the latter forming only a Khaṇḍa-rīti, i.e. defective or incomplete type. It is also noteworthy that some of the *upamā-doṣas*, such as *hīnatva* and *adhikatva*, are included in the general discussion of Doṣas as *hīnopamā* and *adhikopamā*, and not mentioned, in the usual manner, in connexion with the figure *upamā* itself.

In the treatment of Alaṃkāras, Bhoja is one of the earliest writers who, in common with the *Agni-purāṇa*, classifies them into three groups, viz. *śabdālaṃkāra*, *arthālaṃkāra*, and *ubhayālaṃkāra*. Without entering into details here, we may state that Bhoja's treatment is much fuller[34]. He enumerates, for instance, and defines the largest number of *śabdālaṃkāras* mentioned by any author, namely twenty-four, and develops further the treatments of Daṇḍin, the *Agni-purāṇa* and Rudraṭa. The number of *arthālaṃkāras*, however, is surprisingly limited, and a love of symmetry probably leads him to enumerate them also as twenty-four in number, which is also the number of the *ubhayālaṃkāras*. The most curious chapter is that which deals with the last-named class of poetic figures, which includes figures like *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā*, *dīpaka*, *atiśaya* and other well-recognised *arthālaṃkāras*. Mammaṭa later on admits this three-fold classification of poetic figures, which is not recognised by all, but unlike

34 His treatment also is sometimes very curious. He makes poetic figures, for instance, out of the six *pramāṇas* of Jaimini (cf. Māṇikyacandra on this point at p. 304). One of the results of this is that he has to admit the philosophical idea of *upamāna* (as a means of knowledge) in a poetic figure of that name, and distinguish it as a figure from the well-known figure *upamā*.

Bhoja, he includes a very limited number in the mixed third class of Ubhayālaṃkāra, such as *punaruktavad-ābhāsa*, in which stress is laid equally on *śabda* and *artha*.

This novel and somewhat unorthodox standpoint, which follows a peculiar line of speculation different in some respects from the accepted views of the various established schools, makes Bhoja's work an interesting study ; but its theoretic importance has been exaggerated. The work, no doubt, possesses a certain importance for this unique treatment in the history of Sanskrit Poetics ; but its value consists, not in its theories, nor in its discussion of general principles, but in its being a very elaborate, if somewhat diffuse, manual and an exhaustive store-house of definitions and illustrations, for which not only the works of Ālaṃkārikas but also of almost all the well-known poets have been laid under contribution. The later writers, in spite of the fascination which the magic name of Bhojarāja carries with it, cite this work chiefly for its abundant wealth of illustration, or for the purpose of supporting some unorthodox view to which Bhoja might have lent the authority of his name. The learning which this work parades, though extensive, is ill-assorted and uncritical, its ideas lacking in system and its expression in preciseness. The school of opinion which Bhoja represents does not appear to have received any support or following in later times[35].

35 Apart from occasional citations from Bhoja by later authors, Vidyānātha (as well as Prakāśavarṣa in his *Rasārṇavālaṃkāra*) appears to be the one writer who goes to the length of following Bhoja's elaborate classification of the *Guṇas* (see below, ch. vii).—Bhoja's truly "mammoth" work, the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāsa*, has not yet been published, but a detailed account of its contents will be found in V. Raghavan's thesis on the same. It has the same eclectic and encyclopaedic character of an all-comprehending type (but on a much more extended scale) as his presumably earlier and smaller work, the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. With regard to subject-matter and essential ideas, however, it adds nothing substantially new which is not contained in a brief form in *Sarasvatī-k*. In spite of its name the *Śṛngāra-pr*. comprehends in its

36 chapters most of the important topics of Poetics and some of Dramaturgy. Thus, ch. i-vi. deal with Śabda and Artha; ch. vii-xi with grammatical and poetical aspects of Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha, including treatment of Doṣa, Guṇa and Alaṃkāra; ch. xii. mainly with Drama and its general features; ch. xiii-xiv with a preliminary treatment of Rasa; ch. xv-xvii with Vibhāvas and Anubhāvas of Rati; ch. xviii-xxi with four Śṛṅgāras of four Puruṣārthas—viz. Śṛṅgāras of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa; ch. xxii-xxxvi with elaboration of the lower Śṛṅgāra Rasa (apart from the higher Śṛṅgāra of Abhimāna explained in ch. xi) of Rati between man and woman. Thus, after dealing with Doṣa-hāna, Guṇopādāna, Alaṃkāra-yoga and Rasa-viyoga (which last should be avoided) he gives an exposition of his theory of Ahaṃkāra-Abhimāna-Śṛṅgāra Rasa. With reference to the general features of the Drama he devotes a large part of his work to the two phases of Vipralambha and Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra viewed as a relation between man and woman.

CHAPTER VII

MAMMAṬA AND THE NEW SCHOOL

(1)

The foregoing sketch of the progress of the principal schools and systems, terminating in the dominance of the Dhvani school, will make it clear that the history of Sanskrit Poetics is marked by two or three well-defined stages.[1] The dim beginnings of the science are indeed hidden from us, but we enter upon the first historic stage of its formulation, in a more or less developed form, in the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. This is followed by a fruitful and creative stage, ending with Abhinavagupta, in which the theories of the different schools or systems were settled in their general outlines, giving rise to four distinct schools of opinion, respectively represented by the Rasa-, Alaṃkāra-, Rīti- and Dhvani-systems. It covers more than three centuries, and includes some of the great names in the history of the discipline, like those of Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, of Daṇḍin and Vāmana, of the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, of Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Bhoja: all of whom helped, in a constructive or destructive way, to shape the different currents of thought which ultimately ran into one stream in the standard text-book of Mammaṭa.

If we attempt to discriminate between these different schools of thought and roughly indicate the broad steps taken in the progress of the discipline, we can state generally that the Alaṃkāra system proposed to confine itself to a theory of embellishment (*alaṃkāra*) of expression consistently with what was probably the original tradition of the discipline;

1 See vol. i, pp. 322 f.

the Rasa system, starting with the consideration of the drama, was responsible for introducing into poetic theory the subjective element of *rasa*, represented by the feelings, moods and sentiments ; the Rīti system laid stress on the objective beauty of representation realised by means of diction (*rīti*) and its constituent excellences (*guṇas*) ; while the Dhvani system, admitting the underlying truth of all these doctrines, elaborated a peculiar theory of suggestion in poetry (*dhvani*), including the suggestion of *rasa*, to which everything else was correlated. It will be seen from this that a relative emphasis was laid on the elements of *alaṃkāra, rasa, rīti* (including *guṇa* and *doṣa*) and *dhvani* by each of these systems ; and although the soft hand of Indian dialectics drew lines of fantastic ideas, consisting of odd and abstruse schemes, it is on these essential points that the theories centred themselves, and the main currents flowed thereof in different directions. It was, however, realised in the end that all these gleams of thought must be gathered into a focus, and all these currents must be made to flow into one stream. The purely normative character of the discipline began to disappear, and it was understood that, however much importance was attached to the fact of externalisation, to the consideration of embellishment or diction, it was far outbalanced by the most necessary and important principle of higher poetry, viz, the art of suggestion, especially connected with the art of suggesting a peculiar mental condition of enjoyment, technically known as *rasa*, of which the charm lies in a disinterested and impersonal pleasure in the mind, the attitude proper to contemplation of the beautiful[2].

2 The problem, therefore, does not concern rhetoric merely, and the ideal of beauty (if the expression is allowable) is no longer conceived from the outside, being associated with a peculiar condition of artistic enjoyment, the suggestion of which is taken as the chief function of poetry. As explained by an able critic of Sanskrit literature (Oldenberg, *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, pp. 207f), the Indian theorists permit intellectual vigour and subtlety, the masculine beauty, to stand behind that of purely feminine enjoyment born of the finest sensibility. Both

This period ends with the ultimate standardisation of a more or less complete scheme of Poetics, outlined in the *Dhvanyāloka*, in which an attempt is made to bring into a definite focus the scattered ideas of previous speculation. The period which followed this and with which we are concerned in this and following chapters, is necessarily a stage of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth, in the concise form of text-books, the results of earlier speculations. The stage is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius, but it denotes also a progressive deterioration of the study itself. It covers the age of numberless commentaries, which may be characterised, like the scholia of European classical literature, as consisting mostly of "comments on comments of annotated annotations". They busy themselves with the explanation, expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also the rise of a number of popular writers and textbook-makers who wanted to simplify the science for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to manuals and school-books of comparatively recent times.

It is difficult to classify some of these writers. Here and

these traits are found in the literature from the earliest times ; the idea of ecstatic rapture side by side with a strong inclination towards sagacity and subtlety. It is true that the dogmatic formalism of a scholastic discipline naturally sank to the level of a cold and monotonously inflated rhetoric ; but at the same time it must be admitted that the theorists were not blind to finer issues, nor were they indifferent to the supreme excellence of real poetry and the aesthetic pleasure resulting from it. They always take care to add that despite dogmas the poetic imagination must show itself ; and the ultimate test of poetry is the appreciation of the *sahṛdaya*, the man of taste, whose technical knowledge must be equal to his finer capacity of aesthetic enjoyment, born out of wide culture and identification with the feelings and sentiments of the poet. As this capacity, which is likened to the bliss of divine contemplation, is vouchsafed only to the fit and few, the critic as well as the poet is born, and not made.

there we find isolated and straggling followers of the older schools. Some are frankly uncritical, some merely eclectic ; while others are characterised by the very modest ambition of producing nothing more than a popular text-book. But the majority of the writers of this period, which covers more than five or six centuries, accept, with some reservations, the Dhvani-theory and the scheme of Poetics as finally determined by Mammaṭa. There are small groups of writers who devote themselves to special topics, like *kavi-śikṣā* or the subject of *rasa* (especially *śṛṅgāra-rasa*), but this apparent branching off from the main stem of the finally authoritative Dhvani system, is to be explained as due rather to the following of older traditions, or perhaps to the refining or analytic spirit of the times, than to any real split in the domain of general theory. With regard to matters of general theory and the main problems, the decadent Post-dhvani writers as a rule thought that there was nothing new to set forth ; they consequently fell back on matters of detail which helped to satisfy their growing speculative passion for fine distinctions and their scholastic bent for controversy. It would be tedious, as well as useless, therefore, to treat them here at any great length, for they repeat more or less the same idea in their own way, sometimes in the same stock manner and phraseology, and differ from each other only in matters of no great theoretic importance. The only subject worth studying in them is their minute analysis and elaboration of numberless poetic figures, which are not treated, as not coming perhaps within the scope of their general exposition, by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, but which occupy a very considerable position in later literature. Here was room enough to supplement, as Ruyyaka expressly states, the treatment of their predecessors ; and this portion of their work is beaten out with such extreme nicety and elaborateness that the Alaṃkāra-śāstra, judging from these works alone, would be, as it often has been, designated as a study of Rhetoric merely. But even from

Ruyyaka's time, the scope and nature of most of the individual figures appear to have been fairly fixed, only to be criticised and improved upon here and there by such later writers as Jagannātha.

It is important, however, to note that although this new school (*navyāḥ, aravācīnāḥ*) accepts in the main the general position of the Dhvani school, it is yet not entirely free from the influence of older schools. It betrays a lurking regard for older writers and brings back, rightly or wrongly, some of the old ideas into the elaboration of its own theory of poetry. It is difficult, for this reason, to take these writers in a lump and affiliate them directly to the Dhvani school. Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, for instance, is not altogether free from the influence of the views of such older writers as Vāmana ; Ruyyaka follows Udbhaṭa and Kuntaka extensively in his detailed analysis of poetic figures ; Viśvanātha clearly betrays the influence of the Rasa school on his own system ; while Jagannātha revives in a new form the old definition of poetry given by Daṇḍin. It is remarkable that most of these writers attempt to arrive at a precise definition of poetry, a task which was wisely left alone by the Dhvanikāra ; but in doing so, they probably meant to find out a comprehensive formula to cover the old ideas as well as the new, although it must be said that they succeed less often than they involve themselves in hopeless inconsistencies. This reactionary tendency, however, is interesting as indicating that they were not unconscious of the importance of earlier views as they were not entirely content with the clear-cut scheme of the *Dhvanyāloka* ; a fact which would go to demonstrate, to some extent, that want of originality is a charge which cannot be brought in its entirety against these followers of the finally dominant Dhvani system.

(2)

Mammaṭa

The first and foremost writer of this group is Mammaṭa,

whose *Kāvya-prakāśa* must have helped a great deal, judging from its popularity and influence, in finally establishing the authority of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana. This work, combining as it does the merit of fulness with that of conciseness, not only summed up previous speculations in Poetics in the succinct form of a text-book, but it became in its turn the starting point of endless text-books and exegesis.

Mammaṭa's general standpoint will be obvious at a glance by examining his well known definition of poetry. Although he adheres in the main to the teachings of the Dhvani school and accepts Rasa as an important element of poetry, his definition *tad a-doṣau śabdārthau saguṇāvanalaṃkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi* ("poetry consists in word and sense, devoid of the defects and possessing the excellences, and sometimes devoid also of poetic figures") follows the time-honoured custom of starting with word and sense (*śabda* and *artha*) and mentioning the *guṇa, doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* ; but it does not expressly include any reference to *dhvani* and *rasa*, which are apparently comprehended by implication. For, following up this definition, Mammaṭa begins with the discussion of the functions of *śabda* and *artha*, incidentally establishing the function of suggestion (*vyañjanā*) and the superiority of the suggested sense (*vyaṅgya artha* or *dhvani*), and divides poetry into three classes (viz. *dhvani, guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* and *citra*) in relation to the suggested sense. This leads him to enumerate and exemplify the various subdivisions of these three classes of poetry, and in this connexion dilate upon the nature and theory of Rasa, which is included in the scope of "suggestion of imperceptible process" (*asaṃlakṣya-krama vyaṅgya*). In this context, he examines and rejects the views of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, and accepts the *vyakti-vāda* which he ascribes to Abhinavagupta. Mention is made of eight orthodox dramatic Rasas, (*aṣṭau nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ*), but the ninth Rasa, the *śānta*, is added, apparently as relevant to poetry.

Mammaṭa then proceeds to discuss the Guṇa and Doṣa, not in relation to poetry in general as his definition would imply, but in relation to their subserviency or otherwise to the awakening of Rasa. The Guṇas as excellences of composition are interpreted in a new sense (after Ānandavardhana) and brought into effective relation with the underlying sentiment in a work, as qualities which serve to heighten its charm. The verbal form of a work cannot be said to possess the qualities of energy or sweetness (except by way of analogy), unless we mean by it that the underlying sentiment is vigorous or sweet. The Guṇas, therefore, are related to the Rasa, as virtues like heroism are related to the soul of a man. The verbal form, the mere sound, produces the excellences only as a means or instrument ; the real cause is the Rasa, even as the soul is the true cause of virtues like heroism in a man. The same consideration applies also to the case of poetic figures (Alaṃkāras), and their place in poetry is justified by their relation to Rasa. They are compared to ornaments on a man's body ; and as such, they adorn words and meanings which constitute the 'body' of poetry. They thus serve to embellish indirectly (through sound and sense) the underlying soul of sentiment, but not invariably. If the Rasa is absent, they produce mere variety of expression. It should also be noted that the Guṇas are accepted, after Ānandavardhana, as three in number[3], and it is maintained

3 Mammaṭa demonstrates with some care that it is not necessary to accept the ten Guṇas of Vāmana, but that it is quite enough if we postulate three comprehensive excellences, viz. *ojas* (energy), *prasāda* (lucidity) and *mādhurya* (sweetness). If we examine the Guṇas of Vāmana critically, we find that some of them can very well be included in these three ; some constitute mere absense of defects ; while others are sometimes positive defects. Thus, Vāmana's *śleṣa*, *samādhi* and *udāratā* are comprehended by *ojas* ; *artha-vyakti* is merely an aspect of *prasāda* ; *samatā*, consisting of a certain uniformity of diction, is sometimes a fault ; while *saukumārya* and *kānti*, defined respectively as freedom from harshness (or inauspiciousness) and vulgarity, are simply the reverse of the defects *śruti-kaṣṭa* and *grāmyatva*. These consi-

that combination of particular letters signify particular Guṇas, so that the three Vṛttis of Udbhaṭa (and roughly the three Rītis of Vāmana) are equalised to the three Guṇas defined by himself[4]. Mammaṭa admits Doṣas of *pada*, *vākya*

derations simplify the classification of the Guṇas and put a limit to their useless multiplication or differentiation (witness, e.g. Bhoja's elaborate scheme of 24 Guṇas). Mammaṭa, therefore, thinks that the distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *arthā-guṇa* is meaningless, for the latter need not be separately considered. The mental activity, involved in the enjoyment of Rasa, is made to justify only three (and not ten) Guṇas which are thus brought into effective relation with the principal sentiment of a composition. Thus, the *ojas* is supposed to cause a brilliant expansion (*vistāra*) of the mind and resides in the moods of heroism, horror and fury ; the *prasāda*, proper to all the moods, is taken as the cause of a quick apprehension of the sense, extending over the mind at once (*vyāpti* or *vikāsa*), like a stream of water over a cloth, or like fire among dry fuel (cf. Bharata vii. 7) ; while the *mādhurya*, residing normally in the erotic mood of love-in-union, but also appropriate to and rising successively in degree in pathos, love-in-separation and calm, is regarded as causing a softening or melting of the heart (*druti*). The three conditions of the mind, viz. expanding pervading and melting, which accompany the poetic sentiments, are thus made the basis of the three Guṇas ; and though these mental states are sometimes mixed up and lead to various other mental conditions, these latter effects are too many and too indistinct to be taken as the basis of new Guṇas. This exposition follows and expands *Dhvanyāloka* ii. 8-11 (see above pp. 171f) ; but it is possible that the original hint of associating these effects on the mental condition of the reader with the three Guṇas was supplied by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (°*Locana* p. 68) who speaks of the enjoyment (*bhoga*) of Rasa as being characterised by the mental conditions of expanding (*vistāra*), prevading (*vikāsa*) and melting (*druti*). Viśvanātha substantially agrees with this view of Mammaṭa ; but he takes the technical objection that the *ojas* etc. are not the *causes* of, but identical with, the process of expansion etc.

4 See above p. 104. We have seen above that Mammaṭa explains away the so-called excellences of sense (*artha-guṇas*), so that the Guṇas are confined to the sphere of sound. They are produced by a particular arrangement of letters (*varṇa*), compounds (*samāsa*) and mode of composition (*racanā*). Thus, the *mādhurya* or sweetness results from the employment of (i) all *sparśa* letters or mutes (from *k* to *m*), excepting

and *artha,* as well as Doṣas of Rasa, a mode of treatment which is followed by most later writers. Although the poetic figures are not, in his opinion, always necessary to poetry[5], he rounds off his treatise with an elaborate analysis and illustration of figures of sound and sense (including a limited number of figures which are of a mixed kind), enumerating as many as sixty-seven independent figures.

From this brief summary of the topics of Mammaṭa's work, it will be clear that its value consists not in its originality but in its orderly and concise discussion of the main issues (excepting those of Dramaturgy, which Hemacandra, Vidyānātha and Viśvanātha include in an attempt to supplement). His definitions as well as general treatment attempt to cover almost all fields of thought traversed by his predecessors.

the cerebrals (*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh*) coming with the last letters (nasals) of their respective class, (ii) *r* and *ṇ* with short vowels, as well as from (iii) complete absence of compounds or presence of short compounds. The *ojas* or energy is produced by (i) compound letters formed by the combination of the first and third letters of a class with the letters immediately following them (i.e. with the second and fourth letters respectively) (ii) conjunct consonants of which *r* forms a part, (iii) cerebrals other than *ṇ* (which letter is indicative of *mādhurya*), (iv) doubled letters, i. e. combinations of the same letters, (v) palatal and cerebral sibilants (*ś, ṣ*), (vi) long compounds, and (vii) a formidable or bombastic style. For obvious reasons there are no rules for *prasāda.* The letters mentioned here are mostly the same as those given by Udbhaṭa as suggestors of *upanāgarikā, puruṣā,* and *komalā* (or *grāmyā*) Vṛttis respectively. Mammaṭa, therefore, thinks that Udbhaṭa's three Vṛttis, which Udbhaṭa himself comprehends under *vṛttyanuprāsa,* are really equivalent to the three Rītis of Vāmana and to his own three Guṇas.

5 From the new standpoint, Vāmana's view that the Guṇas produce the beauty of a poem, while the Alaṃkāras merely heighten the beauty thus produced, is clearly inadequate. Mammaṭa argues in this way. If the doctrine is taken to mean that the possession of all the excellences constitutes poetry, the *gauḍī* and the *pāñcālī* which are not marked by all the Guṇas, would not be poetical ; if, however, the presence of a single excellence is enough to dignify a composition to the rank of poetry, then we are driven to accept even a perfectly unpoetical passage as poetry, if it contains, say, the quality of energy.

The great popularity and authority which the *Kāvya-prakāśa* has always enjoyed and which is indicated by the large number of commentaries on it, must be explained as due not to any remarkable novelty of treatment, but to the clear and lucid (albeit the obscurities due to its brevity of exposition, necessitating commentaries) working out of the already accumulated stock of ideas in the light of the new scheme put forward in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

But from the theoretical point of view, Mammaṭa's definition of poetry has been subjected to much vigorous criticism. Viśvanātha, for instance, undoubtedly takes Mammaṭa's work as the basis (*upajīvya*) of his own, but begins his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* with a trenchant attack on his definition. He points out, in the first place, that the Guṇas being merely properties of Rasa, should not have been logically included in the definition of essentials. He shows next that if only faultless (*adoṣa*) compositions be called poetry, some of the best poems will have to be given up, inasmuch as it is almost impossible to keep clear of all blemishes. Nor could it be said that faults mar only those particular words or their meanings in which they occur ; for if they are faults at all, bearing relation to the underlying sentiment in the composition, they must mar the whole poem. Lastly, he maintains that no reference to poetic figures ought to have been made in the definition, as they are admittedly non-essential. Jagannātha's criticism is more fundamental, although he agrees with Viśvanātha as to the impropriety of including a reference to *guṇa*, *doṣa*, and *alaṃkāra* in the definition. He objects that a word and its sense are not what is denoted by the term 'poetry'; for the universal use of such expressions as 'a poem is read but its meaning is not understood' shows clearly that a particular kind of words only is what is meant. If it is said that the essence of poetry lies in its capability of producing a mood (*rasa*), and that inasmuch as a word and its sense have this capability, both constitute poetry, then it can be replied that, according to this too wide

view, musical tones and theatrical gestures will have to be called poetry.

Some of these and other arguments appear, no doubt, fastidious and pedantic, and have been met with equal ingenuity by the commentators and followers of Mammaṭa; but the whole controversy indicates the futility of arriving at a precise logical definition of poetry and the difficulty of combining all the conventional elements in such a definition. The earlier theorists probably realised this and carefully avoided the task, for even the Dhvanikāra contents himself with describing its general nature and its divisions, an omission on which Mahimabhaṭṭa ridicules him by saying: *kiṃ ca kāvyasya svarūpaṃ vyutpādayitukāmena matimatā tallakṣaṇam eva sāmānyenākhyātavyam.*

From the historical point of view, however, the definition is interesting, its apparent inconsistency and obscurity being a curious fact which can reasonably be explained by a reference to the views of the older schools and systems. The term *rasa* does not occur in the definition, and the fact that Mammaṭa accepts the *citra-kāvya,* which is grudgingly admitted by Ānandavardhana as a division of poetry, would indicate, as Viśvanātha points out, that Mammaṭa does not consider Rasa to be essential. Yet he defines Guṇa and Doṣa in terms of their relation to Rasa, a procedure which is not justifiable if the essentiality of Rasa is not admitted. On the other hand, if it is maintained that all reference to Rasa is omitted in the definition because it is such a well known and established fact in the poetical and critical world, then the prominence of threefold suggestion and the division of poetry on its basis are hardly explicable. The mention of Guṇa and Doṣa should in that case be omitted, as done by Jagannātha, from the definition, which corresponds more to the definition of Vāmana (i. 1. 1-3); and these two elements must be understood in the sense in which Vāmana takes them, viz. as properties of *śabda* and *artha.*[6] This and other discrepancies

6 This is the modified view of Jagannātha who realises the difficulty

make it probable that Mammaṭa, belonging as he does to the new school, is influenced to a great extent by the views of the older schools. He accepts, no doubt, the general scheme and theory of the Dhvani school, but in trying to reconcile them with those of earlier theorists, he lands himself in objectionable inconsistencies.

(3)

Viśvanātha

Even the definition of Viśvanātha, who took upon himself the task of criticising Mammaṭa, is open to similar objections, and has been criticised in its turn by Govinda and Jagannātha. In declaring that poetry consists of a sentence of which the 'soul' is *rasa* (*vākyaṃ rasātmakaṃ kāvyaṃ*), he is indeed betraying the unmistakable influence, of the Rasa school ; but he is also putting into a shape, in a way clearer than Abhinavagupta does, the essentiality of *rasa-dhvani*, wisely left unstated but practically meant by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka.*[7] In taking up this extreme position, Viśvanātha involves himself, however, in the somewhat clumsy subterfuge of admitting a distant touch of Rasa (*rasa-sparśa*) in all poetry, even in what is professedly descriptive or ornamental. Even if it is ideally correct to say that a poem ought always to manifest the Rasa alone, it does not, as a matter of fact, always do so. Jagannātha rightly objects[8] that Viśvanātha's definition would exclude poems in which the centre of gravity lies only in the matter (*vastu-dhvani*) or in the imaginative mood (*alaṃkāra-dhvani*). The opponent cannot reply that this is exactly his own opinion, for thereby he goes against the view of ancient authorities, as well as against the establi-

and does not agree with Mammaṭa (see *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 55). Similarly Vidyānātha, though belonging to the new school, would accept (p. 334) Udbhaṭa's dictum *saṃghaṭanā-dharmā guṇāḥ*.

7 See above ch. v, p. 166 ; ch. vi, p. 178f.

8 p. 7-8. Cf *Prabhā*, ed. N. S. P. 1912, p. 11.

shed practice of great poets, who have admitted the scope of fact and imagination, and described subjects like a flood or narrated a travel, in which there is hardly any touch of Rasa. It would not do, therefore, to accept the *rasa-dhvani* alone; for a complete definition must also take into account *vastu-dhvani* and *alaṃkāra-dhvani*. Viśvanātha anticipates this objection by saying that in cases other than those admitted expressly by himself there is always a semblance of Rasa (*rasābhāsa*); and the verse given in the *Dhvanyāloka* as an instance of *vastu-dhvani* is, in his opinion, admissible only because there is such a touch of Rasa in it, and not because mere *vyaṅgya vastu* can constitute the essence of poetry. Jagannātha replies that nothing is gained by such a supposition of an indirect reference to Rasa, because such a reference may also be construed in phrases like 'the cow moves' or 'the deer leaps.' This cannot be taken as the sole criterion, because thereby any and every content of poetry would be reduced to the position of an excitant, an ensuant or an accessory of Rasa.

Apart from this technicality and the emphasis put on the essentiality of Rasa, which however is not reconciled to other elements of poetry, Viśvanātha's scheme does not substantially differ from that of Mammaṭa, on whose work he also appears to have written a commentary. In one passage, indeed, he pays an elegant tribute to his predecessor's work by admitting his own indebtedness to it. After defining poetry as a sentence the 'soul' of which is Rasa, he proceeds in the usual way to analyse the 'sentence' (*vākya*) and the different functions of its constituent word and sense, establishing suggestion or *vyañjanā* as the function necessary and important for the purpose of conveying the suggested Rasa (*bodhe rasādīnām*). He accepts only two divisions of poetry, viz., *dhvani* and *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya*, and rejects the third, the *citra-kāvya* (which is suffered by Ānandavardhana and accepted by Mammaṭa) on the ground that it is entirely devoid of Rasa and therefore inconsistent with his own

definition of poetry. It is curious, however, that Viśvanātha, following Ānandavardhana, partially admits the suggestion of *vastu* and *alaṃkāra* under suggestion of perceptible process (*kramoddyota-vyaṅgya*), based on the power of word or sense or both. The case of poetry of subordinate suggestion (*guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya)*, where the Rasa involved is secondary, is justified by holding that the mere circumstance of the Rasa being collaterally suggested does not destroy the claim of such poetry ; for the relish of Rasa alone, whether circumstantial or essential, is the true criterion. It is this partiality for Rasa which makes him include a treatment, omitted by most writers on Poetics, of dramatic composition, in which the delineation of the Rasas, the moods and sentiments, is already established as fundamental by both poets and theorists. Consistently with the same idea, a Doṣa or blemish is defined as the detractor of the Rasa (*rasāpakarṣaka*), while a Guṇa is explained as a particular mode or quality of the Rasa depending on *śabda* and *arthā* and enhancing the charm of the Rasa when Rasa is principal. The Guṇas are really attributes of Rasa, but they are secondarily spoken of as belonging to a word and its sense: which secondary use also explains the old distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa.* The Guṇas are accepted as three in number, viz. *mādhurya, ojas* and *prasāda,* depending upon a combination of particular letters and justified by the attributes of expanding, pervading and melting the mind in its enjoyment of Rasa ; and the ten Guṇas of older writers are mentioned and criticised after the manner of Mammaṭa. It is curious, however, that Viśvanātha admits the Rītis separately, instead of comprehending them, as Mammaṭa does, under the Vṛttis or considering them redundant after the enumeration of the three Guṇas. He defines the Rīti as *pada-saṃghaṭanā*[9] or particular arrangement of words (and letters) which helps the Rasas (*upakartrī rasādīnām*). The Rīti, however, relates

9 By the term *saṃghaṭanā* stress in laid on its technical sense of Samāsa-vṛttti, but this is not the only criterion.

entirely to the external framework of poetry, and is likened to the conformation of the body in relation to the soul[10]. Finally, the poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*), which are treated substantially after the manner of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka, are defined as those non-permanent attributes of word and its sense which add to their beauty and thus embellish the Rasa indirectly. The term 'non-permanent' (*asthira*) is explained, after Mammaṭa, by the statement that the presence of the Alaṃkāras is not necessary but accidental, as compared to the Guṇas which are necessary attributes.

The above sketch of Viśvanātha's general position will sufficiently indicate that he is more or less a compiler and not an original writer, although he shows some constructive ability in elaborating a full and compact system of his own on the basis of *rasa-dhvani*. His borrowings from Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka are very extensive ; and sometimes his judgment forsakes him, making him copy his originals rather slavishly. He is not always happy in his innovations, and sometimes (though rarely) he is wrong or inconsistent in his interpretation. In spite of these and other defects his work is interesting in the history of Sanskrit Poetics as an attempt at a further development of the Dhvani-theory out of itself, an attempt to which recognition was not

10 Viśvanātha speaks of four Rītis as follow: (i) *vaidarbhī* or sweet style (marked by letters indicative of *mādhurya*, and by short compounds or absence of compounds). (ii) *gauḍī* or bombastic style (marked by letters indicative of *ojas* and possessing a large number of compounds). (iii) *pāñcālī* (marked by letters other than those mentioned above and containing five or six compound words). (iv) *lāṭī* or the style intermediate between *vaidarbhī* and *pāñcālī*. This is only a variation on the conventional enumeration ; but strictly speaking, Mammaṭa is right in not considering the Rītis separately, as they are comprehended by the three Vṛttis or even by the three Guṇas accepted by the new school. Viśvanātha alludes to Vṛttis under *vṛttyanuprāsa* and simply says (after Ruyyaka): *rasa-viṣaya-vyāpāravatī varṇa-racanā vṛttiḥ, tad-anugatatvena prakarṣeṇa nyasanād vṛttyanuprāsaḥ*.

universally accorded by other strict followers of the theory. The *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, written like the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in the form of Kārikā with Vṛtti, has also the great merit of being written in a more simple and less controversial style than the treatises of Mammaṭa and Jagannātha respectively ; and as a suitable and complete manual of Poetics, including a treatment of the dramatic art, it has always held its popularity as one of the most convenient text-books on the subject as a whole.

(4)

Ruyyaka

One of the most important writers of this group is Ruyyaka, who comes immediately after Mammaṭa and who also appears to have written a commentary on Mammaṭa's work. In his treatment of the poetic figures with which his work (as its name *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* implies) is directly concerned, he shows, however, a remarkable degree of insight and independence of judgment which distinguishes him from his predecessor. The value of his contribution in this respect may be judged from the fact that his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* not only helped to define and fix the conception of an *alaṃkāra*, of which the first indication was given by Kuntaka but which was left untouched by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*, but it had also a great influence in establishing by its careful analysis the scope and nature of individual poetic figures, so that his views on this matter have been accepted as authoritative by such important later writers as Viśvanātha, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha and Appayya Dīkṣita.

The plan of Ruyyaka's work, written in the form Sūtra with Vṛtti, is stated by himself in the introductory portion of his Vṛtti. He starts, in common with other followers of the Dhvani school, with the suggested sense (*pratīyamāna artha*) and demonstrates by a rapid survey of the views of older writers that it was directly or indirectly recognised by

all. But he thinks that, in the opinion of the authorities who came before the Dhvani school, the chief function of the suggested sense consisted in embellishing the expressed meaning (*vācyopaskāra*), and therefore it was naturally comprehended in the sphere of poetic figures in which the expressed sense prevailed[11]. This is generally the view of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Rudraṭa. The Vakroktijīvita-kāra, who came after Ānandavardhana, includes all ideas of Dhvani in a variety of Vakrokti based on *upacāra* or metaphorical expression. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka maintains that the suggested sense, established chiefly through the forcible utterance of the poet (*kavi-prauḍhokti*) is only a secondary element in poetry, the essential thing being the relish of Rasa realised through a function called *bhoga* or enjoyment, which is distinct from and which transcends the denotative or generalising functions of words. The Vyakti-viveka-kāra takes the relation of the expressed and the suggested in terms of the logical *liṅga* and *liṅgin*, and regards the process of suggestion as a process of inference. None of these views comes up to that of the Dhvanikāra, which is, therefore, accepted indisputably by Ruyyaka, who lays down sententiously at the end: *asti tāvad vyaṅgya-niṣṭho vyañjanā-vyāpāraḥ*. The three divisions of poetry into *dhvani*, *guṇī-bhūta-vyaṅgya* and *citra* are also recognised; but as the first two are already discussed in the *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī*[12] (p. 15) and the *Dhvanyāloka* respectively, Ruyyaka proposes in this treatise to take up the remaining *citra-kāvya*, which, including in its scope all poetic figures devoid of suggestion[13],

11 *vācyopaskārakatvaṃ hy alaṃkārāṇām ātma-bhūtatvam*, Jayaratha p. 3.

12 Presumably this work was composed by himself. But Jayaratha does not expressly say so. In the Trivandrum edition, the reading is different. It reads *kālidāsādi-prabandheṣu* (instead of *alaṃkāra-mañjaryāṃ*) *darśitaḥ*. The *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī* appears to have dealt particularly with *rasa-dhvani*, apparently laying stress on *śṛṅgāra-rasa*.

13 See above ch. v. p. 171.

naturally covers an extensive field. As all detailed consideration of this topic is omitted in the *Dhvanyāloka* (as coming not properly within the sphere of its theory), here was an opportunity of supplementing the work of his predecessors.

But the point had already been taken up and discussed in his own way by Kuntaka who recognised that the poet's intention need not always be to awaken the Rasa or anything else unexpressed but may be directed simply to producing a certain strikingness of expression in the form of an expressed poetic figure. He analysed poetic expression and found that the elements which went to make up the being of such a figure consisted of a peculiar turn of expression, which produced a certain charm (called *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti-viśeṣa*) and which ultimately depended on the conception of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitatva*)[14]. Both these terms are not new, the *kavi-pratibhā* having been acknowledged as essential in a poetic composition by older theorists, and the *saundarya* of Vāmana reappearing under the name of *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*. The *ukti-vaicitrya* is discussed in another connexion by Ānandavardhana (p. 243) ; and Mammaṭa (probably under the influence of Kuntaka) lays down that the *alaṃkāra* is nothing but *vaicitrya* itself. Abhinavagupta speaks of endless varieties of *upamā-vicchitti* (p. 5), and in another passage (p. 8) uses the term as almost synonymous with *kāmanīyaka* or *cārutva-hetu*.

Ruyyaka does not elaborate a doctrine on this point but he accepts Kuntaka's analysis implicitly and applies it to the detailed examination of individual poetic figures, a procedure which is followed by Viśvanātha, Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha. That he derived this idea from Kuntaka is indicated by Jayaratha in a passage in which the commentator, while rejecting on this ground the claim of the *yathā-saṃkhya* to be counted as a poetic figure, says: *etac ca*

14 See above ch. vi, p. 188f.

vakroktijīvita-kṛtā saprapañcam uktam ity asmābhir nāyastam (p. 149). In the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* Ruyyaka does not define the term *vicchitti*, but in the commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* attributed to him, he says (p. 44): *tathā ca śabdārthayor vicchittir alaṃkāraḥ, vicchittiś ca kavi-pratibhollāsa-rūpatvāt kavi-pratibhollāsasya ānantyād anantatvaṃ bhajamāno na paricchettuṃ śakyate* ('Then again, an *alaṃkāra* consists of the charm or *vicchitti* of sound and sense ; and it is not possible to define *vicchitti* exactly, inasmuch as it is of infinite variety, being identical with the play of the poetic imagination, which itself is infinite in its scope'), the boundlessness or infinite scope of poetic conception having been already admitted by Ānandavardhana himself (ch. iv), as well as by Kuntaka.

Ruyyaka, however, takes this *vicchitti*, brought out by the productive imagination of the poet, to be the test of a poetic figure ; or, in other words, a form of expression or a mere speech-figure (if the phrase is allowable) becomes a poetic figure when a certain charm is lent to it by the peculiar conception of the poet. Thus, a form of expression involving the logical *anumāna* would not *prima facie* constitute the figure *anumāna*, unless this special charm is involved in it ; or, the doubt involved in the figure *saṃdeha* must be brought into being by the imagination of the poet, for it should not be an ordinary doubt but a 'poetic' doubt. Jayaratha makes this doctrine more explicit than his author in many places in his commentary. He lays down repeatedly that a special charm (*vicchitti-viśeṣa*) depending on the conception of the poet (*kavi-karma* or °*pratibhā*) is to be taken as the essential factor of an Alaṃkāra (pp. 144, 149-50, 183), and all so called figures are to be accepted or rejected accordingly[15].

15 The question has been dealt with in some detail by Jacobi in his Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren in der indischen Poetik in *GN*, 1908, and also in the present writer's introduction to *Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd ed. 1928, pp. xlvi-lviii.

In later writings this doctrine is admitted as settled beyond question. Appayya Dīkṣita explains it at the beginning of his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (p. 6), and Jagannātha repeatedly states: *alaṃkārāṇāṃ bhaṇiti-viśeṣa-rūpatvam*. In addition to the terms *bhaṇiti-viśeṣa*, *vaicitrya* and *vicchitti*, Viśvanātha and Jagannātha use the terms *cārutva*, *hṛdyatva*, *camatkāritva* and *saundarya* almost synonymously, while the latter attempts to define it (p. 466, 470) more precisely as the poetic imagination with reference to the power of poetic production ; or rather, as the charm which is thereby brought into being, upon which the poetic figures distinguish themselves in their special peculiarities.

Ruyyaka's work is also important for its acute analysis of the scope and nature of individual poetic figures, of which nearly eighty independent varieties are dealt with. At first sight one would be inclined to classify him as belonging to the Alaṃkāra school. There is no doubt that Ruyyaka was a great admirer of Udbhaṭa, on whose work his father Tilaka (as Jayaratha informs us) wrote a Viveka or Vicāra. Ruyyaka himself tells us (and he is borne out by Jayaratha and Samudrabandha)[16] that he is a follower of the views of the "ancients" (e. g. *cirantana-matānusṛtiḥ*, p. 205), by which he means apparently the older Alaṃkāra school of Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa ; but of course, he corrects, modifies or expands older authoritative opinions in the light of the progressive study of the subject. Ruyyaka's development of Udbhaṭa's idea of *śleṣa* may be taken as a typical instance. The controversy regarding the divisions of *śleṣa* and its relation to other figures in cases of combination, started, as Ruyyaka himself and his commentators point out, from Udbhaṭa's time.

16 Jayaratha refers to Ruyyaka's following of *cirantana-mata* at pp. 72, 83, 103, 172 etc., and of Udbhaṭa at pp. 10, 20, 34, 87, 93, 97, 98, 125, 126, 150 etc. Samudrabandha's references are at pp. 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 21, 74, 82, 103 etc. Ruyyaka's own references to Udbhaṭa's views will be found in numerous places, at pp. 3, 7, 23, 59, 82, 86, 92, 123, 126, 148, 174, 191 etc.

Ruyyaka accepts the division of this figure into *śabda-śleṣa* and *artha-śleṣa* (adding *ubhaya-śleṣa*), and holds that the principle of this distinction consists in the dictum *yo'laṃkāro yad-āśritaḥ sa tad-alaṃkāraḥ.* He rejects Mammaṭa's view that the distinction is based on the ground that the *śabda-śleṣa* is incapable of enduring a change of synonym (*parivṛtti-asaha*), while the *artha-śleṣa* is capable of doing so ; for Mammaṭa holds that it is not *āśrayāśrayi-bhāva* (mutual dependence or inherence) but *anvaya* (connexion) and *vyatireka* (contrast) which must be taken as the test for determining whether a figure is of *śabda* or of *artha*. According to Ruyyaka, however, a *śabda-śleṣa* occurs when the expression, being differently split up, yields two different meanings. Here the words are really different, as is indicated by a difference of accent as well as by the effort required in pronouncing them. They present the appearance of sameness or coalescence (*śleṣa*), just in the same way as the lacquered wood appears to be one single object, though really lac is put on the wood. The *artha-śleṣa* occurs where the expression is the same and has the same accent and effort, but possesses two meanings, just as two fruits hang down from a single stem. The *ubhaya-śleṣa* is the case where both these circumstances exist[17]. Rergarding the implication of *śleṣa* in other poetic figures, the question has been raised whether it should be regarded (i) as stronger than and thus dispelling the notion of the accompanying figure, (ii) as being equally powerful and therefore entering into combination with them, or (ii) as being weaker and therefore not prominent where other figures occur[18]. Udbhaṭa takes the first position, and thinks that where the *śleṣa* is present (e. g. along with *upamā*) there is only the appearance (*pratibhā*) of the other figure,

17 Viśvanātha follows Mammaṭa, but Vidyādhara agrees with Ruyyaka's interpretation in this matter.

18 Jagannātha, p. 393, sums up the views thus: *ayaṃ cālaṃkāraḥ prāyeṇālaṃkārāntarasya viṣayam abhiniviśate, tatra kim asya bhādhakatvaṃ syād āhosvit saṃkīrṇatvam utāho bādhyatvam iti.*

the real figure being in such a case the *śleṣa* (and not *upamā*). Ruyyaka demurs to this view, and agrees with Mammaṭa in pointing out that in such cases of conflict the possession of common attributes (*sādharmya*) inherent in *upamā* is alone sufficient to constitute the latter figure ; for the unqualified definition of *sādharmya* as community of attributes or circumstances is not exclusive of the verbal sameness conveyed by the accompanying *śleṣa*. The *upamā*, therefore, is predominant and the subordinate *śleṣa* only helps it ; for in such cases, the common property is not arrived at without the *śleṣa*, and without the common property there can be no *upamā*. If the two figures are thus found together, one helping the other, we have *saṃkīrṇatva* of *śleṣa* and *upamā*.

From these and other instances which we need not multiply, the influence of the Alaṃkāra school on Ruyyaka will be obvious ; but it will be also obvious that the views of the older school never receive unqualified acceptance from him. His following of ancient opinions, a trait which he shares with Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha in their following of Vāmana and the Rasa-writers respectively, should be explained as an earnest attempt on his part to reconcile the views of later theorists with those of the earlier, of which he was a professed admirer. It is this impulse probably which made him take up the Vakroktijīvita-kāra's conception of a poetic figure, and apply it to his own detailed analysis of individual figures, as this topic of Poetics was not sufficiently dealt with in the *Dhvanyāloka*. It cannot be said[19], however, that Ruyyaka was a follower of the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, for Ruyyaka himself declares his own adherence to the Dhvani-theory ; and, in spite of his borrowing from Udbhaṭa and Kuntaka, he cannot by any means be directly affiliated with the Alaṃkāra school.

19 As suggested by Harichand Sastri p. 108.

(5)

Vidyādhara and *Vidyānātha*

To most of the writers who followed in the footsteps of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka, there was hardly any original work that seemed left or unaccomplished. The details of the new system having already been established, there was apparently no occasion for any creative work, and even the task of critical elaboration had well-nigh run its course. Nor did any of the writers possess the genius of making an entirely new departure. This was also the period of early Muhammadan incursions, and was marked, as it was to be expected, by a general decadence of all investigations, reflecting a corresponding ebb in the tide of intellectual, as well as social and political, activity. In the centuries that follow there arose a host of commentators, Mammaṭa alone claiming no less than seventy, who busied themselves in interpreting the already established rules and in adding here and there minor points of detail, not clearly made out by their predecessors. The task of remodelling and presenting the new theory in an easier style was also undertaken, giving birth to works like the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara and the *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, the chief merit of which consisted in systematic compilation and arrangement. On the main problems, these treatises and even the later works of Jayadeva and Appayya Dīkṣita, which carry in particular the process of analysing the poetic figures to its utmost limits, throw little valuable light.

Vidyādhara, for instance, models his text (consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti) on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, and in the treatment of poetic figures follows Ruyyaka in the main.[20] After characterising the Kāvya as *dhvani-pradhāna*[21], and

20 In this he agrees with Viśvanātha, Vidyānātha and others. See his definition of figures like *vicitra*, *vikalpa* or *ullekha* which are passed over by Mammaṭa.

21 In the first chapter of his work Vidyādhara follows the *Dhvanyāloka* very closely, and some of his Kārikās, e. g. i. 6, 13, are mere paraphrases of the Kārikās of the older work.

setting forth its purpose as well as the qualifications necessary for the poet, he devotes the first chapter to the establishment of the *dhvani* or suggested sense in poetry. In this connexion, he refutes at some length the views of those schools which maintain the non-existence of Dhvani or its inclusion in other processes and draws mostly on the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. The second chapter deals with the three functions of word and sense, viz. *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā*, while the third chapter classifies the *dhvani-kāvya*, in which the suggested sense excels the expressed, explaining incidentally the different theories of Rasa, which constitutes the province of one of the eight varieties of the imperceptible process of suggestion (*asaṃlakṣya-krama vyaṅgya*). The second class of poetry, the *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya*, is taken up in the next fourth chapter. The fifth chapter defines the *guṇas*, distinguishing them from the *alaṃkāras*, and concluding with the treatment of the *rīti*, with an incidental attack of older views and general support of Mammaṭa's position. The next chapter is concerned with the *doṣas*, while the last two chapters deal with the poetic figures, the *śabdālaṃkāras* and *arthālaṃkāras* respectively, adhering in general to the treatment of Ruyyaka. This brief enumeration of the contents of Vidyādhara's work will sufficiently indicate the scope and nature of these subsequent treatises, as well as the fact that they embrace the same topics as are dealt with in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, even the different chapters sometimes corresponding, in regard to their subject-matter, to the different *ullāsas* of the latter.

The scope of Vidyānātha's work, written also in the form of Kārikā with Vṛtti, is much wider, and its plan somewhat different, but from the theoretical point of view it is perhaps less interesting. Its nine *prakaraṇas* cover almost the same ground as the ten *paricchedas* of Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. Like Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha follows Mammaṭa in general, but prefers Bhoja in the matter of Guṇas and Ruyyaka in the matter of poetic figures. The author justifies the pro-

duction of his work by stating that although the older writers have already dealt with the different branches of the subject, none of them has described a *nāyaka* or hero in it; but as the greatness of a composition depends on the representation of the merits of the hero described in it, the first *prakaraṇa*, entitled *nāyaka-prakaraṇa*, deals with the attributes of a hero, as well as of the heroine, and their necessary adjuncts. Then follows the *kāvya-prakaraṇa*, which describes in the usual way the nature of a Kāvya and its constituents, the *vṛttis* and *rītis* suitable to the development of different sentiments, the *śayyā* or repose of words in their mutual favourableness, the *pāka* or maturity of sense, and the divisions of Kāvya. It is curious that Vidyānātha's definition of poetry (*guṇālaṃkāra-sahitau śabdārthau doṣa-varjitau / gadya-padyobhayamayaṃ kāvyaṃ kāvya-vido viduḥ*) follows closely Mammaṭa's known definition which is quoted in a slightly modified form immediately afterwards. He speaks of *śabda* and *artha* as the 'body' of poetry, *vyaṅgya* as the 'soul', the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* in the usual manner being likened to natural qualities like heroism and to outward ornaments like bracelets respectively. The *rītis* are described as natural dispositions which lead to the excellence of the soul (*ātmotkarṣāvahāḥ svabhāvāḥ*). After dealing with the three functions of word and sense, he goes on to the consideration of the *vyañjanā-vṛtti* (pp. 52 f) and mentions (pp. 77 f) in passing 5304 varieties of Dhvani. And yet he defines the excellence, called *gāmbhīrya*, as *dhvani-mattā*, after Bhoja! He lays down *racanāyā api rasa-vyañjakatvaṃ prasiddham*, which leads him to a separate consideration of the suggestion of Rasa. The third chapter, styled the Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa, deals with the subject of Rupaka or dramatic composition, a theme generally omitted by most writers, taking up the Nāṭaka as the most important variety and analysing its plot into five *saṃdhis*. Although based avowedly on Dhanañjaya's *Daśa-rūpaka*, this chapter is one of the important later contributions to the subject of Dramaturgy, and a great interest attaches to its inclusion of a model

drama illustrative of all its characteristics and eulogistic of the author's patron Pratāparudra. Next comes the *rasa-prakaraṇa* dealing with the nature and theories of Rasa. The next two chapters are the *doṣa-prakaraṇa* and the *guṇa-prakaraṇa*, while the last two chapters are devoted to the topic of *śabdālaṃkāra*, *arthālaṃkāra* and *miśrālaṃkāra*.

It is curious that Vidyānātha follows Bhoja in mentioning as many as twenty-four Guṇas. The definitions are almost identical in the two authors. The Guṇas are: (i) *śleṣa*, coalescence of words (owing to the imperceptibility of *saṃdhi*, when it is not harsh to the ear and when the letters belong to the same *sthāna* or organ of pronunciation). (ii) *prasāda*, lucidity arising from carefully selected words which lead to the intended sense at once. (iii) *samatā*, uniformity of diction (rejected by Mammaṭa as being often a defect). (iv) *mādhurya*, distinctness of words (*pṛthak-padatva*) on account of the absence of *saṃdhi*. (v) *saukumārya*, softness of expression due to the use of soft-sounding letters. (vi) *artha-vyakti*, clearness of sense due to the completion of a sentence in all its parts, (vii) *kānti*, gracefulness of diction, explained as follows by the commentator Ratneśvara: *apratihata-padair ārambhaḥ saṃdarbhasyaiva kāntiḥ......'kusumasya dhanur' iti prahatam, 'kausumam' ity aprahatam ; 'jalanidhau' iti prahatam, 'adhijalam' ity aprahatam; 'gurutvam' ity prahatam, 'gauravam' iti aprahatam ityādi......asti tu tulye'pi vācakatve padānāṃ kaścid ābhyantaro viśeṣo yam adhikṛtya kiṃcid eva prayuñjate mahākavayaḥ, na tu sarvam.* (viii) *audārya*, where the sentence is so arranged with formidable letters (*vikaṭākṣara*) or hard vocables (*vikaṭa*, explained as *kaṭhina-varṇa-saṃghaṭanā-rūpa* by Jagannātha) that the words proceed as if they were dancing (*nṛtyadbhir iva padair yad vākya-racanā*). (ix) *udātta*, the use of praiseworthy epithets (cf *Agni-purāṇa* 345. 9) ; Kumārasvāmin notes that it is the absence of the defect known as *anucitārtha*. (x) *ojas*, strength due to the presence of compounds. (xi) *sauśabdya*, elegance in the use of nominal and verbal forms (cf Bhāmaha i. 14-15 ; Rājaśekhara p. 20). (xii) *preyas*, statement of agree-

able or flattering things (Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and some other writers regard this as an Alaṃkāra and not a Guṇa) ; the commentator notes that this is the absence of the defect *paruṣa* (see above p. 14, fn 38). (xiii) *aurjitya*, compactness of structure[22]. (xiv) *samādhi*, attribution of the properties of one object to another (an echo of Daṇḍin's *samādhi*), e.g., attribution of the properties of an inanimate object to an animate object (what Kuntaka would comprehend under *upacāra-vakratā* and other writers under the figure *rūpaka*). (xv) *vistara*, detailed corroboration of what is said. (xvi) *saṃmitatva*, use of the absolutely necessary words, neither more nor less, to convey the intended sense, i.e. balance of sound and sense (*arthasya padānāṃ ca tulā-vidhṛtatvāt tulyatvena saṃmitat-vam*). (xvii) *gāmbhīrya*, presence of the suggested sense or *dhvani* (*dhvani-mattā*). (xviii) *saṃkṣepa*, brevity of statement. (xix) *saukṣmya*, minuteness or subtlety of sense. (xx) *prauḍhi*, maturity of sense (this comes under *pāka* detailed below). (xxi) *ukti*, cleverness of speech. (xxii) *rīti*, homogeneity of manner (corresponding to Vāmana's *samatā*), consisting of the completion of a sentence or theme in the manner in which it was begun. (xiii) *bhāvika*, conduct of a sentence according to its underlying emotion or sentiment (*bhāvataḥ*). (xxiv) *gati*, a pleasing effect produced by long and short vowels (*suramyat-vaṃ svarārohāvarohayoḥ*, in which *svarāroha* is explained as *dīrghākṣara-prāyatva*, and *svarāvaroha* as its reverse)[23].

22 This is said to be the absence of the defect called *visaṃdhi*. This defect, mentioned also by Bharata and Bhāmaha, is explained as *visaṃhito virūpo vā yasya saṃdhiḥ*, Kumārasvāmin explaining *visaṃhitaḥ* as *vigatā saṃhitā varṇānāṃ paraspara-saṃnikarṣo yatra*, and *virūpaḥ* as simply *karṇa-kaṭhoraḥ*. The *saṃhitā* therefore, means close proximity of letters which leads to euphonic, combinations sanctioned by grammar. The fault occurs (a) when there is no *saṃdhi* (*viśleṣa*) and (b) when the *saṃdhi* is harsh to the ear (*kaṣṭa*). Mammaṭa (pp. 331f) adds a third case of its occurrence when the *saṃdhi* gives rise to the implication of an indecent (*aślīla*) idea. See Trivedi's note to *Pratāparudra* pp. 73-75.

23 The *Agni-purāṇa*, while admitting most of these excellences,

The theory of *pāka* and *śayyā*, mentioned by Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha follows from the stress laid on felicity of expression, which depends on poetic genius and which lies at the root of all discussions on style, poetic figure and kindred topics. The word *śayyā* is old, having been used, apparently in this sense, by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*; while the *Agni-purāṇā* uses the word *mudrā* with a similar connotation. Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha develop it further as a special excellence of expression. The *śayyā* is defined as the repose of words in their mutual favourableness like the repose of the body in a bed, the similitude explaining the etymology of the term. This mutual friendship (*maitrī*) of words is so close that they cannot, as Mallinātha explains, be replaced even by synonyms: a theory of the immutability of words which *mutatis mutandis* would remind one of Flaubert's half-platonic view, developed by Walter Pater, that each idea has its fixed word-counterpart. The theory of *pāka*, is very closely allied with this. The word *pāka*, meaning literally 'ripeness', 'maturity' or 'fruition', is as old as Vāmana. He speaks of *pāka* (i. 2. 21 Vṛtti), resulting from the *vaidarbhī rīti* in a delightful effect on the connoisseur, as "that attaining which the excellence of a word quickens and in which the unreal appears as real". Elsewhere he says (i. 3. 15) that *śabda-pāka* occurs when the words are so carefully chosen that they cannot bear an exchange of synonym. Later theorists elaborate the doctrine as consisting of (1) *śabda-pāka*, which may be explained, after Vāmana, as maturity of expression due to the perfect fitness of a word and its sense, and (2) *artha-pāka* or depth of sense which is of various kinds brought about by the different tastes of different poetic Rasas. Maṅgala, according to Rājaśekhara, regards *pāka* only as *sauśabdya* (excellence of words) or *tiṅāṃ supāṃ ca vyutpattiḥ* (proficiency in the use of nouns and verbs. cf.

classifies and defines them somewhat differently. See ch. 345, and above p. 204.

Bhāmaha i. 14-15). Vidyādhara admits only what is called *artha-pāka* above ; but he alludes to the other theories which say that *pāka* consists of *pada-vyutpatti* (Maṅgala) or of *pada-parivṛtti-vaimukhya* (Vāmana). Vidyānātha calls this last *śayyā*, and accepts and defines *pāka* as depth of sense. Bhoja would call it *prauḍhī* and enumerate it as a *śabda-guṇa*.

Rājaśekhara's discussion of earlier views on this point (p. 20) is interesting and deserves quotation. "The *ācāryas* ask: 'what is *pāka*?' Maṅgala says: 'it is maturity (*pariṇāma*)'. 'What again, is maturity?' ask the *ācāryas*. Maṅgala replies: 'it is the skill in the use of nouns and verbs'. Hence it is *sauśabdya* or excellence of language. 'The *pāka* is fixedness in the application of words' say the *ācāryas*. It is said [by Vāmana i. 3. 15]: 'The insertion and deletion of words occur so long as there is uncertainty in the mind ; when the fixity of words is established, the composition is successful'. So the followers of Vāmana say: 'the *pāka* is aversion of words to alteration by means of synonyms'. Therefore it is said [Vāmana, *loc, cit.*] : 'The specialists in the propriety of words have called that *śabda-pāka* in which the words abandon the capability of being exchanged (by synonyms)'. But Avantisundarī thinks that this want of capability is not *pāka*. Since the varied expressions of great poets, with regard to one and the same object, all attain maturity, the *pāka* consists in the composition of word and sense proper to the development of Rasa. So it is said: 'That is *vākya-pāka* to me by which the mode of stringing together word and sense, according to *guṇa, alaṃkāra, rīti* and *ukti*, is relished'. And again: 'There being the speaker, there being the word, there being the *rasa*, there is still not that by which the nectar of words flows'. Hence the Yāyāvarīyas say: 'Since the *pāka*, which is capable of being communicated by *śabda* (word) through its inferrability from its effect, is in a high degree the province of Denotation (*ābhidhā*), still it is subject to usage of what is established by the sanction of the *sahṛdaya*'."

From this passage it would seem that Rājaśekhara admits that the *pāka* is conveyed chiefly through words; and taken as *sauśabdya* or *śabda-vyutpatti*, it comes primarily under the province of *abhidhā*; but it finds its scope only in the *artha* which is established by the taste of the *sahṛdaya*. In this connexion it is proper to note that the term *pāka*, like the word *rasa*, has a reference to its etymological meaning of physical taste which has been fancifully likened to that resulting from the ripeness of fruits. As such ripeness of fruits bears different tastes, some theorists carry the analogy into distinguishing and naming *pākas* after various kinds of fruits. Thus, Vāmana quotes two old verses (under iii. 2. 15) which speak of *vṛntāka-pāka*; while Vidyānātha speaks of two kinds of *pāka* (1) *drākṣā-pāka*, or the maturity of grapes in which the taste flows both in and out, and (2) *nārikela-pāka*, the ripeness of cocoa-nut which is rough outside but tasty inside. Bhoja similarly distinguishes between *mṛdvīkā-pāka* and *nārikela-pāka*; but Ratneśvara in his commentary alludes to various kinds of *pāka*, named after *sahakāra* (mango), *vārtāka* (egg-plant) and *nīlakapittha* (feronia elephantum). Rājaśekhara goes to the length of mentioning nine such cases of *pāka* named after the following nine fruits (pp. 20-21): *picumanda* (*nimba*, azadirachta indica), *badara* (jujube), *mṛdvīkā* (grapes), *vārtāka* (egg-plant fruit), *tintiḍī* (tamarind), *sahakāra* (mango), *kramuka* (betel-nut), *trapusa* (cucumber) and *nārikela* (cocoa-nut).

CHAPTER VIII

SOME LATER WRITERS OF THE NEW SCHOOL

(1)

Hemacandra and *the Vāgbhaṭas*

The group of three Jaina writers, Hemacandra and the older and the younger Vāgbhaṭas, may be conveniently mentioned here, but they do not call for any special remark. Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, written in the form of Sūtra with Vṛtti, and its commentary, called *Viveka*[1], composed by himself, indicate extensive learning and constitute a compact manual of Poetics in eight chapters; but there is hardly anywhere any striking trait of originality[2] or even indepen-

1 The Sūtra-portion is called *Kāvyānuśāsana*, the Vṛtti is styled the *Alaṃkāra-cūḍā-maṇi*, while the brief commentary which explains the Vṛtti may be called *Viveka* from its *maṅgala*-verse.

2 Hemacandra's treatment of poetic figures, however, is somewhat peculiar. He speaks of six *śabdālaṃkāras*, viz. *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *citra*, *śleṣa*, *vakrokti* and *punaruktavad-ābhāsa*. The *arthālaṃkāras* are much reduced in number and limited to twenty-nine (viz. *upamā*, *utprekṣā*, *rūpaka*, *nidarśana*, *dīpaka*, *anyokti*, *paryāyokta*, *atiśayokti*, *ākṣepa*, *virodha*, *sahokti*, *samāsokti*, *jāti*, *vyāja-stuti*, *śleṣa*, *vyatireka*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *sasaṃdeha*, *apahnuti*, *parāvṛtti*, *anumāna*, *smṛti*, *bhrānti*, *viṣama*, *sama*, *samuccaya*, *parisaṃkhyā*, *kāraṇamālā* and *saṃkara*). He includes *saṃsṛṣṭi* under *saṃkara*, and treats *ananvaya* and *upameyopamā* as varieties of *upamā*. The *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* similarly goes under *anyokti*. All figures like *rasavat*, *preyas*, *ūrjasvin* and *samāhita* that have a touch of Rasa and Bhāva are omitted as being comprehended (so also Mammaṭa thinks) in the class of poetry called *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*. Hemacandra does not deal with *parikara*, *yathā-saṃkhya*, *bhāvika*, *udātta*, *āśīḥ* and *pratyanīka* for reasons explained by himself at pp. 292-4. Hemacandra, however, defines some figures somewhat broadly so as to include other recognised figures in them, e. g. his *dīpaka* would include *tulyayogitā*, his *parāvṛtti* would contain the *paryāya* and *parivṛtti* of Mammaṭa, his *nidarśana* would comprehend *prativastūpamā*, *dṛṣṭānta* and *nidarśanā* of other writers.

dent thinking out of the main problems. This work is chiefly a compilation[3]. Hemacandra not only paraphrases literally most of the standardised definitions, and reproduces almost unhesitatingly the illustrative quotations of Mammaṭa; but his acknowledged and unacknowledged borrowings from the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*, from the *Abhinava-bhāratī*, from the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, as well as from other well known works are indeed numerous. No doubt, Hemacandra adds a chapter on Dramaturgy, chiefly compiled from Bharata and others, but the account of the doctrines of *dhvani*, *rasa*, *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṃkāra* is closely and somewhat uncritically copied from Mammaṭa, supplemented, however, by excerpts, in the commentary, of other views on the subject. In trying to improve upon Mammaṭa's imperfect definition of poetry by substituting *sālaṃkārau ca* in the place of *analaṃkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi*, he puts himself open to greater technical objection, although he adds the gloss: *ca-kāro niralaṃkārayor api śabdārthayoḥ kvacit kāvyatva-sthāpanārthaḥ*.

The older and the younger Vāgbhaṭas, on the other hand, though making considerable use of Mammaṭa's text (the latter especially borrowing from Hemacandra's version too), do not admit *dhvani*, and are allied in their sympathies with the Pre-dhvani schools. The authority of Daṇḍin, for instance, carries great weight with them; and the younger Vāgbhaṭa admits some of Rudraṭa's peculiar poetic figures. At the same time, the unmistakable influence of the new

3 The eight chapters of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* comprehends the following topics: i. The purpose (*proyojana*) of poetry, its causes (*hetu*) viz. *pratibhā* to which are added *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*; the definition of poetry; the nature of *śabda* and *artha*; the denoted, indicated and suggested meanings. ii. The *rasa* and its factors. iii. The *doṣas* of *pada*, *vākya*, *artha* and *rasa*. iv. The *guṇas*, accepted as three after Mammaṭa, and the letters which produce them. v. Six figures of sound. vi. Twenty-nine figures of sense. vii. The *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*. viii. Division of poetry into *prekṣya* and *śravya*, and their characteristics and subdivisions.

school on them precludes us from affiliating them directly with the older Alaṃkāra and Rīti schools. The older Vāgbhaṭa defines poetry as:

sādhu-śabdārtha-saṃdarbhaṃ guṇālaṃkāra-bhūṣitam/,
sphuṭa-rīti-rasopetaṃ kāvyaṃ kurvīta kīrtaye//

while the younger Vāgbhaṭa, whose work is written in the *sūtra-* and *vṛtti*-form like Hemacandra's, adopts literally the latter's modification of Mammaṭa's definition. The criterion of poetry, according to them, is that it must contain, through its word and sense, the *guṇa, alaṃkāra, rīti* and *rasa,* but these elements are mentioned rather in an eclectic than critical spirit. The older Vāgbhaṭa accepts without question the ten Guṇas of older writers, but the younger Vāgbhaṭa follows Mammaṭa in limiting them to three, with the pointed remark: *iti daṇḍi-vāmana-vāgbhaṭādi-praṇītā daśa kāvya-guṇāḥ, vayaṃ tu mādhuryaujaḥ-prasāda-lakṣaṇān trīn eva guṇān manyāmahe.* The younger Vāgbhaṭa speaks of Rasa as the 'soul' of poetry[4]; but beyond a description, after Hemacandra and others, of the different Rasas, he does not touch upon the theoretical aspect of the question, nor does he indicate the mutual relation of the different elements of poetry with reference to the Rasa. Indeed, both of them do not appear to accept the reconciliation proposed by the Dhvani-theorists; and the younger Vāgbhaṭa specifically includes *dhvani,* after Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, in the figure *paryāyokta* with the remark: *evamādi-bhedair dhvanitoktir bhavati, paraṃ grantha-gaurava-bhayād asmābhir nodāhriyate, sa prapañcas tvānandavardhanād avagantavyaḥ* (p. 37). The object of these Jaina manuals (though there is nothing specifically Jaina in them) appears to have been the presentation of a popular and easy epitome of the subject, allaying themselves to no particular school or system, but following

4 *doṣa-muktaṃ guṇa-yuktam alaṃkāra-bhūṣitaṃ śabdārtha-rūpam uktam kāvya-śarīram, paraṃ tat tvaprāṇi-śarīram iva nirātmakaṃ na pratibhāsate, ataḥ kāvyasya prāṇa-bhūtaṃ rasam āha,* ch. v, p. 53).

the traditional notions in a spirit of eclecticism, without critically systematising them in the light of a central theory. In this respect, they bear a close resemblance to the *alaṃkāra*-section in the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja, whose definition of poetry is forcibly recalled by that of the older Vāgbhaṭa quoted above.

The topics dealt with in the five *paricchedas* of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* are as follow: (i) The definition of Kāvya ; *pratibhā* as the source of Kāvya, aided by *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa* ; the circumstances favourable to poetry and the conventions observed by poets. (ii) The language of poetry (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūta-bhāṣā) ; forms of poetry (metrical *chandonibaddha* and non-metrical) ; its divisions into *padya* (verse), *gadya* (prose) and *miśra* (mixed verse and prose) ; eight *doṣas* of *pada* and of *vākya* respectively, and the *doṣas* of *artha*. (iii) The ten *guṇas*. (iv) Four poetic figures of sound, viz. *citra, vakrokti, anuprāsa* and *yamaka*, and thirty-five figures of sense ; the two *rītis* (*vaidarbhī* and *gauḍīyā*). (v) Nine *rasas* ; kinds of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* and kindred topics. The *Kāvyānuśāsana* of the younger Vāgbhaṭa is, unlike the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (which is written in the metrical form, generally in the *anuṣṭubh* with only one prose passage at iii. 14), composed in the Sūtra- and Vṛtti-style of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*. It is also divided into five chapters with topics as follow: (i) The *prayojana*, and the *hetu* (*pratibhā* aided by *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*) of Kāvya ; its division into *padya, gadya* and *miśra* ; the classification of poetical composition into *mahākāvya, ākhyāyikā, kathā, campū* and *rūpaka*. (ii) Sixteen *doṣas* of *pada*, fourteen of *vākya*, and fourteen of *artha* ; the ten *guṇas* of Vāmana and Daṇḍin reduced to three, viz. *mādhurya, ojas* and *prasāda* ; three *rītis*, viz. *vaidarbhī, gauḍīyā* and *pāñcālī*. (ii) Sixty-three figures of sense, in which some of Rudraṭa's old figures reappear. (iv) Six figures of sound, viz. *citra, śleṣa, anuprāsa, vakrokti, yamaka* and *punaruktavad-ābhāsa*. (v) Nine *rasas* ; the topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā* ; and the *doṣas* of *rasa*.

(2)

Jayadeva, Appayya and *Jagannātha*

We have now practically closed our survey of the principal Post-dhvani writers who deserve mention and treatment. The school of *kavi-śikṣā* and the erotic *rasa*-writers stand apart in many respects, and we propose to deal with them separately in the following chapters. But the above account of the Post-dhvani writers must not be supposed to exhaust the extraordinary wealth of scholastic activity of this period. The commentators and textbook-writers continued to multiply, and a glance at their names given in our preceding volume[5] will show the extent to which their activity was carried ; but hardly any of these later works, except perhaps Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, with an account of which we shall close our survey, deserves separate or detailed mention. Even Keśava Miśra's *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, or Acyuta Rāya's more modern *Sāhitya-sāra*[6], convenient and well-written compendiums as they are, and standing as they do much above the average, add hardly anything fresh to our knowledge.

Keśava Miśra draws largely upon Mammaṭa and the younger Vāgbhaṭa (besides older writers). He declares that his work is based upon the Kārikās of one *alaṃkāra-vidyā-sūtrakāra bhagavān* Śauddhodani (see vol. i, pp. 220f); but it does not present any theory nor set up any new system. There are, however, certain opinions which are peculiar to the work, the chief of which is that it sets up Rasa as the essence of poetry. The work is divided into eight *ratnas*, consisting of twenty-two *marīcis*. The first *ratna* defines Kāvya as *rasādimat vākya*, and discusses *pratibhā* etc. as its sources. After an enunciation of three Rītis, *vaidarbhī, gauḍī* and *māgadhī* (which are defined with reference to the em-

5 See vol. i, ch. x, pp. 262-315, Minor Writers. For commentators, see Bibliography given under each writer.

6 For a summary of the contents of this work, see vol. i, p. 264.

ployment of compounds), along with *ukti* (4 kinds) and *mudrā* (4 kinds), it goes on to discuss the three usual Vṛttis, viz. *śakti* (=*abhidhā*), *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā*. Then comes the *doṣa-ratna*, in which are detailed two series of eight faults each of word and sense, and twelve defects of sentences. The next third section, called *guṇa-ratna*, deals with five excellences of *śabda* (viz. *saṃkṣiptatva*, *udāttatva*, *prasāda*, *ukti* and *samādhi*), and four excellences of sense (viz. *bhāvikatva*, *suśabdatva*, *paryāyokta* and *sudharmitā*). This is followed by a discussion of the cases where some of the above Doṣas may sometimes become Guṇas. The influence of Bhoja's opinions on this part of the work is obvious. Then comes the *alaṃkāra-ratna*, where mention is made of eight figures of sounds (*citra*, *vakrokti*, *anuprāsa*, *gūḍha*, *ślesa*, *prahelikā*, *praśnottara* and *yamaka*) and only fourteen figures of sense (*upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā*, *samāsokti*, *apahnuti*, *samāhita*, *svabhāva*, *virodha*, *sāra*, *dīpaka*, *sahokti*, *anyadeśatva*= *asaṃgati* of Mammaṭa, *viśeṣokti*, and *vibhāvanā*). This is followed by a curious chapter, entitled *varṇaka-ratna*, in which are detailed the *upamānas* appropriate for describing a damsel, her complexion, hair, forehead, eyebrows etc. It goes on to give practical hints as to how poets should describe the physical characteristics of the hero, mentions words which convey the idea of similarity, details the conventional usages of poets (*kavi-samaya*), as well as the topics for description (such as the king, the queen, a town, a city, a river etc.) and the way of describing them, the colours of various objects in nature, words that convey numerals from one to one thousand, certain tricks of words such as *bhāsā-sama* (where a verse reads the same in Sanskrit as in Prakrit), *samasyā-pūraṇa*, the nine Rasas, the kinds of hero and heroine, the different Bhāvas, the Doṣas of Rasa, and lastly, the arrangement of letters favourable to each Rasa.

Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*[7] has been a deservedly popular

7 See vol. i, p. 199 for a résumé of its contents.

manual, but in spite of its clearness and brevity of exposition and aptness of its illustrations, it is nothing more than a convenient epitome, its most remarkable feature being its detailed treatment of poetic figures, which occupy nearly half its bulk.

The *Candrāloka* deals with ten *guṇas* and one hundred *alaṃkāras*. The third chapter, curiously enough, is devoted to *lakṣaṇas*, which are not mentioned by later writers except in connexion with Dramaturgy (as by Viśvanātha). Instead of Bharata's thirty-six *lakṣaṇas* (ch. xvi 6-39 ; see above pp. 3-5), Jayadeva defines and illustrates only ten, viz. the economical combination of letters to convey a striking meaning (*akṣara-saṃhati*), the prohibition of a fault by the indication of an excellence (*śobhā*). the deliberation resulting in a negation of what is said (*abhimāna*), the determination of a proposition by a rejection of other possible alternatives (*hetu*), the disregard of well established causes (*pratiṣedha*), the interpretation of a name both as true and false (*nirukta*), false attribution where both the major and middle terms of a proposition are absent (*mithyādhyavasāya*), substantiation of the excellence of an object by emphasising its well-matched resemblance to a well known object (*siddhi*), establishment of a particular attribute through the drift of two different meanings (*yukti*), and the accomplishment of a purpose through some action or occurrence (*phala*). Viśvanātha, however, adds thirty-three dramatic embellishments (*naṭyālaṃkāṛas*) to his *lakṣaṇas*, which are enumerated after Bharata as thirty-six in number, but which do not correspond exactly to Bharata's *lakṣaṇas*, as some of the latter fall also under Viśvanātha's *nāṭyālaṃkāras*. The two classes cannot indeed be distinguished on any conceivable theory ; and though Viśvanātha adopts the conventional enumeration, he remarks in the end : *eṣāṃ ca lakṣaṇānāṃ nāṭyālaṃkārāṇām ekarūpatve'pi bhedena vyapadeśaḥ gaḍḍalikā-pravāheṇa.*

Thus, we find included under *lakṣaṇas* the combination of Guṇas with Alaṃkāras ; the economical grouping of letters to produce a charming import ; the use of *double*

entendre for the purpose of conveying a less known import along with one more well known ; the use of analogy and example ; the brief citation of a reason for the intended meaning ; the expression of doubt in the case of an object whose nature is not known ; the surmise from a matter coincident with the course of nature ; the fitting of expression to the sense ; the citation of admitted facts to refute inadmissible views ; the supposition of a non-existent object or fact from resemblance ; the inference of an object from some of its peculiarities ; the deduction by reasoning of a fact which is not capable of sense-perception ; the description of an object under the similitude of time and place ; the statement of agreeable views in accordance with the Śāstras ; the indication of acts contrary to one's qualities ; the attribution to an object of qualities in excess of its ordinary qualities ; the discrimination of a particular meaning out of other well known meanings by an allusion to the literal sense ; the repetition of a proposition already established ; the mention of various objects in eulogy of the intended object ; the unconscious expression, under the influence of passion, of the contrary of what one means ; the alteration of a conclusion through doubt ; the compliance with other people's views by words or acts ; the persuasion by means of affectionate words ; the statement in succession of several means to attain a desired object ; the suggestion and strengthening of one view by a different view ; the reproach ; the respectful enquiry ; the employment of names of well known persons or things in eulogy of the person or thing under description ; the mistaken resemblance of apparently similar things causing resentment ; the offer of oneself in the service of another ; the flattering statement ; the employment of a comparison to convey a sense which is not directly desired ; the indirect expression of desire ; the veiled compliment ; and the expression of gratitude in pleasing terms.

The *nāṭyālaṃkāras* are the benediction, the lamentation, the deception, the unforgiving attitude, the arrogant ex-

pression, the expression of a resolution or of an excellent purpose, the raillery, the desire for a charming object, the agitation due to reproach, the repentance for missing an object through folly, the use of an argument, the longing for an object, the request, the commencement of an undesirable act, the mentioning of a purpose, the provocation, the reproach, the observance of the Śāstras, the covert rebuke administered by citing a common opinion, the narration, the prayer, the apology, the reminding of a duty neglected, the recounting of previous history, the determination of an act by reasoning, the ecstacy and the instruction.

It will be seen that the division is not only overlapping, but both the *lakṣaṇas* and the *nāṭyālaṃkāras* refer largely to modes of exposition, to the use of what other writers would regard as specific figures or excellences of diction, or they may sometimes appertain to the feelings and emotions which come within the sphere of Rasa and Bhāva. This fact is recognised very early by Daṇḍin who includes *lakṣaṇas* under *alaṃkāras* in the wider sense. Dhanañjaya does the same, but he recognises also that some of them come under Rasa and Bhāva. Viśvanātha, therefore, includes them under the *guṇa, alaṃkāra, bhāva* and *saṃdhi*, but deals with them only in connexion with the drama. There is practically no need for them in later Poetics from which they ultimately disappear, their function having been assigned to other recognised elements of poetry.

Appayya Dīkṣita's three well known manuals[8] one of which is directly based on Jayadeva's work, and Viśveśvara's *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*[9] are indeed noteworthy for their elaborate treatment of poetic figures and have merits of their own, but they are in reality nothing more than elementary text-books, excellent résumés which methodically register

8 See vol. i, pp. 223-25.

9 See vol. i, p. 303. The work, as its name implies, deals entirely with poetic figures in an elaborate way. The number of independent figures dealt with is about 76.

previous speculations on the subject. There is such a general sameness of characteristics, such a monotony of treatment, as well as repetition of conventional topics in conventional phraseology, that it is not worth while to linger over the activity of these lesser writers. The work of the great Kashmirian writers was over, and although Bengal and the Deccan had come into prominence as fields of later activity, the age of really original or thoughtful writers was long gone by. It was succeeded by an age of commentators, interpreters and critics (some of them were very able and painstaking) as long as there was the need of critical elaboration, of understanding and explaining a great author. But in course of time, even this became superfluous, and there was nothing to be done but the writing of smaller and simpler manuals adapted to general comprehension. The declining age of most of the schools witnessed a host of such manuals and manuals of manuals ; but this was the period when the declining age of the Post-dhvani school, as represented by Mammaṭa, went through the same process. Even this was not enough. Out of the debris of these schools there grew up a spirit of eclecticism, of which we have already an early indication in the works of Bhoja and the Vāgbhaṭas after the decline of the older Rasa, Alaṃkāra and Rīti schools ; and we meet with hand-books which depend upon no system but which are apparently written for the enlightenment of lay understanding. The different systems of Sanskrit Poetics may now be supposed to have well-nigh run their course and attained their natural termination.

(3)

Jagannātha

Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* is the last remarkable work on Poetics. We do not, however, find in it a complete presentation of the subject, as the available text forms about two-fifths of what the work was originally designed to be by

its author and is thus extant only in an unfortunately incomplete shape. Nearly three-fourths of this, again, and the whole of his *Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* are taken up with the discussion and illustration of poetic figures, a topic which, as here set forth, forms indeed one of the most exhaustive and noteworthy presentation of later times, but is of little theoretical interest from the standpoint of general Poetics. Jagannātha's style is erudite and frightens the student by its involved language, its subtle reasoning and its unsparing criticism of earlier writers. The most criticised authors in this respect are Ruyyaka, his commentator Jayaratha and his follower Appayya Dīkṣita. But in spite of this tendency towards controversy, which is combined with an aptitude for hair-splitting refinements, Jagannātha's work displays an acute and independent treatment, or at least an attempt at a rethinking of the old problems. He shows himself conversant with the poetic theories of older writers, which he does not ignore but which he endeavours to harmonise with the new currents of thought. Along with some other important writers of the new school, Jagannātha marks a reaction in this respect ; and the school of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka does not receive from him unqualified homage.

Jagannātha defines poetry as a word or linguistic composition which brings a charming idea into expression (*ramaṇīyārtha-pratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ*) : a definition which reminds us of Daṇḍin's well known description of *kāvya-śarīra* as *iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī*, but which is further explained in this way. The charmingness belongs to an idea which causes unworldly or disinterested pleasure. This quality of disinterestedness is an essential characteristic, which is a fact of internal experience and which is an attribute of pleasure, being synonymous with *camatkāra* or strikingness. The cause of this pleasure is a conception or a species of representation, consisting of continued contemplation of something characterised by the pleasure itself. Thus, there is no disinterestedness in the pleasure conveyed by the ap-

prehension of the sense of a sentence like 'a son is born to you' or 'I shall give you money'; in such a sentence, therefore, there is no poetry. Hence poetry consists of words which express an idea that becomes the object of contemplation causing such pleasure[10].

The beautiful (*ramaṇīyatā*) in poetry, therefore, is that which gives us disinterested or impersonal pleasure. This pleasure is specifically different from that which one finds in the actually pleasing, and depends upon taste formed by continued contemplation of beautiful objects. It will be noticed that this definition not only gives us a remarkable analysis of the beautiful but includes in its generality and comprehensiveness all the elements of poetry recognised by previous theorists, without specifically naming them. We have already noted that the poetic sentiment or Rasa, excited in the reader's mind, is peculiar in its nature; it is, no doubt, a fact of one's own consciousness but it is essentially universal and impersonal in character, being common to all trained readers and possessing no significance to their personal relations or interests. A distinction is made between a natural emotion and a poetic sentiment; the former is individual and immediately personal and therefore may be pleasurable or painful, but the latter is generic and disinterested and marked by impersonal joy. The poetic sentiment in this sense is supernormal (*alaukika*), and those things which cause disgust, fear or sorrow in ordinary life and those normal emotions which are far from pleasant in actual experience, being conveyed in poetry, become ideal and universal, and bring about this supernormal pleasure which is not to be compared

10 *ramaṇīyatā ca lokottarāhlāda-janaka-jñāna-gocaratā; lokottaraṃ cāhlāda-gataś camatkāratvāpara-paryāyo'nubhava-sākṣiko jāti-viśeṣaḥ; kāraṇaṃ ca tad-avacchinne bhāvanā-viśeṣaḥ punaḥ punar anusaṃdhānātmā; putras te jātaḥ, dhanaṃ te dāsyāmīti vākyārtha-dhī-janyasyāhlādasya na lokottaratvam, ato na tasmin vākye kāvyatva-prasaktiḥ. Ithaṃ ca camatkāra-janaka-bhāvanā-viṣayārtha-pratipādaka-śabdatvam.* Cf Jacobi in *Internat. Wochenschrift*, 1910, ix. 821.

to the very mixed pleasure experienced in ordinary life. This pleasure, dissociated from all personal interests, is the essence of the mental condition involved in the enjoyment of Rasa ; it is also the essence of all poetry, as conceived by Jagannātha.

In the same way, the definition includes the concept of the suggested sense (*dhvani*), and Jagannātha proceeds to divide poetry on this basis into four (viz. *uttamottama*, *uttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama*) classes, corresponding to the three classes recognised by his predecessors since the Dhvanikāra's time. The first occurs where the sound and sense, subordinating themselves, suggest another charming sense ; it corresponds to the principal *dhvani-kāvya* of the Dhvanikāra. The second and third classes, the *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* and *citra*, mentioned by the Dhvanikāra, are split up[11] into three cases, viz. (i) where the suggested sense, though not principal, is yet the cause of special charm, (ii) where the charm of the expressed sense is predicated equally with the charm of the suggested, and (iii) where the charm of sound, being embellished by the charm of sense, is principal. This lowest class of poetry, corresponding to the *śabda-citra* and *artha-citra* of Mammaṭa (a distinction which is rejected by Jagannātha), apparently comprehends those cases where the *artha-camatkṛti* is swallowed up or strengthened by *śabda-camatkṛti*. Jagannātha adds that although it is possible to count a still lower fifth class of poetry, in which the charm of sound is altogether devoid of all charm of sense (e. g. cases of conundrums like the *padma-bandha*) and which is allowed by the practice of some poets, yet in view of the definition of poetry already given, as consisting of words expressing a charming sense, these instances have to be excluded or ignored.

11 The object of this splitting up is to dispense with the necessity of minutely subdividing the various cases of the *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya* and also to include generally all poetry which is *alaṃkāra-pradhāna*.

After this classification, Jagannātha follows the conventional way of dividing Dhvani, infinite aspects as it may present (*asaṃkhya-bheda*), into two broad groups, based on Denotation (*abhidhā-mūla*) and Indication (*lakṣaṇā-mūla*) respectively. The former has a threefold aspect, according as it is a suggestion of *rasa*, *alaṃkāra* or *vastu*, while recognition is given to the two cases of the latter, viz., (i) where the expressed meaning passes over to another sense (*arthāntara-saṃkramita-vācya*) and (ii) where the expressed sense is made to disappear entirely (*atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya*). This brings our author topically to a detailed consideration of Rasa-dhvani which is characterised as *parama-ramaṇīya*, and an elaborate discussion of the nature and theory of Rasa and Bhāva and its constituent elements. He speaks in this connexion of *bhāva-dhvani* (pp. 74-98) and takes into consideration different phases of Rasa and Bhāva, such as *rasābhāsa* (p. 99), *bhāva-śānti* (p. 102). *bhāvotpatti*, *bhāva-saṃdhi* and *bhāva-śabalatā* (p. 103f)[12]. The discussion of the Guṇas come in this context, inasmuch as they are related to the Rasa. Jagannātha enumerates and discusses the ten *śabda-* and *artha-guṇas* of Vāmana and other older writers ; but he appears to accept only three Guṇas after Mammaṭa, viz. *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, classifying them on the basis of their respective effects on the reader's mind, viz. *druti* (melting), *dīpti* (brilliance, i. e. expansion) and *vikāsa* (pervasion). Jagannātha remarks in this connexion: *guṇānāṃ caiṣāṃ druti-dīpti-vikāsākhyās tisraś citta-vṛttayaḥ krameṇa prayojyaḥ, tat-tad-guṇa-viśiṣṭa-rasa-carvaṇā-janyā iti yāvat*, making it clear that the justification of this classification consists in the divergent nature of the mental activity involved in the relish of Rasa. He does not agree, however, with Mammaṭa in the latter's statement that when we speak of a composition as *madhura* we use the word in a secondary

12 These topics are also dealt with by Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and others.

sense (as when we say "the appearance of this man is brave"), inasmuch as the Guṇas being the properties of Rasa, we apply to the 'body' what appertains to the 'soul' of poetry by an extended use of the term. Jagannātha maintains that when we say the sentiment of love (*śṛṅgāra*) is *madhura* in a particular case, we mean to imply its influence, such as *druti* etc. on the mind, and this must be taken to refer not only to Rasa but also to *śabda* and *artha* and the composition in general (*śabdārtha-rasa-racanā-gatam eva grāhyam*).

The next chapter proceeds to discuss other varieties of suggestion, including suggestion based on *lakṣaṇā*, which is dealt with in detail. It then takes up the poetic figures (to the number of about 70), to which the rest of the work, breaking off in the middle of the figure *uttara*, is devoted. The poetic figure or Alaṃkāra comes in as the source of the charm or *ramaṇīyatā* essential in the principal suggested element of poetry already defined (*prāg-abhihita-lakṣaṇasya kāvyātmano vyaṅgyasya ramaṇīyatā-prayojakā alaṃkārāḥ*, p. 156). The aesthetic pleasure (*camatkāra* or *lokottaratva*) into which this *ramaṇīyatā* resolves itself is an essential element in the poetic figure ; Jagannātha thus harmonises his own conception of poetry with Ruyyaka's theory of the *alaṃkāra* (which he accepts and elaborates) as involving this *camatkāra* (also called *hṛdyatva*, *cārutva*, *saundarya*, or denoted by the technical terms *vaicitrya*, *vicchitti-viśeṣa* or *bhaṇiti-prakāra*) imparted by the conception of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā*). Kuntaka, from whom Ruyyaka appears to have derived his analysis, laid down that in every poetical production the activity of the poet, which consists in an act of the productive imagination (*pratibhā*), is the principal point, and it should result in poetic expression. Jagannātha asserts that the *pratibhā* alone is the source of poetry and therefore of poetic expression, and as such it fixes the nature of the *alaṃkāra*. The special charm (*vicchitti-viśeṣa*), which is thus imparted to poetic figure by the imagination of the poet, is taken (pp. 466, 470) as the basis upon

which the poetic figures distinguish themselves in their special peculiarities, and is explained as an act of imagination on the part of the poet in so far as it is produced in the poem, or as that aesthetic pleasure[13] which is thereby brought into being. As to how this *vicchitti* is determined, Jagannātha settles the question by resting it not only upon established usage (*saṃpradāya*) but also upon one's own internal experience (*anubhava*). On this fundamental principle, the various figures are minutely defined, differentiated, illustrated and classified ; and this portion of Jagannātha's work, in spite of its subtlety and polemic attitude, is one of the most acute, though unfortunately uncompleted, treatment of the subject.[14]

13 This translation of the term *camatkāra* is justified by Jagannātha's own definition of poetry.

14 For an elaborate account of Jagannātha as a literary critic see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (Annamalai Univ. Skt. Series 1942), pp. 78f (chs. iv-vi).

CHAPTER IX

LATER WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

The doctrine of Rasa, which is advocated, if not first enunciated, by Abhinavagupta, is finally adopted by almost all writers on general Poetics who accept *rasa-dhvani* as an important element of poetry. With the exception of Viśvanātha and Keśava Miśra, they do not indeed go so far as to declare expressly with Abhinavagupta that Rasa alone is the essence of poetry, but they accept in reality the suggested sense in the form of Rasa as essentially the main element. The Rasa is viewed as a pleasant sentiment belonging to the reader whose dormant emotions, derived from experience or inherited instincts, are evoked by the reading of poems into an ideal and impersonalised form of joy ; an appreciation or enjoyment, consisting of a pleasant mental condition in which the reader identifies himself with the feelings of the hero and experiences them in a generic form, the fulness of the enjoyment depending upon the nature and experience of the particular reader. The sentiment thus evoked is essentially universal in character, and the aesthetic pleasure resulting from it is not individual (even though enjoyed as an intimately personal feeling), but generic and disinterested, being such as would be common to all trained readers (*samasta-bhāvaka-svasaṃvedya*). It is, therefore, described as something supernormal (*alaukika*) and invariablv pleasant, not to be compared to the normal pleasures of life which have always a reference to one's personal relations or interests, and which may be pleasant or painful. Things, which would be called causes of an emotion in the normal sense and which may produce disgust, horror or pity in real life, awaken these feelings indeed in poetry and drama, but convey them in such an ideal and generic form that these emotions, which

are far from pleasant in ordinary life, are converted into an impersonal joy, which is ineffable and indivisible. One may be moved by disgust, horror or pity and shed real tears ; but the underlying sentiment is always one of exquisite joy[1], which must be distinguished from an ordinary feeling.

This is the general position of all later theorists with regard to the nature and function of Rasa in poetry. Dhanañjaya, for instance, gives us the same process of transformation of an ordinary emotion, dominant in a composition, into a poetic sentiment, as formally laid down by Bharata and interpreted by Abhinavagupta ; and in this he is practically in agreement with Mammaṭa, Vidyādhara Viśvanātha and others. The dominant emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*), he says, becomes a sentiment (*rasa*) when it is brought into a relishable condition through the co-operation of the excitants, the ensuants and the accessories (including the *sāttvika bhāvas*). This statement is further amplified by the assertion that the enjoyer of Rasa (*rasika*) is the audience (*sāmājika*) on whose capacity of enjoyment it depends, and that the dominant feeling becomes a sentiment when it is so enjoyed. The Rasa, being a mental state, a subjective experience of the reader, in which enjoyment (*āsvāda*, *carvaṇā*, *rasanā* or *bhoga*) is essential and in which the enjoyer and the object of enjoyment become identical, the reader receives the represented feeling into his own soul and thereby enjoys it[2]. The locus of the Rasa is not in the

1 But the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, as noted above (p. 132 fn), as well as Bhoja (*sukha-duḥkhāvasthā-rūpa*), believes that Rasa is *sukha-duḥkhātmaka*. The *Rasa-kalikā* (vol. i, p. 318) also holds this view. See the elaborate arguments set forth in *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* (ed. GOS, p. 159) in support of this view. Siddhicandra (*Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* pp 16-21) refers to this theory of the "Navyas" that all Rasas are not pleasurable, but some distinctly painful. They accordingly admit the four pleasurable Rasas, viz. Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Hāsya and Adbhuta only, and not those which involve pain, viz. Karuṇa, Raudra, Bībhatsa and Bhayānaka. See the question discussed by V. Raghavan, *Number of Rasas*, ch. viii.

2 Cf. Jacobi in *GgA*, 1913, pp. 308f.

represented hero who belongs to the past; nor is it in the poem itself, the task of which is merely to exhibit the excitants etc. by which the dominant emotion is brought into expression and the Rasa, on its part, becomes revealed to the reader. Nor does the Rasa consist of the reader's mere apprehension (*pratīti*) of the emotions exhibited in the poem or enacted by the actor; for the reader would then apprehend not the Rasa but a feeling varying in different individuals, just as in real life the spectacle of a pair of lovers in union gives different spectators who witness it the varying emotions, according to their individual nature, of shame, envy, desire or aversion[3]. The *vibhāvas* etc., therefore, bring the *sthāyi-bhāva* to the enjoyment of the *rasika*, the aesthetically receptive reader or spectator, and thereby convert it into *rasa*; but they must be generalised and have no specific relation to a particular individual (*parityakta-viśeṣa*). Thus, the *vibhāva* Sītā, Dhanika explains, must refer to woman in general, and not to the particular individual who was the daughter of Janaka. Hence things, which are the exciting, ensuing or accessory circumstances in ordinary life, act as *vibhāvas* etc. in poetry, and generalise the dominant feeling into Rasa. The spectator, say, of the deeds of Arjuna on the stage may be compared, therefore, to the child who, in playing with clay elephants, experiences the sensation of its own energy as pleasant. The enjoyment in the spectator's mind is a manifestation of that joy which is innate as the blissful nature of self, a circumstance which gives us the frequent comparison of *rasāsvāda* with *brahmāsvāda*.

The mental activity involved in this enjoyment has got four aspects taken in connexion with the four primary sentiments of the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the heroic (*vīra*), the

3 These circumstances, Dhanika thinks, disprove the *vyaṅgyatva* of Rasa. It seems that Dhanika does not accept the *vyaṅgya-vyañjaka* relation of Rasa to Poetry, but holds some views similar to the *bhāvya-bhāvaka* theory of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (ed. Parab, 1917, p. 96).

horrible (*bībhatsa*) and the furious (*raudra*) admitted by Bharata[4], and consists respectively of the conditions of unfolding (*vikāsa*), expansion (*vistāra*), agitation (*kṣobha*) and distraction (*vikṣepa*). We have seen that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (along with Abhinavagupta) speaks of the *bhoga* (or *āsvāda*) of Rasa as involving only three mental conditions, named *vikāsa* (pervasion), *vistāra* (expansion) and *druti* (melting), which later theorists have taken as the basis and justification of the three Guṇas of *prasāda, ojas* and *mādhurya* respectively. With regard to the ninth Rasa, the quietistic, which is not mentioned by Bharata but which is acknowledged by some theorists, Dhanañjaya forbids its delineation in the drama (iv. 35) ; for the sentiment of absolute peace is in its own nature undefinable, and consists of four states mentioned by philosophers[5], viz. *maitrī, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekṣā,* which are not realisable by the Sahṛdaya. If it exists at all as Rasa, it must comprehend the fourfold mental activity enunciated above, as corresponding to the fourfold states recognised by philosophers in *śama*[6].

It is not necessary in this connexion to take up in detail the views of Mammaṭa, Vidyādhara and other writers, for it would be repeating substantially what has already been said regarding the final doctrine of Rasa. Viśvanātha is the only important writer, among later theorists, who boldly accepts Abhinavagupta's extreme view that the *rasa-dhvani* alone is the essence of poetry and builds up a system of Poetics on its basis[7].

4 See above p. 23. The fourfold division is probably adopted as an ostensible rationale for the doctrine of four primary and four secondary Rasas recognised by Bharata.

5 E. g. *Yoga-sūtra* i. 33.

6 *na ca tathābhūtasya śānta-rasasya sahṛdayāḥ svādayitāraḥ santi, atha tad-upāyabhūto muditā-maitrī-karuṇopekṣādi-lakṣaṇas tasya ca vikāsa-vistāra-kṣobha-vikṣepa-rūpataiveti.*

7 Bhānudatta, who substantially follows the doctrine of Rasa detailed here, is however singular in his classification of some aspects of Rasa.

Following up his own definition of poetry as "a sentence of which the soul is the Rasa", Viśvanātha gives us an elaborate analysis of Rasa in almost all its aspects. He sums up at the outset the characteristics of Rasa in two verses thus: "The Rasa, arising from an exaltation of the quality of *sattva* or goodness, indivisible, self-manifested, made up of joy and thought in their identity, free from the contact of aught else perceived, akin to the realisation of Brahma, and having for its essence supernormal wonder (*camatkāra*), is enjoyed by those competent in its inseparableness (as an object of knowledge) from the knowledge of itself". He explains *camatkāra* as consisting of an expansion of the mind and as synonymous with *vismaya*. In this connexion, Viśvanātha quotes with approval an opinion of his ancestor Nārāyaṇa who put a premium on the sentiment of the marvellous (*adbhuta rasa*) and maintained that it was essential in all Rasas. It is also explained clearly that the Rasa is identical with the enjoyment of itself, or, in other words, there is no distinction between the object and the operation in the apprehension of Rasa; so that when we say 'the Rasa is enjoyed', we only use a figurative expression. It follows from this that the enjoyment of Rasa is different in its nature from the ordinary processes of knowledge.

Viśvanātha insists very strongly on the necessity of *vāsanā*

He speaks of Rasa as *laukika* and *alaukika*, subdividing the latter into *svāpnika* (enjoyed in a dream), *mānorathika* (fanciful like a castle in the air) and *aupanāyika* (as depicted in poetry). He again gives us (*Rasa-taraṅ.* ch. viii, p. 65, ed. Regnaud) a three-fold arrangement of Rasa with reference to its manner of manifestation: (i) *abhimukha*, when it is manifested by means of the *bhāva*, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*. (ii) *vimukha*, when these elements are not directly expressed; so called because it is comprehensible with difficulty. (iii) *paramukha*, which has again two aspects according as it is (a) *alaṃkāra-mukha*, i. e, where the *alaṃkāra* is principal and the *rasa* is secondary. This includes probably the cases of figures like *rasavat*, which are included in *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya* by the Dhvani-theorists, and (b) *bhāva-mukha* where the *bhāva* is in the same way principal.

in the spectator, which consists of experience (*idānīntanī*) or instincts acquired from previous births (*prāktanī*). If one is not endowed with these germs of the capacity of appreciation, one may develop them by study of poetry and experience of life. In the case of the grammarian, the philosopher or one well-versed in the sacred lore, these susceptibilities are deadened. If it is sometimes found that an eager student of poetry is still deficient in the capacity of relishing Rasa, we must assume that it is the result of his accumulated demerit of a previous birth. Thus, Viśvanātha is anxious to show that experience and cultivation of the power of imagination are essential in one who seeks to enjoy Rasa.

Viśvanātha also insists that the *vibhāvas* etc. as well as the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) must be felt as generic or impersonalised. The reader must not take the feeling as his own individual emotion ; for it would then remain as *his* feeling (and never become Rasa) and would sometimes (e.g. in the case of the pathetic sentiment) cause pain, and not joy. Nor should the feeling be taken as pertaining solely to the hero ; for then it can not, as the feeling of another person, affect the reader and become Rasa. It is necessary, therefore, that the excitants etc. as well as the dominant feeling, should be generalised by a generic function (*sādhāraṇī kṛti*) inherent in themselves, which corresponds to the generic power (*bhāvakatva*) postulated for poetry by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. This universalisation of the factors and the feelings enables the reader to identify himself with the personages depicted ; and this conceit of community removes all difficulty about accepting extraordinary episodes of exalted personages who may be superior in virtue or prowess to the average reader. The excitants etc. are indeed normally called causes, but in reality the Rasa is not an effect in the ordinary sense ; for in the case of Rasa there is the simultaneous presence of itself and its excitants, which is not true of an ordinary cause and effect. It is also pointed out that all the factors (*vibhāvas* etc.) need not be present at once, for the presence of one would revive

the others by association of ideas. In other words, what might seem wanting in the utterance of poetry is supplied, from the suggestive character of poetry itself, by force of association of ideas. It also follows from the character of Rasa described above that it is not necessarily found in the actor, who in assuming the rôle of the hero performs his part only mechanically by rule and rote ; he ranks as a spectator (and therefore as a recipient of Rasa) in so far as he is himself a man of taste and actually experiences the feelings he enacts.[8]

(2)

In spite of the unquestioned dominance of the Dhvani School, which no doubt recognised the importance of Rasa but regarded it as one of the phases of the unexpressed only, one class of writers, who still adhered to Rasa as the only element worth considering in poetry, continued to devote exclusive attention to it and built up a system, so to say, on the basis of the Rasa alone. Of all the Rasas, however, as *śṛṅgāra* (or love) forms the absorbing theme of Sanskrit poetry and drama in general, and as this particular poetic sentiment has an almost universal appeal, these writers naturally work out this important Rasa in all its phases ; and we have in consequence a series of erotico-rhetorical treatises, of which the earliest known and the most remarkable is Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*[9]. Rudra states distinctly at the beginning of his work that although Bharata and others

8 This follows Dhanañjaya's dictum that the enjoyment of Rasa is not precluded in the actor, if he realises in himself the feelings depicted.

9 The topics dealt with in its three chapters are: I. The *rasas*, the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, the dramatic *vṛttis* ; *śṛṅgāra* and its division ; the Nāyaka, classified with illustrations ; his assistants ; classification of the Nāyikā, II. Characteristics of love-in-separation, of *pūrva-rāga*, the ten stages of love, the *upāyas*, etc. III. The other *rasas*, viz. *hāsya*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bībhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *śānta* ; the four *vṛttis* appropriate to the *rasas*.

have spoken of Rasa in the drama, his object is to apply it to the case of poetry, and that a Kāvya, in his opinion, must possess Rasa as its constant theme. Following upon this we have Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśā*[10], which deals with the subject in the usual elaborate cyclopaedic manner of its author, with profuse illustrations of every phase of the erotic sentiment in no less than eighteen out of its thirty-six chapters. After this come innumerable works of a similar nature[11], which take Rasa, especially *śṛṅgāra*, as their principal theme and which were composed apparently with the object of guiding the poet in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit poetry. Of these, the *Bhāva-prakāśa*[12] of Śāradātanaya, which reproduces the substance of most of the chapters of Bhoja's work, and the exhaustive *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga Bhūpāla[13], as well as the two well-known works of Bhānudatta[14], deserve mention. But none of these later treatises adds anything new or original to a subject already thrashed out to its utmost.

A new turn was given to the theory by Rūpa Gosvāmin's

10 See above p. 209.

11 See vol. i, pp. 238f, and chapter on Minor Writers.

12 See vol. i. p. 240.

13 See vol. i. p. 241f. The three *vilāsas* of this extensive work deal with the following topics: i. The hero, his qualities and classification ; his adjuncts ; the heroine, her classification and qualities, her *sāttvika* excellences ; the *uddīpana-vibhāvas* ; the *rīti* and the *guṇas* ; the dramatic *vṛttis* ; the *sāttvika bhāvas*. ii. The *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, the *anubhāvas*, the eight *sthāyi-bhāvas*, the eight *rasas*. iii. The drama and its varieties, characteristics etc.

14 The eight *taraṅgas* of *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* are: i. Definition of *bhāva* and subdivisions thereof ; the *sthāyi-bhāvas*. ii. The *vibhāvas*. iii. The *anubhāvas*. iv. The eight *sāttvika bhāvas*. v. The *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*. vi. The *rasas* and detailed treatment of *śṛṅgāra*. vii. The other *rasas*. viii. The *sthāyi-bhāvajā* and *rasajā dṛṣṭi*. The *Rasa-mañjarī*, a much smaller work, devotes more than half of itself to the *nāyikā* and her companions, and applies the rest to the *śṛṅgāra-nāyaka*, his assistants, the eight *sāttvika guṇas*, the two aspects of *śṛṅgāra* and the ten stages of *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*.

Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi, which attempted to deal with Rasa in terms of the Vaiṣṇava idea of *ujjvala* or *madhura rasa*, by which was meant the *śṛṅgāra rasa*, the term *ujjvala* having been apparently suggested by Bharata's description of that Rasa[15]. The *madhura rasa*, however, is represented not in its secular aspect but primarily as a phase of *bhakti-rasa* (*madhurākhyo bhakti-rasaḥ*, i. 3) ; for according to Vaiṣṇava theology there are five Rasas forming roughly the five degrees of the realisation of *bhakti* or faith, viz., *śānta* (tranquillity), *dāsya* (servitude or humility, also called *prīti*), *sakhya* (friendship or equality, also called *preyas*), *vātsalya* (parental affection) and *mādhurya* (sweetness). The last, also called the *ujjvala rasa*, being the principal, is termed *bhakti-rasa-rāj*[16] and constitutes the subject-matter of the present treatise. The *kṛṣṇa-rati* or the love of Kṛṣṇa forms the dominant feeling or *sthāyi-bhāva* of this sentiment, and the recipient here is not the literary *sahṛdaya* but the *bhakta* or the faithful[17]. This *sthāyi-bhāva*, known as *madhurā rati*, which is the source of the particular Rasa, is defined in terms of the love of Kṛṣṇa[18] ; and the nature of *nāyaka* and *nāyika* is defined in the same manner and their feelings and emotions illustrated by adducing examples from poems dealing with the love-stories of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The work is, therefore, essentially a Vaiṣṇava religious treatise presented in a literary garb, taking Kṛṣṇa as the ideal hero, with the caution, however, that

15 *yat kiñcil loke śuci medhyam ujjvalaṃ darśanīyaṃ vā tac chṛṅgāreṇopamīyate*, ed. Grosset, pp. 89-90.

16 i. 2, explained by Viśvanātha Cakravartin as *śānta-prīti-preyo-vātsalyojjvala-nāmasu mukhyeṣu.........sa evojjvalāpara-paryāyo bhakti-rasānāṃ rājā madhurākhyo rasaḥ.*

17 *svādyatvaṃ hṛdi bhaktānām ānītā śravaṇādibhiḥ / eṣā kṛṣṇa-ratiḥ sthāyī bhāvo bhakti-raso bhavet*, cited by Viśvanātha Cakravartin, p. 4.

18 *madhurākhyāyā rater lakṣaṇaṃ coktam—mitho harer mṛgākṣyāś ca saṃbhogasyādi-kāraṇam / madhurāpara-paryāyā priyatākhyoditā ratiḥ*, ibid, loc. cit.

what is true of Kṛṣṇa as the hero does not apply to the ordinary secular hero (i. 18-21)[19].

With the exception of the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, which attempts to bring erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of Rasa, these specialised treatises have, however, very little importance from the speculative point of view; and as they belong properly to the province of Erotics rather than Poetics, treatment of them should be sought elsewhere. The simple idea, elaborated more or less in all these works is that the awakening of Rasa is all-important in poetry, and that the fundamental Rasa is *śṛṅgāra* or the erotic, which is consequently treated in its various phases with copious illustrations. This is clearly expressed in the attitude of the author of *Agni-purāṇa* and of Bhoja, who accept only one poetic Rasa, viz. the erotic[20]. In the same way, Rudrabhaṭṭa declares *śṛṅgāro nāyako rasaḥ* (i. 20), and Bhānudatta appears to take it for granted that *śṛṅgāra* occupies an honoured place among all the Rasas (*tatra raseṣu śṛṅgārasyābhyarhitatvena* etc, ed. Benares, p. 21).

(3)

It is unnecessary, as it is unprofitable, in the discussion of general principles, to enter here into the elaborate definitions, distinctions and classifications of the amorous sentiment with all its varying emotional moods and situations, which these treatises industriously discuss and which have always possessed such attraction to mediaeval scholastic minds. The theorists delight in arranging into divisions and sub-

19 The orthodox theorists (cf Jagannātha pp. 47f) would regard *bhakti* (which being based on *anurāga* or attachment cannot be comprehended by *śānta rasa*) as included in *bhāva*, being *devādi-viṣayā rati*, and as inadmissible as a fully developed *rasa*. Cf. Bhānudatta, *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* ch. vi.—On *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* and Vaiṣṇava theory of Rasa see S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, Calcutta 1942.

20 See vol. i, p. 137. Cf. also *Mandāra-maranda-campū* ix, p. 107 (ed. Kāvyamālā).

divisions, according to rank, character, circumstances and the like, all conceivable types of the hero, the heroine and their adjuncts, together with the different shades of their gestures and feelings, in conformity with the tradition which already obtained in the cognate sphere of dramaturgy.[21] Thus Rudrabhaṭṭa, after a preliminary enumeration and definition of the Rasas and the Bhāvas, proceeds to speak of two aspects of Śṛṅgāra, viz. *saṃbhoga* (love in union) and *vipralambha* (love in separation)[22], and classify the hero (*nāyaka*) into the faithful (*anukūla*), the gallant whose attention is equally divided among many (*dakṣiṇa*), the sly (*śaṭha*), and the saucy (*dhṛṣṭa*), according to his character as a lover. Later writers, however, subdivide each of these, again, into the best (*uttama*), the middling (*madhyama*) and the lowest (*adhama*), and arrange the whole classification under the fourfold division of the genus hero into four types viz., (i) the brave and the high-spirited (*dhīrodātta*) (ii) the brave and haughty (*dhīroddhata*) (iii) the brave and sportive (*dhīra-lalita*) and (iv) the brave and serene (*dhīra-praśānta*), thus giving us altogether forty-eight subdivisions of the hero[23].

21 See Bharata ch. xxii-xxiv ; *Daśa-rūpaka* iv. 50f and iii.

22 This statement follows Bharata and is accepted by most theorists including Bhoja ; but Dhanañjaya distinguishes three cases, privation (*ayoga*), sundering (*viprayoga*) and union (*saṃbhoga*): the first denoting the inability of lovers, through obstacles, to secure union, and the second arising from absence or resentment. The first case of love may pass through the well-known ten stages (longing, anxiety, recollection, praise of the beloved, distress, raving, insanity, fever, stupor and death ; cf Śiṅgabhūpāla ii. 178-201) ; while the second condition may be caused by a quarrel, due to discovery or inference of unfaithfulness (which may be counteracted by six *upāyas*, viz. conciliation, winning over her friends, gifts, humility, indifference or distracting her attention) or by absence arising from business, accident or a curse.

23 The good qualities of the hero are innumerable. For his characteristics, see Dhanañjaya ii. 1f ; Viśvanātha iii. 30f ; Śiṅgabhūpāla i. 61f ; etc. On the theme of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, as treated in Alaṃkāra works, see V. Raghavan, Introd. to his ed. *Akbarshahi Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* pp. 14-90.

Then follows a brief description of the assistants of the hero[24] in matters of love (*narma-saciva*), viz. the Comrade (*pīṭha-marda*), the Companion (*viṭa*) and the Buffoon (*vidūṣaka*), some adding *ceṭa* (or the servant) in the enumeration.

In the same way, the heroine is taken broadly in threefold aspects in her relation to the hero as his wife (*svīyā*), or belonging to another, (*parakīyā*) and as common to all (*sāmānyā*). The Śvīyā is subdivided again into the adolescent and artless (*mugdhā*), the youthful (*madhyā*), and the mature and audacious (*pragalbhā*), i.e. the inexperienced, the partly experienced and the fully experienced. Later authors introduce greater fineness by subdividing each of these according to her temper, into the self-possessed (*dhīrā*), the not-self-possessed (*adhīrā*), and the partially self-possessed (*dhīrādhīrā*), or according to the rank, higher (*jyeṣṭhā*) or lower (*kaniṣṭhā*), each holds in the affection of the hero. The Parakīyā or Anyadīyā who, according to Vaiṣṇava ideas, is the highest type of the heroine, is twofold, according as she is a maiden (*kanyā*) or married (*ūḍhā*)[25]; while the *sāmānyā* heroine, who is sometimes extolled (Rudrabhaṭṭa) and sometimes deprecated (Rudraṭa), is only of one kind, the *veśyā* or courtesan[26]. The sixteen types of heroine thus

24 The Pratināyaka or the rival of the hero is *dhīroddhata*, haughtiness being his essential characteristic ; but he is described also as stubborn and vicious (*Daśa*° ii 9; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii. 130, p. 136). The *pīṭhamarda* of the hero possesses, in a lesser degree, the qualities of the hero (e. g. Makaranda in the *Mālatī-mādhava*). The term *pīṭhamardikā* in the feminine occurs in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in the sense of a trusty go-between, applied to the nun Kauśikī. The *viṭa*, usually neglected in the serious drama, except in *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*, appears in all his glory in the Bhāṇa, for which he is prescribed as the hero.

25 An amour with a married woman cannot, according to Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa form the subject of dominant Rasa in a play or poem ; but this is the central theme of Vaiṣṇava yrics.

26 Bharata xxii. 197-206: Dhanañjaya ii. 21f: Viśvanātha iii. 67-70 ; Śiṅgabhūpāla i. 121-51. Rarely a heroine, she must be represented as in love when she is a heroine ; but she cannot be so when the hero

obtained are further arranged according to eightfold diversity in their condition or situation in relation to her lover, viz. the heroine who has the lover under absolute control (*svādhīna-patikā*), the heroine disappointed in her assignation through misadventure or involuntary absence (*utkā*), the heroine in full dress expectant of her lover (*vāsaka-sajjikā*), the heroine deceived (*vipra-labdhā*), the heroine separated by a quarrel (*kalahānatarita*, also called *abhisaṃdhitā*), the heroine outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness in the lover (*khaṇḍitā*), the heroine who meets her lover by assignation[27] (*abhisārikā*) and the heroine pining for the absence of her lover gone abroad (*proṣita-patikā*). We arrive in this way at an elaborate classification of the heroine into three hundred and eighty-four types ; and one of the later writers states characteristically that there are other types also, but they cannot be specified for fear of prolixity (Viśvanātha iii. 88, p. 120).

But here the theorists do not stop. The hero is endowed further by a set of eight special excellences, as springing from his character (*sāttvika*): e. g. brilliance (*śobhā*) including heroism, cleverness, truthfulness, emulation with superiors and compassion to inferiors ; vivacity (*vilāsa*) indicated by his glance, step and laughing voice ; grace (*mādhurya*) displayed in placid demeanour even in trying circumstances ; equanimity (*gambhīrya*) consisting of superiority to emotions ; steadfastness (*sthairya*) in obtaining one's object ; sense of honour (*tejas*) manifested in his impatience of insult ; gallantry (*lalita*) in his word, dress or deportment ; magnanimity (*audārya*) exhibited in generosity, agreeable words and equal treatment to friend or foe. The heroine is allowed a

divine or royal. The exception occurs in a *prahasana* or farce (and incidentally in a *bhāṇa* or the erotic monologue) where she can be represented in her low and avaricious character for comic effect.

27 The usual meeting places are given as a ruined temple, a garden, the house of a go-between, a cemetery, the bank of a stream, or any dark place generally.

more generous set of qualities. First we have the three physical (*aṅgaja*) characteristics ; *bhāva* or first indication of emotion in a nature previously exempt, *hāva* or movement of eyes and brows indicating the awakening of emotion, *helā* or the decided manifestation of feeling. Then we have seven inherent qualities: e.g. brilliance of youth, beauty and passion, the touch of loveliness given by love, sweetness, courage, meekness, radiance and self-control. Then are enumerated her ten graces, to which Viśvanātha adds eight more. All her gestures, moods or different shades of emotion, e.g. giggling, trepidation, hysterical fluster of delight, involuntary expression of affection, self-suppression through bashfulness, affected repulse of endearments, as well as the deepest and tenderest display of sentiments, are minutely analysed and classified. To this is added a detailed description of the modes in which the different types of heroines display their affection, the maidenly modest demeanour of the *mugdhā* or the shameless boldness of the more experienced heroine. We should recognise the subtle power of analysis and insight which these attempts indicate ; but speaking generally, the analysis is more of the form than of the spirit, based on what we should consider accidents rather than essentials. At the same time, marked as it is by much of scholastic formalism, there is an unmistakable attempt to do justice to facts, not only as they appeared to the experience of these theorists but to the observation of general poetic usage ; and in the elaborate working out of the general thesis that the Rasa is evolved on the basis of one or other of what they call the permanent mental moods, with the help of the various emotional adjuncts, the writers on Poetics have proceeded a long way in the careful analysis of poetic emotions, the psychology of which bears an intimate relation to their theory and in itself deserves a separate study.

(4)

The discussion of this extensive topic of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* comes in topically under the theory of *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*, which act as factors of Rasa. The mood, which is at the root of sentiment, is held to be the *sthāyi-bhāva*, the dominant feeling, the main theme of the composition in question. These feelings, according to Bharata, who is accepted on this point by all writers, can be classified into eight categories, viz. Love (*rati*), Mirth (*hāsa*), Sorrow (*śoka*), Anger (*krodha*), Energy (*utsāha*), Fear (*bhaya*), Disgust (*jugupsā*) and Astonishment (*vismaya*), though some later writers add, as we shall see, Tranquility (*śama* or *nirveda*) to the number. These dominant feelings are worked up into a corresponding number of sentiments or Rasas through the means of the *vibhāvas* etc[28]. The *vibhāvas* or Excitants are said to be of two

28 Theoretically the Rasa is one, a single ineffable and impersonal joy, but it can be subdivided, not according to its own nature but according to the emotions which form its basis. Bharata (ch. vi) and other theorists give a full description of the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, *vibhāvas* etc. in the case of each Rasa, into which space forbids us to enter. A summary of it will be found in Lindenau, *Rasalehre* Leipzig 1913, pp. 18f. Thus, in the case of the heroic sentiment (*vīra*), the dominant feeling is energy (*utsāha*) ; the excitants (*vibhāvas*) are coolness (*asaṃmoha*), resolve (*adhyavasāya*), circumspection (*naya*), strength (*bala*) etc. ; the ensuants (*anubhāvas*) are firmness (*sthairya*), heroism (*śaurya*), sacrifice (*tyāga*) etc. ; the *vyabhicārins* or accessory feelings are those of assurance, arrogance etc. Viśvanātha gives them somewhat differently. The essential excitant (*ālambana-vibhāva*) of the heroic sentiment, according to him, consists of those to be vanquished, and their acts and gestures form the enhancing excitants (*uddīpana-vibhāvas*) ; the ensuants comprehend the desire or seeking for assistants and adherents ; while the accessory feelings are patience, intelligence, remembrance, cogitation etc. The sentiment may take three forms of courage (Bharata vi. 79=ed. Regnaud vi. 80), viz. in battle (*yuddha-vīra*), in virtuous deeds (*dharma-vīra*) and in liberality (*dāna-vīra*), to which later writers (e.g. Viśvanātha) add *dayā-vīra*. It should also be noted that a special colour and a presiding deity is attributed to each Rasa. Thus, red, black, white, dark (*śyāma*) and grey are associated, not unreasonably, with

kinds[29], viz., (1) the Substantial or Essential (*ālambana*), which consists of such material and indispensable ingredients as the hero, the heroine, the rival hero and their adjuncts, and (2) the Enhancing (*uddīpana*), viz. such conditions of time, place and circumstance as serve to foster the Rasa, e.g. the rising of the moon, the cry of the cuckoo etc. in the case of the erotic sentiment. The *anubhāvas* or the Ensuants, which follow and strengthen a mood, comprise such outward manifestations of feeling as sidelong glances, a smile, a movement of the body, or such involuntary action of sympathetic realisation of the persons depicted (*sāttvika*)[30] as fainting (*pralaya*), change of colour (*vaivarṇya*), trembling (*vepathu*) etc., which are, again dogmatically classified into eight varieties. There are other feelings of a more or less transitory nature, which accompany or interrupt the permanent mood without, however, supplanting it ; and these are known, as we have noted, by the name of Accessories or *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*. These are likened to servants following a king or to waves of the sea, whereby the dominant mood is understood as the king and the sea respectively, and classified elaborately into thirty-three categories, first mentioned by Bharata (p. 23f above) and implicitly accepted by his followers.

All these elements contribute towards developing the eight or nine *sthāyi-bhāvas* into eight or nine different types of

the furious, terrible, comic, erotic and pathetic sentiments, although it is difficult to explain why horror is dark blue (*nīla*), wonder is orange, and heroism is yellow. The respective deities are Viṣṇu (erotic), Yama (pathetic), Pramatha (comic), Rudra (furious), Indra (heroic), Kāla (terrible), Mahākāla (disgustful), Brahmā (marvellous).. Viśvanātha adds that Nārāyaṇa is the presiding deity of *śānta rasa* and the colour associated is that of jasmine (*kunda*).

29 These two divisions of *vibhāva* are not maintained by Bharata but distinguished by Dhanañjaya (iv. 2) and traditionally handed down by Viśvanātha.

30 See above p. 24, fn 55. The *sāttvika bhāvas* in later works form a special class of *anubhāvas*.

Rasa. We have the earliest and most orthodox mention in Bharata (p. 23 above) of eight *sthāyi-bhāvas* and the resulting eight Rasas corresponding to them, of which the Erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the Heroic (*vīra*), the Furious (*raudra*) and the Disgustful (*bībhatsa*) are the main, leading to four others, the Comic (*hāsya*), the Marvellous (*adbhuta*), the Pathetic (*karuṇa*) and the Terrible (*bhayānaka*). Daṇḍin accepts this classification (ii. 280-87), but Udbhaṭa (iv. 4) adds [31] the Quietistic (*śānta*) as the ninth Rasa, although Bharata[32] neither defines it nor mentions its corresponding *vibhāvas*. Rudraṭa is singular in postulating a tenth Rasa, called the Agreeable (*preyas*), which is accepted by Bhoja, with the addition of two new Rasas, Udātta and Uddhata, as well as Śānta. Rudrabhaṭṭa admits nine Rasas in poetry ; so do Hemacandra and the two Vāgbhaṭas. The *Agni-purāṇa* in the same way mentions nine Rasas (and eight *sthāyi-bhāvas*), but follows Bharata in regarding four as principal and lays special stress on the Śṛṅgāra. Ānandavardhana admits Śānta (pp 138, 238). Those later authors who accept the ninth Rasa, the Quietistic, necessarily postulate *nirveda* or self-disparagement, arising out of the knowledge of reality (*tattva-jñāna*), as its *sthāyi-bhāva*, which is called by some authorities *śama*, or repose resulting from freedom from mental excitement[33]. The Vaiṣṇava writers (especially Kavikarṇapūra add Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya, Preman and Bhakti.[34]

31 If the verse is genuinely Udbhaṭa's. See above p. 114, fn 15.—On the Śānta Rasa in Bharata and Dhanañjaya see S. K. De, *Some Problems* pp. 139-41. On the number and nomenclature of Rasas generally see V. Raghavan, *Number of Rasas*, Adyar 1940.

32 The Śānta texts in Bharata, available in certain recensions, are interpolations. See Raghavan, *op. cit.* pp. 15f. Kālidāsa knew only eight Rasas, *Vikramorvaśīya* ii. 18, where Muni Bharata is also mentioned.

33 This sentiment is also closely related to the sentiment of disgust ; for it arises from an aversion to worldly things.

34 See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, p. 145.

The author of the *Daśa-rūpaka*, however, contends that there can be no such *sthāyi-bhāva* as *nirveda* or *śama*, for the development of that state (if it is at all possible to destroy utterly love, hatred and other human feelings) would tend to the absence of all moods ; and in the drama, the object of which is to delineate and inspire passion, it is inadmissible. Others, again, hold that the Quietistic Rasa does exist, as it is experienced by those who have attained that blissful state, but it has no *sthāyi-bhāva* in dramatic composition ; for *nirveda*, being the cessation of all worldly activity, or *śama* being freedom from all mental excitement, it is not fit to be represented. Hence Mammaṭa takes eight Rasas in the drama (p. 98) and nine in poetry (p. 117). Bhoja, in accordance with the views of the school which lays special emphasis on the Śṛṅgāra, accepts only one Rasa, the Erotic, in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* ; and although he mentions as many as ten Rasas in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, including the *śānta* and the *preyas*, he appears to devote almost exclusive attention to the Śṛṅgāra in his treatment of the Rasas in this work. The views about the admissibility of the *śānta* are discussed by the author of the *Ekāvalī* (pp. 96-7) who maintains that Bharata has mentioned *nirveda* as a *vyabhicāri-bhāva* immediately in context after the enumeration of the *sthāyi-bhāvas* and at the beginning of the list of the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* ; and this fact is interpreted as indicating that the sage meant it both as a *sthāyi-bhāva* and as a *vyabhicāri-bhāva* ; but Hemacandra (p. 81) anticipates and rejects this quibble of verbal interpretation, though agreeing in the general proposition as to the admissibility of Śānta as the ninth Rasa.

Viśvanātha primarily admits eight orthodox Rasas (iii, p. 160) but adds the ninth Śānta in deference to the views of these authorities, and a tenth Rasa, called *vātsalya* or parental affection, subscribing apparently to Vaiṣṇava ideas (pp. 185-6)[35]. He quotes a verse to explain that the mood,

35 Bhānudatta counts (*Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*) *māyā* under the Rasas.

called by the great sages the Quietistic, which has, among all sentiments, tranquillity (*śama*) as its basis, is that state in which there is neither pain nor pleasure, nor hatred, nor affection, nor any desire[36]. But the question arises how can the Quietistic, being of the nature described, arising only in a state of emancipation wherein there is an absence of all feelings like the Accessories etc., be Rasa, which implies a state of relishable enjoyment[37]. To this objection Viśvanāthā replies that the Quietistic is a Rasa because in that state the soul is only about to be emancipated (*yukta-viyukta-daśā*) and is not completely absorbed in the Divine, so that the presence of feelings, like the Accessories etc. in it is not incompatible. As for the statement that there is an absence of even pleasure in it, it is not contradictory, for it refers only to worldly pleasure[38]. Jagannātha, the latest writer on the subject, advocates nine Rasas and maintains (pp. 29-30) that like all other Rasas, the Śānta is capable of being represented and appreciated by the audience. Since the clever performance of the actor, representing such a state of mind, free from disturbance and not affected by passions or desire, is found in actual experience to produce an impression on the mind of the audience, it is their state of mind, exhibited by their silent and rapt attention, which ought to settle the question. The representation of absolute indifference or the actor's power of representing it is not the point in issue: it is the capacity of

Rudraṭa mentioned *preyas* (friendship), which Rasa is accepted by Bhoja. Some writers add *śraddhā*, along with *bhakti*. See Bhānudatta, *op. cit.* p. 56, ll. 25f (ed. Regnaud), Śiṅga-bhūpāla admits only eight Rasas, but his treatment is from the standpoint of dramaturgy.

36 *na yatra duḥkhaṃ na sukhaṃ na cintā, na dveṣa-rāgau na ca kācid icchā/rasaḥ sa śāntaḥ kathito munīndraiḥ, sarveṣu bhāveṣu śama-pradhānaḥ//*, cited also in *Daśa°* iv. 49 (comm).

37 *ity evaṃ-rūpasya śāntasya mokṣāvasthāyām evātma-svarūpāpatti-lakṣaṇāyāṃ prādurbhūtatvāt tatra sañcāryādīnām abhāvāt kathaṃ rasatvam.*

38 *yaś cāsmin sukhābhāvo'pyuktas tasya vaiṣayika-sukha-paratvān na virodhaḥ.*

the spectator who actually feels the sentiment. Jagannātha also adds that even those, who do not admit this Rasa in the drama, should accept it in poetry from the fact that poems like the *Mahābhārata* have for principal theme the delineation of Śānta Rasa, which is thus established by universal experience (*akhila-lokānubhava-siddhatvāt*). Nāgeśa remarks on this that the *śānta rasa* should also be admitted in the drama on this ground, inasmuch as the *Prabodha-candrodaya* is universally acknowledged as a drama (p. 30).

Coming to the essential basis of Rasa, viz. the *bhāva*, we have seen that Bharata defines it in general terms as that which manifests the sense of poetry through the three kinds of representation, *vācika*, *āṅgika* and *sāttvika*[39]; it is the emotion which ultimately becomes a sentiment, if it is dominant and therefore, serves as the basis of Rasa. But later writers arrive at a greater precision and apply the term technically to those cases where there is no proper or complete development of Rasa. Both Dhanañjaya and Bhānudatta expand the definition of Bharata, the latter defining it as a deviation from the natural mental state (*vikāra*) which is favourable to the development of Rasa (*rasānukūla*) and which may be either physical (*śārīra*) or mental (*āntara*). But Mammaṭa fixes the conception of Bhāva as *ratir devādi-viṣayā vyabhicārī tathāñjitaḥ* ('love having for its object a deity or the like, and also the suggested Accessory'), on which he adds the gloss: *ādi-śabdān muni-guru-nṛpa-putrādi-viṣayā, kāntā-viṣayā tu vyaktā śṛṅgāraḥ* ('by the term *the like* are meant sages, preceptor, the king, son etc., the one having a beloved woman for its object becomes the erotic') Govinda explains that the word *rati* here implies the *sthāyi-bhāva* which has not attained to the state of Rasa[40]. What is meant is that when the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, like *rati*, have for their objects

39 A fourth kind of *abhinaya* is sometimes added, viz. *āhārya* (extraneous) i.e. derived from dress, decoration etc.

40 *ratir iti sthāyi-bhāvopalakṣaṇam, devādi-viṣayety apy aprāpta-rasāvasthopalakṣaṇam*, p. 206.

god, king, son and the like, or when the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are manifested as the principal sentiment in a composition, there is no *rasa* but *bhāva* ; and this definition is accepted by all writers after him.

Thus, Viśvanātha explains the Bhāva as follows:

sañcāriṇaḥ pradhānāni, devādi-viṣayā ratiḥ/
udbuddha-mātraḥ sthāyī ca. bhāva ity abhidhīyate//

In other words, when the Accessories are principal, or when love etc. has a deity or the like for its object, or when a dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) is merely awakened, we have Bhāva. His own gloss upon the above verse explains it in this way. Although they are always concomitants of Rasa in which they finally rest, such Accessories as are for the time being principally developed, like a servant for the time being followed by his king in his marriage procession ; or love etc. having a deity, a sage, a spiritual guide, a king and the like for its object ; or such *sthāyi-bhāvas* as are merely awakened or have not attained the state of a Rasa from their not being fully developed, are denoted by the term *bhāva*. In all these cases apparently there is no complete or proper development of Rasa ; and a Bhāva, therefore, in later terminology, may be generally described as an incomplete Rasa. But this must be distinguished from the *rasābhāsa* or semblance of Rasa and the analogous *bhāvābhāsa*, which occur when the poetic sentiments and emotions are falsely attributed (e.g. sentiments in animals such as described in *Kumārasaṃbhava*, iii. 36-7), or when they are brought out improperly, i.e. when there is a lack of entireness in them as regards their ingredients[41]. The cases occur, according to Bhoja (v. 20) when the mood or emotion is developed in an inferior character (*hīna-pātra*), in animals (*tiryac*), in the rival hero (*nāyaka-pratiyogin*) or in any other subordinate object (*gauṇa*

41 *anaucitya-pravṛttatve ābhāso rasa-bhāvayoḥ* (Mammaṭa) explained as: *anaucityaṃ cātra rasānāṃ bharatādi-praṇīta-lakṣaṇānāṃ sāmagrī-rahitatve tveka-deśa-yogitvopalakṣaṇa-paraṃ bodhyam.*

padārtha)[42], but Viśvanātha elaborately summarises various other cases (iii. 263-66), especially noting improprieties in connexion with particular Rasas. Thus, there is an impropriety if the Terrible (*bhayānaka*) is made to reside in a noble personage, or the Comic (*hāsya*) in a spiritual guide. It must be noted, as Jagannātha explains, that if a mood or feeling is developed by impropriety, the impropriety, unless it acts as a bar, does not constitute a fault[43].

In the same way (1) when there is an excitement only (and not full development) of sentiments, (2) when two opposing sentiments, striving for mastery, are represented as being relished in one and the same place and at the same time, or (3) when a number of sentiments, of which each succeeding one puts down the preceding, they constitute respectively *bhāvodaya, bhāva-saṃdhi* and *bhāva-śabalatā*. Now, all these phases of sentiment are taken as Rasa topically, inasmuch as they are capable of being tasted (*sarve'pi rasanād rasāḥ*). These cases do not seem to have been formally recognised by Bharata, though hinted at by him in vi. 40, as we learn from Abhinava's commentary on ch. vi, which is partially reproduced also in his °*Locana*, p. 66. They are first met with in Udbhaṭa, who includes them under *ūrjasvin* (iv. 6) ; but in Rudraṭa (xii. 4) and the Dhvanikāra (ii. 3) we find them definitely established.

This incomplete development of Rasa and its subordination must be distinguished from the cases of the opposition (*virodha*) of simultaneously existing sentiments in the same theme. It is laid down formally that some Rasas are intrinsically inconsistent with one another, e.g. the Erotic is opposed to the Disgustful, the Heroic to the Quietistic, and so forth[44].

42 Śiṅga-bhūpāla (pp. 141-2) distinguishes two cases (i) where Rasa is ascribed to an inanimate object and (ii) where it is developed in an inferior character or in animals.

43 *yāvatā tvanaucityena rasasya paṣṭis tāvat tu na vāryate, rasapratikūlasyaiva tasya niṣedhatvāt.*

44 Some Rasas again are mutually consistent, e. g. *karuṇa* and

The incongruity or opposition results in three ways, viz. (1) from identity of the exciting cause (*ālambana-vibhāva*) (2) from identity of the subject of emotion and (3) from immediacy of succession. The incongruity in the first two cases may be removed by representing the sentiments as having different exciting causes respectively, or as existing in different subjects (e.g. in the hero and the rival hero). The last case of conflict may be removed by placing, between the two immediately succeeding sentiments, a sentiment which is not opposed to them. These are cases where two or more Rasas stand in the relation of principal and subordinate; the term 'subordinate' being misleading, it is sometimes called a concomitant Rasa (*sañcārin*), which implies that it cannot terminate absolutely in itself and at the same time is distinct from a fully developed Rasa, as well as from a mere undeveloped Bhāva[45]. There is also no incongruity where a conflicting Rasa is recalled or described under a comparison. All these questions properly come under the theory of Propriety or Aucitya in relation to Rasa, elaborated by Ānandavardhana and his followers, and is ultimately based on the dictum attributed to the Dhvanikāra (p. 145, cf. °*Locana* p. 138), which lays down in general terms that the secret of Rasa lies in conforming to the established rules of propriety.

bībhatsa go with *vīra*; *śṛṅgāra* goes with *hāsya* (cf Bharata vi. 40) etc. On this question see Lindenau, *Rasalehre* (pp. 71f). According to Viśvanātha, the Rasas hostile (i) to *śṛṅgāra* are *karuṇa, bībhatsa, raudra, vīra* and *bhayānaka* (ii) to *hāsya—bhayānaka* and *karuṇa* (iii) to *karuṇa—hāsya* and *śṛṅgāra* (iv) to *raudra—hāsya, śṛṅgāra* and *bhayānaka* (v) to *vīra—bhayānaka* and *śānta* (vi) to *bhayānaka - śṛṅgāra, vīra, raudra, hāsya* and *śānta* (vii) to *śānta—vīra, śṛṅgāra raudra, hāsya* and *bhayānaka* (viii) to →*bībhatsa—śṛṅgāra*. Bhānudatta gives the antagonistic Rasas as follow: *śṛṅgāra*→*bībhatsa*; *vīra*→*bhayānaka*; *raudra*→*adbhuta*; *hāsya*→*karuṇa*.

45 *ata evātra pradhānetareṣu raseṣu svātantrya-viśrāma-rāhityāt, pūrṇarasa-bhāva-mātrāc ca vilakṣaṇatayā, sañcāri-rasa-nāmnā vyapadeśaḥ prācyānām*, Viśvanātha, p. 420.

The doctrine of the *Dhvanyāloka* that in a composition in which the sentiment is awakened, proprieties of various kinds (e. g. with reference to the speaker, the theme, the employment of the *vibhāvas* etc., the use of the *alaṃkāras* and other elements, pp. 134f, 144f) should be observed, and that certain items of conflict (*virodha*) with the dominant sentiment should be avoided, gave rise to a theory of Propriety, which is generally comprehended by later writers under the discussion of the Doṣas of Rasa. Thus, in later treatises, the *rasa-doṣas* occupy a separate and important place, in addition to the conventional *doṣas* of *pada*, *padārtha*, *vākya*, *vākyārtha* recognised since Vāmana's time. It is Kṣemendra alone who emphasises the importance of the subject by making it the theme of his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* which will be noticed in its proper place. Mahimabhaṭṭa, in the second chapter of his work, considers the question of *anaucitya* in some detail. According to him, impropriety or incongruity has two aspects, according as it refers to *śabda* or to *artha* respectively. Then he speaks of propriety as external (*bahiraṅga*) or internal (*antaraṅga*), apparently as it is *śabda-viṣaya* or *artha-viṣaya*. The cases of internal propriety, which consists in the proper employment of the *vibhāvas* etc. have already been explained by previous writers (e.g. the *Dhvanyāloka* pp. 144f). Mahimabhaṭṭa, therefore, takes up the question of external propriety, which he thinks falls under five faults of composition, viz. *vidheyāvimarśa* (non-discrimination of the predicate), *prakrama-bheda* (violation of uniformity in the expression), *krama-bheda* (syntactical irregularity), *paunaruktya* (tautology) and *vācyavacana* (omission of what must be expressed), to the explanation and exemplification of which he devotes, amidst several digressions, the rest of the chapter (ch. ii). It is difficult to say why these faults of expression alone are singled out as defects resulting in a violation of Rasa (*rasa-bhaṅga*). Later writers would include them under general defects, reserving the cases of *virodha* or opposition of Rasas as specific instances of *rasa-doṣas*.

CHAPTER X

WRITERS ON KAVI-ŚIKṢĀ

The small group of writers who deal with the theme of *kavi-śikṣā* ("education of the poet") does not, strictly speaking, come directly under general Poetics, but deserves notice, partly from the reputation and authority enjoyed by some of these authors but chiefly because it displays a peculiar tendency which emphasises one aspect of Poetics as a discipline, namely, its practical object which developed side by side with the theoretical consideration of general principles These treatises do not deal with the conventional topics of Poetics, with its theories, dogmas and definitions, but they are meant chiefly as manuals to guide the poet in his profession, their primary object being *kavi-śikṣā* or instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft. It is difficult, in the absence of data, to determine the origin of this school, but the attitude adopted is significant, being almost co-extensive with what may be supposed to have been the original standpoint of Poetics itself as a more or less mechanical *Ars Poetica*[1]. The ancient as well as the modern writers on general Poetics, no doubt, touch occasionally upon the question of the practical training of the poet[2] ; and it is not improbable that this in course of time formed the object of a separate study and multiplied these convenient handbooks, of which necessarily we possess comparatively late specimens.

(1)

Kṣemendra

Kṣemendra's two works, *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* and *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, which may be conveniently grouped here, are

1 See above pp. 33-34 and footnote 3.

2 See above pp. 42f.

curious and valuable in many respects. In his theory of Aucitya[3] or propriety, he takes as his thesis, mainly, Ānandavardhana's treatment of the same question with reference to Rasa which is crystallised in the oft-quoted verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*: "There is no other circumstance which leads to the violation of Rasa than impropriety ; the supreme secret of Rasa consists in observing the established rules of propriety"[4]. To depict Rasa, it is necessary to observe the rules of propriety ; and the subject, which is anticipated by Bharata (who, for instance, speaks of the proper employment of *anubhāvas*), may take various forms according as it relates to the subject-matter, the speaker, the nature of the sentiment evoked or the means employed in evoking it. We have already noted that this theme has been discussed topically at some length by the formulators of the Dhvani-theory, by Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as by most post-dhvani writers who consider it generally in connexion with *rasa-doṣas*. Kṣemendra develops and pushes the idea to its extreme, and speaks of Aucitya as the essence of Rasa (*rasa-jīvitabhūta*), and as having its foundation in the charm or aesthetic pleasure (*camatkāra*) underlying the relish of Rasa. The Alaṃkāra and Guṇa in poetry are justified by and receive their respective significance from this element which may, therefore, be fittingly regarded as the 'soul' of poetry[5]. That which is suitable or conformable to another is called *ucita* in its relation to that object[6]. This Aucitya may have application with reference to various points in a poem, such as word (*pada*), a sentence (*vākya*), the sense of the composition as a whole (*prabandhārtha*). its literary excellences (*guṇas*) its

3 V. Raghavan (*Some Concepts*, pp. 194-257) gives an able and detailed account of the history of Aucitya.

4 *anaucityād ṛte nānyad rasa-bhaṅgasya kāraṇam /*
prasiddhaucitya-bandhas tu rasasyopaniṣat parā / /

5 ed. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka i, pp. 115-16.

6 *ucitaṃ prāhur acāryāḥ sadṛśaṃ kila yasya yat*, explained by the gloss as: *yat kila yasyānurūpaṃ tad ucitam ucyate.*—On the theory of Pāka and Śayyā, allied to the theory of Aucitya, see above pp. 240-41.

poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*), the Rasa or the sentiment in a poem, the employment of the verb (*kriyā*), the use of the case (*kāraka*), of the gender (*liṅga*), of the number (*vacana*), of preposition, adjective, particles (*upasarga*), or considerations of time and place (*deśa* and *kāla*) etc. ; and the cases of application are dogmatically summarised as twenty-seven in number (*śl.* 8-10). The treatment of each of these cases is accompanied by profuse illustrations of every point from the works of various poets, the favourite method being first to cite examples of verses which comply with a rule and then adduce one or two examples of verses which do not do so. There is hardly anything original in the theory itself ; for though it rightly insists upon a standard of propriety in poetic expression, it ultimately resolves itself into assuming a more or less variable criterion of taste or personal appreciation, which Ānandavardhana and others admit as *sahṛdayatva*, but which is bound to be, as it is, rather vaguely defined and therefore incapable of exhaustive formal treatment. It is really the province of taste or criticism rather than of Poetics proper.

At the same time, the fact must not be overlooked that works of this nature in Sanskrit, ostensibly meant as they are for the guidance of the aspiring poet, display, in their discussion of what is right and proper in poetry, a tendency towards genuine criticism, taken apart from the beaten paths of orthodox Poetics ; and they set up in their naïve way a standard, whatever it may be, of taste and critical judgment. No doubt, most writers on general Poetics, betray some critical acumen and give us a great deal of critical or semi-critical matter while considering the application of a rule or principle, especially in the chapters on Doṣa and Guṇa ; but their outlook is often and necessarily limited by their confining themselves to rigid rules and specific definitions[7].

7 The growth of artificial poetry, we have seen, made the technical analysis of rhetoric and instruction of it, a necessity ; but rhetoric involves (and sometimes becomes identical with) criticism ; and it is

Kṣemendra's work, in this respect, possesses a unique value, and the part of his treatment which discusses the illustrative verses is extremely interesting as an evidence of "appreciation" which is comparatively rare in Sanskrit. Kṣemendra deals out praise and censure, within his limits, as a true critic who is no respector of persons ; even the honoured names of Amaru, Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti make no difference. In more than one instance, he illustrates two sides of a question, regarding both merit or defect laid down by a rule, by different verses from his own work ; and in some cases he does not hesitate to go against orthodox opinion[8]. Whatever may be the intrinsic value of his critical dicta, some of which may appear too trivial or crude to us, he shows a wide acquaintance with the whole range of classical Sanskrit Poetry and an undoubtedly cultured taste. If the common saying that a bad poet often turns out to be a good critic carries any wisdom in it, it is very apt in the case of Kṣemendra whose critical powers cannot indeed be ignored.

almost impossible for Ālaṃkārikas, who also theorised on principles, not to busy themselves with the forms and general phenomena of literature. Thus, most works, whether on general poetics or on rhetoric, do involve some amount of criticism which could not be avoided. It must also be borne in mind that our modern ideas of Aesthetics, Poetics or Rhetoric are not sharply distinguished in these old authors, nor was there any well-defined notion of the respective spheres of these studies. The theorists drew their ideas of poetry mainly from existing classical Sanskrit literature which, though magnificent in partial accomplishment, was not fully equipped for purposes of general criticism. The absence of some other literature for comparison—for later Prakrit and allied specimens are mainly derivative—was a serious drawback. This will explain partially why their outlook is so limited, and their principles and definitions so stereotyped.

8 E. g. while discussing the question of propriety of the contents of a composition, he cites (p. 120) from *Kumāra-saṃbhava* viii—which canto he accepts as Kālidāsa's—and severely censures the poet's manner of describing the amours of Hara and Pārvatī in terms of ordinary dalliance, against the authority of Ānandavardhana who defends (p. 137) it against the imputation of vulgarity.

Kṣemendra's other work, *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*[9], though less interesting, is equally remarkable for its refreshingly novel treatment. Kṣemendra postulates two impulses for the attainment of poetic capacity, viz. divine help (*divya-prayatna*) and individual effort (*pauruṣa*). The first includes prayer, incantation and other heavenly aids ; but from the latter standpoint, he classifies three groups of persons[10] with whom instruction in the art of poetry is concerned, viz. those who require little effort (*alpa-prayatna-sādhya*), those who require great effort (*kṛcchra-sādhya*), and those in whom all effort is fruitless (*asādhya*), and sums up by saying that the capacity for poetry is vouchsafed only to the fit and few. The next chapter discusses with illustrations the question of borrowing or plagiarism[11], a theme which is just touched upon in the fourth chapter of the *Dhvanyāloka*[12] but which is dealt with extensively by Rājaśekhara[13]. Kṣemendra divides

9 A sketch of this work will be found in *Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* by J. Schönberg (Wien 1884), pp. 9f. The five *saṃdhis* or sections of this work deal respectively with the following themes: (i) attainment of poetry by an unpoetical person (*akaveḥ kavitvāptiḥ*), (ii) instruction of the poet already gifted (*śikṣā prāpta-giraḥ kaveḥ*), (iii) strikingness (*camatkṛti*), and the faults and excellences of poetry, (iv) familiarity which a poet should possess with other arts and sciences as a source of charm to his poetry (*paricaya-cārutva*).

10 Cf Vāmana 1. 2. 1-5 ; Rājaśekhara iv.

11 Bāṇa (*Harṣa-c.* i. 5-6) distinctly condemns poetasters and plagiarists. Vāmana appears to be the first writer on Poetics who in his classification of Artha refers to the question of plagiarism.

12 In Ānandavardhana's opinion, the province of poetry is unlimited, in spite of the fact that hundreds of poets have composed works for centuries ; but the thoughts of two inspired poets may bear certain resemblance, which may be like that between an object and its reflection, between a thing and its picture, or between two human beings. The first two kinds of resemblance should be avoided, but the third is charming (iii. 12-13).

13 In ch. xi-xii. For a summary of his views see V. M. Kulkarni, Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism in *JOS*, iii (1954), pp. 403-411. Rājaśekhara declares that "there is no poet that is not a thief, no merchant that does not steal, but he who knows how to hide his theft flourishes without

poets from this point of view into those who imitate the general colour of a poet's idea (*chāyopajīvin*), those who borrow a word or a verse-line (*padaka-* and *pāda-upajīvin*), or an entire poem (*sakalopajīvin*) and lastly, those who borrow from sources considered universally as legitimate (*bhuvano-pajīvya*, e.g. Vyāsa). Then he lays down elaborate rules for regulating the life, character and education of the poet. This is followed by a discussion of *camatkāra* or poetic charm, without which, we are told, no poetry is possible, and an illustration (by means of examples draw from the works of various poets) of its tenfold aspect, according as it appeals with or without much thought (*avicārita-ramaṇīya* or *vicārya-māṇa-ramaṇīya*[14]), resides in a part or in the whole composition, appertains to the sound, the sense or both, or relates to the poetic figure, to the sentiment, or to the well-known nature of the theme. Then we come to the treatment of the excellences and defects with reference to the sense (*artha*), the verbal expression (*śabda*), or the poetic sentiment (*rasa*) involved; and the work is rounded off by indicating the extent of knowledge which a poet must possess and giving a long list of the arts and sciences in which he must be proficient, which is thus set forth: *tatra tarka-vyākaraṇa-bharata-cāṇakya-vātsyāyana-bhārata-rāmāyaṇa-mokṣopāyātmajñāna-dhātuvāda-ratnaparīkṣā-vaidyaka-jyotiṣa-dhanurveda-gaja-turaga-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa-dyūtendrajāla-prakīrṇeṣu paricayaḥ kavi-sāmrājya-vyañjanaḥ*. This rapid summary of the contents of this work

reproach". He deals with two kinds of plagiarism, namely, that which should be avoided and that which should be adopted. In his opinion, a poet may be a creator (Utpādaka) or an adapter (Parivartaka), or a coverer up (Ācchādaka) or a collector (Saṃgrāhaka). He who sees something new in word and sense and writes up something old may be accounted a great poet. Rājaśekhara accordingly gives an elaborate classification of Artha so far as it is Anya-yoni, Nihnuta-yoni or A-yoni from the point of view of plagiarism. See below under Rājaśekhara.

14 Rājaśekhara attributes a dictum to Udbhaṭa which says that the sense may be *vicārita-sustha* or *avicārita-ramaṇīya*, according as it is found in the Śāstra or the Kāvya respectively. See above p. 59, fn 33.

will show that it hardly puts forward any special claim as a work of great theoretic importance, but that its value consists not in its substance but in its treatment of practical issues, its careful and minute illustration of every point by examples taken from various poets, with not a little amount of knowledge and critical discernment[15].

(2)

Arisiṃha, Amaracandra and *Deveśvara*

The *Kāvya-kalpalatā-vṛtti* of Arisiṃha and Amaracandra and the *Kavi-kalpalatā* of Deveśvara, written in imitation of that work, need not detain us long. They are essentially treatises on the composition of verses, including a practical treatment of prosody and rhetoric. They furnish elaborate hints on the construction of different metres, on the display of word-skill of various kinds, on *jeu de mots* and tricks of producing double meaning, conundrums, riddles, alliterative and rhyming verses, and various other devices of verbal ingenuity, concluding with a chapter on the construction of similes and enumeration of parallelisms for the purpose of ordinary comparisons. It gives also a list of *kavi-samayas* or conventions observed by the poets, and states in detail what to describe and how to describe it. These decadent treatises, therefore, offer such adventitious aids for ready-made poetry, as may—to take a particular point—be afforded, for instance, by a modern rhyming dictionary or works of similar nature.

A summary of the main topics dealt with in the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* and its *Vṛtti* will make the standpoint clear and give an idea of the general scope and nature of such works. The first *pratāna* of this work is called *chandaḥ-siddhi* (prosody)

15 For Kṣemendra's satiric and didactic works see S. K. De, *Aspects of Sansk. Lit.* Calcutta 1959, pp. 279-83 and *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 404-410.

and consists of five sections on (i) the construction of the *anuṣṭubh* metre (*anuṣṭubh-śāsana*), (ii) enumeration of the principal metres, shifts in grammatical forms of the verb, Prakrit loan-words (where Hemacandra seems to be superficially quoted), transmutation of one's own or another poet's ideas into the same or different metres, conversion of one metre into another, caesura (*yati*), the whole section being generally entitled *chandobhyāsa*, (iii) use of expletive particles and words for filling up the verse (*chandaḥ-pūraṇa*), such as *śrī*, *sam*, *sat*, *drāk*, *vi*, *pra* etc. (*sāmānya-śabdaka*), (iv) argumentation, pointed sayings, subjects of laudation or vituperation, interrogations, e.g. in *kula-śāstrādi*, *sva-śāstrādhyayana-prathā* etc. (*vāda*), (v) subjects for descriptive poetry, how to describe the king, his ministers, the prince, the army, battle and hunting, as well as a city, a village, a garden, a lake and so forth ; enumeration of the *kavi-samayas* (*varṇya-sthiti*). The second chapter, called *śabda-siddhi* treats of etymology, derived meanings of compounds, alliteration and rhyme in the middle of a verse, with a list of words suitable for this purpose, enumeration of *saṃbandhin* expressions ; denoted, indicated and suggested meanings, showing the influence of the Dhvani school. The next chapter, entitled *śleṣa-siddhi*, upon play on words of various kinds, consists of the following sections: (i) composing of words in such a way that they can be read differently according as they are divided, with a list of *ślesopayogi* words, (ii) a kind of *śleṣa* occurring in the description of an object by analogies, in which the same quality or condition has to be traced in the same words or in synonyms, (iii) cases of double meaning, produced by homonyms capable of widely different interpretations, (iv) ambiguity produced by similarity of inflections of different origins, (v) surprises of different kinds, such as verses in which the same consonant or vowel is repeated in each syllable, verses spread out in diagrams to be read in different ways, e.g. according to the move of the knight in chess etc:—a subject which is treated in some detail, for

instance, in the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri[16]. The last chapter, called *artha-siddhi*, is devoted to the construction of similes, ellipsis and similar figures, and gives long lists of parallelisms arising from like conditions or attributes of the objects compared, e. g. the lips may be compared to the coral, to the bimba fruit or fresh-blown twigs and so forth.

A large part of this treatment is repeated in Keśava's *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, as well as in Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā*, the latter work being directly modelled on the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* with considerable plagiarism of passages *in extenso* These works, therefore, do not require any separate notice.. Keśava's text (see vol. i, pp. 220-21 above) deals, besides this, with the ordinary topics of Poetics, set forth as the views of his master Śauddhodani, but in substance and form it follows the views of Mammaṭa, Hemacandra and the Vāgbhaṭas ; it thus possesses hardly any claim to originality either in theory or in treatment. Most of the works of Jaina authors, even including those of Hemacandra and the Vāgbhaṭas, are written apparently from the practical standpoint of composing a suitable text-book, and they always, in their discussion of general principles, incorporate hints on matters helpful for the practical working out of poetry[17].

(3)

Rājaśekhara

(Although written in a fanciful style and hardly presenting one systematic theory, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* may be noticed here, inasmuch as it mixes up the topics of *kavi-śikṣā* with those of Poetics proper, at the same time giving us a somewhat rambling treatment of various extraneous matters.

16 The subject is dealt with as early as Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa, and the *Agni-purāṇa*.

17 E. g. Hemacandra, pp. 5-15, 126-135 ; the younger Vāgbhaṭa pp. 38-68. Both borrow largely from Kṣemendra and Rājaśekara.

The work is also remarkable for its varied collection of different opinions, as well as for the light it throws on the literary practices of a certain period. Its views cannot be directly connected with any particular school, but it is quite possible that its author follows in the main a tradition of opinion inherited from his literary ancestors, whom he frequently quotes as the Yāyāvarīyas.

The origin of Poetics is attributed by Rājaśekhara to the Supreme Being and the celestials, and he claims a very high position for the discipline, which is regarded as the seventh *aṅga* without which the significance of Vedic texts cannot be grasped. The self-born Śrīkaṇṭha taught this science to his sixty-four will-born disciples, among whom the most venerable was the Kāvya-puruṣa, born of Sarasvatī, who figures as the nominal hero of this half-allegorical work. As Prajāpati set him to promulgate the science to the world, he imparted it to his seventeen divine pupils, Sahasrākṣa and others, who embodied it in eighteen separate *adhikaraṇas* on the portions learnt by each[18]. Our author seeks to set forth in one book, consisting of eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, the substance of these teachings which were in his time, to some extent, lost. If we are to accept this plan of the author, only the first *adhikaraṇa* on *kavi-rahasya* exists of this ambitious work. The Kāvya-puruṣa, from whom metrical speech first began and who stands symbolically for the spirit of poetry, is the son born to the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī, as the result of her long penance on the Himālayas. In order to keep the boy company, Sasasvatī creates Sāhitya-vidyā as his bride who follows him and wins him over. On this slight conceit the book proceeds to set forth its peculiar doctrines, including in its desultory scope various literary remarks and dogmas, as well as topics like general geography, conventions observed by poets, a disquisition on the seasons, an account of *kavi-goṣṭhī* and other relevant and irrelevant subjects.

18 See vol. i, pp. 1-2.

The work begins (ch. ii) by dividing literature (*vāṅmaya*) into *śāstra* (both human and revealed) on the one hand, and *kāvya*, on the other. It enumerates the differnt Śāstras and defines their nature and form, including under the revealed Śāstras the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, and the six *aṅgas* (the Yāyāvarīyas taking Alaṃkāra-śāstra as the seventh), and comprehending under human Śāstras the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Ānvikṣikī, the two Mīmāṃsās and the Smṛtis. It then mentions fourteen (or eighteen) *vidyā-sthānas*, bringing under it several technical and philosophical disciplines. The meanings of the terms *sūtra, vṛtti, bhāṣya, samīkṣā, ṭīkā, pañjikā, kārikā* and *vārttika*, which are the different forms or styles of the Śāstras, are then explained, incidentally giving an etymological definition of *sāhitya-vidyā*[19]. Then, after a digression (ch. iii) on the fable of the Kāvya-puruṣa, the author goes on to deal (ch. iv) with the different kinds of pupils to whom a knowledge of the science can be imparted, viz. *buddhimat* and *āhārya-buddhi*, the latter of whom may be again *anyathā-buddhi* and *durbuddhi*, and discusses in this connexion the force of *śakti* (genius), *pratibhā* (poetic imagination), *vyutpatti* (culture) and *abhyāsa* (practice). The Yāyāvarīyas think that *śakti* is the only source of poetry and it gives rise to *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti* ; but others hold that the aid of concentration (*samādhi*) and practice (*abhyāsa*) is also required. The *pratibhā*[20] may have a twofold aspect, according as it is creative (*kārayitrī*) or discriminative (*bhāvayitrī*). The creative faculty may be natural (*sahaja*), adventitious (*āhārya*) or acquired by instruction (*aupadeśika*), and poets are accordingly classified as *sārasvata*, *ābhāyasika* and *aupadeśika*. The discriminative faculty (*bhāvakatva*) is distinguished from the poetic (*kavitva*). The *bhāvaka* may be either 'the dicontented' (*arocakinaḥ*, i.e. those who possess the faculty but

19 See above p. 37, fn 5.

20 Defined as: *yā śabda-grāmam artha-sārtham alaṃkāra-tantraṃ mukti-mārgam anyad api tathāvidham adhihṛdayaṃ pratibhāsayati sā pratibhā.*

require to be guided), 'those feeding on grass' (*satṛṇābhyava-hāriṇaḥ*, i.e., vulgar persons absolutely devoid of the faculty[21]), 'the envious' (*matsariṇaḥ*) and lastly, 'the really discerning' (*tattvābhiniveśinaḥ*) who are rare.

In the next chapter (ch. v) we have elaborate classifications of the poet from different points of view. Poets may be grouped generally into three classes, the *śāstra-kavi*, the *kāvya-kavi* and the *ubhaya-kavi*. The *śāstra-kavi* may either compose the *śāstra*, or produce *kāvya*-effect in the Śāstra or *śāstra*-effect in the Kāvya. The *kāvya-kavi* is classified elaborately, if not very logically, into eight groups, viz. *racanā-kavi*, *śabda-kavi*, *artha-kavi*, *alaṃkāra-kavi*, *ukti-kavi*, *rasa-kavi*, *mārga-kavi*, and *śāstrārtha-kavi*. Then we have an enumeration of ten grades of apprenticeship through which a poet has to pass until he becomes a *kavi-rāja*, which is indeed not the highest distinction but which, according to Rājaśekhara who was himself so designated, indicates a status even higher than that of a *mahākavi*. Elsewhere in ch. x, he gives an account of the test or literary examination of poets for such honour and recognition, in which the successful poet was conveyed in a special chariot and crowned with a fillet (*paṭṭa-bandha*). He speaks also of purity of body, speech and thought necessary for a poet, and describes the house of the poet, his attendants, his writing materials, the division of his whole day into eight parts and duties appropriate thereto. The chapter under discussion concludes with a reference to the theory of *pāka*[22], of which as many as nine varieties, named after the taste of different fruits, are mentioned.

The next chapter (ch. vi) deals with the word and the sentence, and their functions grammatical, logical or otherwise. In this connexion Rājaśekhara states that a sentence possessing the literary excellences (*guṇas*) and embellished by poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*) constitutes poetry (*guṇavad alaṃkṛtaṃ ca vākyam*

21 Cf Vāmana 1. 2. 1-3.

22 See above pp. 240-42.

eva kāvyam, p. 24). If any definite conclusion can be drawn from this statement, Rājaśekhara, in general theory, appears to recognise tacitly the position of the Rīti school ; for in this sentence he reproduces Vāmana's well-known dictum (*kāvya-śabdo'yaṃ guṇālaṃkāra-saṃskṛtayoḥ śabdārthayor vartate*, on i. 1. 1). This is supported also by the apparent disfavour he shows towards the view of Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, as well as by the marked partiality attached to the opinions of Maṅgala and Vāmana, whose classification of Rīti is accepted on p. 31. It is true that his school lays special stress also on Rasa[23], and like most writers coming after Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara does not fail to bring Rasa into prominence. This makes it difficult to take his work as framed definitely for any particular system. But it is clear that his sympathies ally him with the older Rīti and Rasa schools, rather than with the new school of Ānandavardhana who, though cited at p. 16, does not appear to have influenced his views greatly. It is probable that he is following some old tradition, which stands apart from orthodox schools, but which has many things in common with the older currents of thought and opinion.

The rest of the work, devoted to topics of a similar character, does not throw any further light on his general view of Poetics. The seventh chapter, which comes next, analyses modes of speech on a novel basis, having reference to the promulgation of different religious doctrines, into *brāhma*, *śaiva* and *vaiṣṇava*, with their sectarian subdivisions ; and after a brief mention of the three Rītis of Vāmana[24], we have some remarks on Kāku and on the methods of reading or pronunciation of different peoples, incidentally discussing the question of appropriate language and style of gods,

23 E.g. *kiṃ tu rasavata eva nibandho yuktaḥ, na nīrasasya* p. 45.

24 Rājaśekhara's account of the origin of Rītis is curious. He says that on account of the Sāhitya-vidyā's wanderings through various countries, different poetic forms evolved themselves, the important among them being the three Rītis mentioned by Vāmana.

Apsarasas, Piśācas etc. The eighth chapter enumerates the sources or auxiliaries of poetry (*kāvya-yonayaḥ*), already referred to by Bhāmaha (i. 9) and Vāmana (i. 3), such as the scriptures, the law-books, the epics, the Purāṇas etc., and gives a long list of arts and sciences, as well as philosophical systems, which contribute to the content of poetry[25]. The next chapter (ch. ix) is concerned with the possible themes of poetry, topically referred to by Ānandavardhana (p. 146), according as it deals with incidents and personages, human, divine, or pertaining to the lower world (*pātāla*), by themselves or in different combinations. But he adds that the subject-matter must be *rasavat*. The tenth chapter speaks of the conduct of a poet, his household and surroundings, his daily duties and routine of work ; it then proceeds to speak of the king who patronises him, and one of whose duties is to call assemblies of poets and scholars. Two very interesting chapters (xi-xii) follow on the elaborate[26] classification of the different shades of borrowing or plagiarism (*haraṇa*), with reference respectively to borrowing of words and borrowing

25 These are: *śruti, smṛti, itihāsa, purāṇa, pramāṇa-vidyā, samaya-vidyā, rāja-siddhānta-trayī* (*artha-śāstra, nāṭya-śāstra* and *kāma-śāstra*), *loka, viracanā* (= *kavi-manīṣā-nirmitaṃ kathā-tantram artha-mātraṃ vā*), and *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous, like *hasti-śikṣā, ratna-parīkṣā, dhanur-veda* etc.). In ch. x. he speaks of (i) *kāvya-vidyās*, viz. *nāma-dhātu-pārāyaṇa* (=grammar), *abhidhāna-kośa* (lexicon), *chando-viciti* (prosody) and *alaṃkāra* (poetics), (ii) sixty-four *kalās*, called *upavidyās* (accessory studies) and (iii) *kāvya-mātaraḥ*, viz. *kavi-saṃnidhi, deśa-vārttā, vidagdha-vāda, loka-yātrā, vidvad-goṣṭhī*, and *purātana-kavi-nibandha.*

26 Hemacandra (pp. 8f) and Vāgbhaṭa (pp. 12f) plagiarise and reproduce this portion of Rājaśekhara's treatment and draw also partly upon Kṣemendra (see above p. 287f). On these passages, see F. W. Thomas in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 379-383). To Ānandavardhana's classification of three kinds of resemblance which may be found in two poets (see above p. 287 fn 12) these writers add a fourth kind, viz. "foreign-city-entrance" likeness (*parapura-praveśa-pratimatā*), i. e. where there is substantial identity, but the garnishing is widely different. And of these four kinds, the superiority is in the ascending order.

of ideas. A verse is cited towards the end which says that there is hardly any poet who does not 'steal' from others, but the best of stealing is cleverly concealing the fact[27]. But mere reflection or copying of ideas is condemned as unpoetical (*so'yaṃ kaver akavitva-dāyī sarvathā pratibimba kalpaḥ pariharaṇīyaḥ*, p. 68). The true poet is said to be one who discovers something novel in the expression of words and ideas, as well as restates what is old[28]. The next chapter (ch. xiii), therefore, details thirty-two different modes by which plagiarism or literary borrowing may be skilfully turned to advantage (a question which must have assumed some importance in Rājaśekhara's time), all the points in these interesting chapters being profusely illustrated by examples drawn from the works of various poets. This discussion is followed by three chapters (ch. xiv-xvi) on the established poetic conventions (*kavi-samaya*), with reference to countries, trees, plants, flowers etc., as well as about intangible things (e. g. a smile should always be described as white). There are two more chapters (ch. xvii-xviii) on geography (*deśa-vibhāga*) and the seasons (*kāla-vibhāga*) respectively, the former mentioning the countries, rivers, mountains etc. of India, the products peculiar to each, the colour and complexion of various peoples, and the latter describing the winds, flowers and birds, and actions appropriate to various seasons.

This bare outline of the eighteen chapters of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, so far as it is available and actually published, will make it clear that nearly the whole of its content falls, strictly speaking, outside the province of general Poetics, whose conventional topics have thus far been hardly touched upon. At the same time, some of the subjects dealt with by Rājaśekhara have been referred to, if not elaborately dealt

27 *nāsty acauraḥ kavi-jano nāsty acauro vaṇig-janaḥ /*
sa nandati vinā vācyaṃ yo jānāti nigūhitum //

28 *śabdārthoktiṣu yaḥ paśyed iha kiṃcana nūtanam /*
ullikhet kiṃcana prācyaṃ manyatāṃ sa mahākaviḥ //

with, by even orthodox writers like Vāmana ; and the unique evidence of the comparatively early work of Rājaśekhara on this topic, written ostensibly in conformity with some old tradition, will go to support the hypothesis that *sāhitya* or the art of poetry originally included in its comprehensive scope all such varied literary topics, until there was a gradual branching off of *kavi-śikṣā* as an allied but separate discipline, and a limiting of the Śāstra itself to the discussion of more or less general principles. In themselves, however, these topics are extremely interesting and throw a great deal of light on some of the literary aspects of classical Sanskrit Poetry and its practice, They are made all the more delightful reading by Rājaśekhara's concise but easy and picturesque style, especially as it is enriched by judiciously selected and varied illustrations, very unlike the conventional illustrations one meets with in an ordinary text-book on Poetics.

SUBJECT-INDEX

TO

Vol. II

Entries are confined to those passages which contain a substantive reference to, and not mere citation of, the persons, works or subjects indicated. The figures denote pages, and references to footnotes are marked with an asterisk. Occasional references to vol. i are given with figure i. The following abbreviations are used: fig=poetic figure; Agp=Agnipurāṇa; Anv=Ānandavardhana; Abh=Abhinavagupta; Bh=Bharata; Bhā=Bhāmaha; Bh N=Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka; Bhānu=Bhānudatta; D=Daṇḍin; Dh=Dhanañjaya; Dhk=Dhvanikāra; Hc=Hemacandra; Jg=Jagannātha; Knt=Kuntaka; Ks=Kṣemendra; L=Lollaṭa; Mmt=Mammaṭa; Mkc=Māṇikyacandra; Mbh=Mahimabhaṭṭa; Rdt=Rudraṭa; Rk=Ruyyaka; Ud=Udbhaṭa; Vg I=the older Vāgbhaṭa; Vg II=the younger Vāgbhaṭa; Vm=Vāmana; Vis=Visvanātha; Vid=Vidyādhara; Vin=Vidyānātha; Snbh=Śiṅgabhūpāla.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Vol. i. p. 99. Add the following as fn. 4 to l. 12 : For a review of the Alaṃkāra-section in the *Agni-purāṇa* see Suresh Mohan Bhattacharya in *Bulletin of DCRI*, xx, pt. i, pp. 42-49.

p. 202, fn 1, l. 2. Read śabdā- (for śadhā-).

p. 292, No. 69. Read BHĀṢYA.

p. 294, fn. 1. Read *Catalogue* after *Tanjore*.

Vol. ii. p. 141, l. 28. Read *kuśāgrīyayā*.

p. 173, l. 2 and p. 183, l. 28. Read *śruti-kaṣṭa* in both places.

p. 204, l. 13. Read *praśastatā*.